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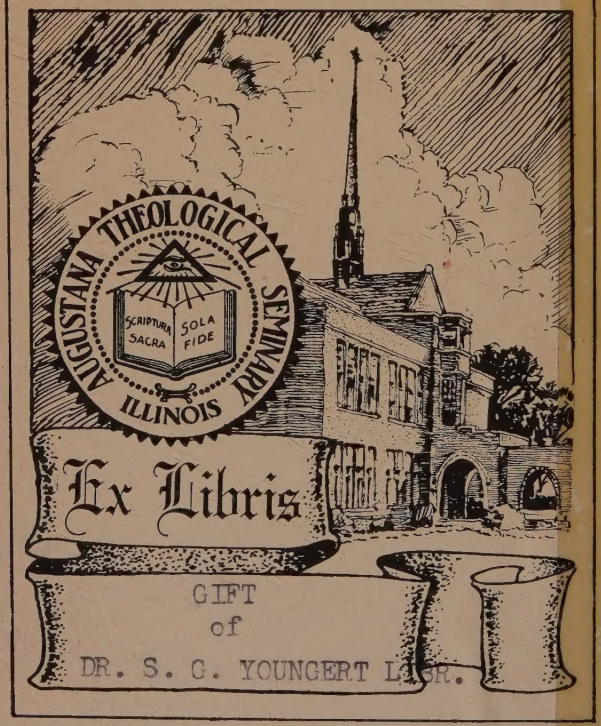
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GENERAL HISTORY

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OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH:

FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER.

TRANSLATED ACCORDING TO THE LATEST EDITION.

BY

JOSEPH TORREY,

PROFESSOR OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

"Let both grow together until the harvest." — *Words of our Lord.*
Les uns Christianisant le civil et le politique, les autres civilisant la Christianisme, il se forma de ce mélange un monstre." — *St. Martin.*

VOLUME SECOND:

COMPRISING THE SECOND GREAT DIVISION OF THE HISTORY.

ELEVENTH AMERICAN EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.

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DEDICATED

TO MY EARLY AND FAITHFUL FRIEND,

DR. KARL SIEVEKING,

SYNDIC OF THE FREE TOWN OF HAMBURG,

OUR COMMON AND BELOVED NATIVE CITY:

IN REMEMBRANCE OF OUR EARLY FRIENDSHIP, WHICH, HAVING GROWN OUT OF WHAT IS ETERNAL, CANNOT PERISH.

Berlin, September 30th, 1829.

WITH heartfelt joy, and thankfulness to Him in whose hands our life is, I now renew this dedication, April 30th, 1846, to serve as an abiding memorial of that union of souls which was formed in the enthusiasm of youth, for the whole of life, and which, with God's help, shall endure, under all diversities of outward condition, down to the grave and beyond it.

A. NEANDER.

DEDICATION OF PART II.

TO THE VERY REVEREND ABBOT,

DR. G. J. PLANCK,

ON THE DAY OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF HIS INDUCTION INTO THE SACRED OFFICE.

Beloved and highly respected Instructor, —

WILL you, on this day, when so many doubtless will unite in showing you the testimonies of their love, esteem, and gratitude, also receive, with your usual condescension, this expression of his hearty, inextinguishable thanks, from an old pupil, who presents you a gift, which, insignificant as it may be to you, is yet, from his own position, the best he has to offer. Though with many things in this book you may not be satisfied, still you will not fail to recognize, in his earnest endeavors to be charitably just, the pupil who, from the great master himself to whom he is under so many obligations, first learned to strive after the *suum cuique* in his construction of historical facts. And with your own candid justice, which, ennobled by the spirit of charity, has been tried through half a century, you will know how to place the right estimate on each of your pupils who with earnest intentions labors on at his own position. Therefore it is, that I confidently rely on your indulgence, in offering you this token of grateful love and respect.

Praise be to God, who gave us you to be our instructor, and who has preserved you to us so long: and long may he still preserve you, honored teacher, to shine as a light before us by your precepts and your example.

This, on this day, is the warmest wish of your affectionate and grateful pupil,

A. NEANDER.

PREFACES TO THE FIRST EDITION.

PREFACE TO PART I.

I HERE present to the public the first part of the second volume of my Church History, containing the first two sections, as the second part will contain the next two following ones. I still hold to what I expressed in the prefaces to the several parts of the first volume.

As it regards the notion of the *invisible church*, which seems in my history to have given offense to many Catholic theologians and to others, it will without doubt still continue to be the fundamental principle in this history of the church; as indeed it must, in my opinion, give the direction to every right treatment of church history generally. It will constantly be my endeavor to trace, and wherever I can find it, to seize and exhibit, with a charitable zeal, the manifestations of this truly catholic, invisible church, both among the orthodox and among heretics, and honestly to distinguish it from everything that does not proceed out of the essence of this invisible church.

Critical remarks, carefully written, on those particular portions of my work to which I have devoted myself with a peculiar affection, and hence with a proportional degree of fullness and originality, would be thankfully received by me, nor should I fail to avail myself of all they might afford me in improving this work, which hereafter it will be my endeavor to perfect as I have opportunity; and I take this opportunity to express my grateful acknowledgments to Dr. Gieseler for a critique of this sort on my account of Manicheism.

BERLIN, *June* 27, 1828.

PREFACE TO PART II.

IN presenting to the public the second section of the second volume of my Church History, I think it necessary only to add the following remarks to what I have already said in the earlier prefaces.

I have supposed it would contribute to the reader's convenience as well as to my own, to separate here also the rich materials into two different sections. The plan, perhaps, will be found to be justified by the execution.

In the first volume, I placed the history of Christian Anthropology after the history of the doctrine of the Trinity. But as the controversies on the doctrine of the Trinity are, in the present period, so closely connected with the controversies concerning the two natures in Christ, I have thought it best to abandon that arrangement here, and to place the history of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ immediately after the history of the doctrine of the Trinity. Furthermore, I doubtless might have concluded this section with the history of the doctrine of the Trinity; and this arrangement was recommended by various considerations; but as the commencement of the

history of the doctrine concerning Christ's person is, in this period, so closely connected with many views that had been developed in the history of the doctrine of the Trinity, and they mutually serve to explain and to integrate each other, I preferred rather to include the latter also in this section.

The judgment of all unprejudiced friends of the truth, whether favorable or otherwise to my own views, and whether relating to my general scope and design, or to any particular points I have touched, will ever be welcomed by me. As to the criticisms of those who are leaders or slaves to schools and parties, I despise them. Popery of all sorts is my abhorrence, — whether it be a state church, a doctrinal, a pietistic, or a philosophic, an orthodox, or a heterodox popery. May the Lord preserve in his church the liberty he has achieved for it; and may none who are his disciples suffer themselves to be the slaves of any man or of any human mind.

Of those who undertake to criticise this work as a whole, I must of course beg that they would reserve their judgment respecting the arrangement of the several parts of this section, until the whole is completed.

Berlin, *Sept.* 30 1829.

PREFACE TO PART III.

With thanks to Him who has enabled me to proceed thus far with my work, I here present to the public the completion of its second great division.

I have prosecuted my design thus far from the point of view which I set forth in the preface to the first volume; and from the same point of view, which has been the result of my life and studies, I shall go on to complete the work, so far as I may be enabled to do so by the Divine goodness. This point of view is with me firmly established, whatever may be objected to it by those who are wont to regard all history as merely the sport of human caprice, and to explain the greatest effects from the most trivial causes, or to think themselves able to measure the development of the divine life in humanity, and to reach the depths of man's soul and spirit by certain pitiful dogmas of the understanding, to which everything else must be forced to bend. That any irreconcilable opposition exists between an *edifying* and an *instructive* church history, is what I shall never be disposed to admit. Edification can proceed only from the clear exposition of truth. Whatever, by the investigation of science, is shown to be a delusion, ceases from that very moment to be a source of edification. Ill would it fare with the practical business of edification, if it were incompatible with the free and enlightened views of the spirit. The truth, which is a witness to the power of the godlike, cannot, if rightly apprehended, be otherwise than edifying; nay, the less vitiated it is, the more edifying must it become. Nor is it necessary that the bad should be passed over in silence, or concealed out of view: for, without the knowledge of that too, as it is, God's judgments in the history of the world, and the progressive triumphs of his kingdom in its conflicts with evil, cannot be understood. The progress of Christianity cannot be learned without separating from it whatever has proceeded from foreign influences. In a word, there can be no true and genuine history of the kingdom of God, which is not accompanied side by side with the history of the kingdom of evil. But to be sure, the truth alone, which is its own witness, should here, as it instructs, also edify; which it certainly will do with the more purity and efficiency in proportion as the subjective character of the historian, faithfully open to the self-revealing spirit of

Christianity, serves as the organ of it. This is the *objectivity* which I aim at; and in those cases where my own subjective views and feelings have intruded, as no doubt they have often done, I shall always be ready to acknowledge the fault, and seek to correct it Thus much in reference to the κυρίαις δόξαις belonging to the various tendencies of the spirit of the age: and now, according to the measure of knowledge which God has bestowed, or may bestow on me, I shall quietly pursue my way, unconcerned as to what may be said on this side or on that.

I have, in this volume interwoven the history of the more eminent church teachers into the history of the doctrinal controversies, both for the sake of clearness and vivacity, and also to save room, — hence there is no particular section devoted to the teachers of the church.

In that section, particularly, which treats of Chrysostom, I have confined myself within narrower limits, because a new edition, improved and enlarged, of the first volume of my Chrysostom is shortly to appear.

In my exposition of the system of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which is so interesting a subject, I would very gladly have availed myself of his Commentary on the Minor Prophets, — a work of great importance in its bearing on the history of the peculiar tendencies of the theological spirit, and one which has been long due to the public. May my friend, Von Wegnern of Königsberg, instead of disappointing our hopes like Majus, soon give us the pleasure of seeing an edition of this important work.

June 4, 1831.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

My duty to the public and to this work, which I undertook in obedience to an inward call, demands of me, that, before issuing the volume which carries the history of the church down to the times of the Reformation, I should prepare a new edition of the second great division, — the first having long since been disposed of. In doing this, I am bound thankfully to avail myself of all the new light which has been thrown on the history of the dissemination of Christianity by our own great master, C. Ritter, by Professor Neumann of Munich, and by Professor Waitz of Kiel. A considerable part of the matter in the section which treats of the emperor Julian, and of the relation of the later New-Platonism to Christianity, will need to be remodeled; as also in the section which treats of Jovinian. Also, in other parts of the work, I must endeavor to introduce improvements in the matter, but more especially in the form of many scattered passages. Critical remarks, with the scientific grounds on which they are based, I shall ever estimate at their just value. (The revilings of party passion I know how to despise, and vulgarity I shall leave to punish itself.)

A. NEANDER.

Berlin, *April* 20, 1846.

[The rest of this preface is a beautiful and affectionate tribute to the memory of Hermann Rossel, the young friend of Neander, whom he notices in one of the prefaces to the first volume, and who died the same year (1846) in which this new edition passed through the press. — *Translator.*]

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Aversion to the forming of a new creed. The creed of Anatolius, which is approved by the Egyptian party (Christ out of two natures). A part of the Orientals and the Roman delegates not satisfied. Threat of a Western council. A creed finally agreed upon, by adopting several articles from the letter of Leo. One Christ *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν — ασυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως* . . 578–581

Dioscurus deposed 581

Unworthy treatment of Theodoret, who at last directly condemns Nestorius [his later hatred against Nestorius] 581, 582

Case of the ten Egyptian bishops 582, 583

The union at Chalcedon, also, merely in appearance 583

Monophysite Controversy, 583–609.

Original germ of it 583

The monk Theodosius, after the expulsion of Juvenal, made patriarch of Jerusalem 583

Proterius, the successor of Dioscurus at Alexandria, and the Monophysite party under Timotheus Ailurus. Made bishop by this party in 457 584

Assassination of Proterius. The emperor desires an agreement of the two parties. Leo the Great applied to, and shows no disposition to yield anything. Imperial decree addressed to all the Metropolitans. Wise judgment of the bishops of Pamphylia. Banishment of Ailurus, A. D. 460. The mild Salophaciolus made patriarch . . . 584, 585

Basiliscus dethrones Zeno, A. D. 476. In the beginning, favorable to Monophysitism. His circular letter condemns the Chalcedonian creed and Leo's epistle. Ailurus once more patriarch. Acacius of Constantinople resists the emperor. Anti-circular of Basiliscus . 585, 586

Zeno again emperor. Favorable to the Chalcedonian party. Choice of Peter Mongus by the Monophysites, after the death of Ailurus. Obliged to flee. Salophaciolus again patriarch. Peter Mongus and John Talaya chosen 586, 587

John Talaya, with Gennadius, at Constantinople. His connection with

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Illus. Irritates Acacius. The cunning Peter Mongus. *Zeno's Henoticon*, A. D. 482. New divisions. Four parties (the Acephali among the Monophysites.). Schism betwixt the Eastern and the Western church 587–589

Anastasius emperor, in 491. Endeavors, from love of peace, to maintain the Henoticon. Is suspicious of Monophysitism. The patriarchs Euphemius and Macedonius of Constantinople. Philoxenus (Syrian translation) of Hierapolis (his quarrel with Flavian) and Severus, the two heads of the hitherto headless party (the Acephali). Tumult in Constantinople in consequence of the addition to the *Trisagion*. The emperor removes Macedonius, but is afterwards obliged to make concessions to the Chalcedonian party . . . 589–591

Justin emperor, from the year 518. Enthusiasm for the Chalcedonian council. Vitalian and Justinian. Negotiations with Rome. Anathema on the leaders of the Monophysites. Acacius himself sacrificed. Severus flees to Alexandria 591, 592

Justinian Emperor from the year 527, 592–609.

Would fain be champion of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy, and lawgiver to the church as well as to the state. In so doing, acts as the tool of others, particularly of his Monophysite wife Theodora. Anthimus her favorite, whom, deceiving her husband, she makes patriarch, A. D. 535. Anthimus excommunicated by Agapetus of Rome. Deposed by the undeceived emperor. Mennas is made patriarch . 592, 593

The council under Mennas, A. D. 536, fully condemns Monophysitism. Justinian's despotic law confirming this decision 593, 594

Intrigues of Theodora, with the aid of Vigilius, a deacon, and through her (after the banishment of Silverius), in 538, bishop of Rome. Vigilius declines to declare openly in favor of Monophysitism . 594, 595

The Origenistic court party, led by Domitian and Theodore Ascidas. Peter of Jerusalem, Pelagius the Roman Apocrisarius, and Mennas (the two last being jealous of the influence of Theodore Ascidas) propose to the emperor the condemnation of the heresies of Origen. Emperor's letter to Mennas, and a synod condemn Origen; yet, Theodore Ascidas and Domitian sacrifice the truth to party interests, and subscribe 594–597

The Origenists exert themselves to make the anathema pronounced on Origen recoil on Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas, for the purpose of drawing off the emperor, annoying Mennas, and forming a combination with the Monophysites and Theodora. They persuade the emperor (a willing lawgiver), through the illusive hope of reuniting the Monophysites with the dominant church, to condemn those three church teachers by his edict *de tribus capitulis*, A. D. 544; which the four Oriental patriarchs, and the majority of the bishops, after some resistance at first, subscribe . . . 597–600

The Controversy on the Three Chapters, 600–609.

Protest of the more free-spirited Africans, particularly of Pontian, as also of the bishops of Dalmatia and Illyria, against the imperial edict. At the request of Vigilius, bishop of Rome, whom the emperor endeavors to gain, Fulgentius Ferrandus writes his judgment. (1. Authority of general councils. 2. Persons deceased are removed from the jurisdiction of a human tribunal. 3. The writing of an individual, though subscribed by many, does not approach to the authority of holy writ.) Vigilius, inclined to follow this judgment at first, is gained over by the court party, — then seeks himself to gain over the African bishops. Seventy subscribe his *judicatum*, but two of his own deacons, and others of the clergy, oppose it . 600–603

Thorough and free-spirited defense of the three articles by Facundus of Hermiane (against uncalled for dogmatizing, the lamentable interference of the civil power; the venal clergy) 603, 604

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Vigilius, excommunicated by a Western synodal decision, urges the call of a general council. Retracts his *judicatum*. His shameful oath. Council of Constance, A. D. 551. A part of the African bishops appear. Persecution of the resisting bishops. (Reparatus of Carthage banished) 604, 605

New edict of the emperor drawn out in detail. Vigilius declines subscribing it 605, 606

Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople, A. D. 553. *Vigilius' Constitutum ad imperatorem.* Vigilius excommunicated by the emperor. Theodore of Mopsuestia, and several of the works of Theodoret and of Ibas condemned. Many bishops deposed. Vigilius, still inconstant, confirms the decrees of the council 606–608

Union of the Monophysites with the ruling church not yet effected. Secession of the churches of Istria and Aquilia from Rome . . 608

Aphthartodocetism (Christ subjected himself to the affections and defects of a sensuous nature only κατ' οἰκονομίαν), proceeding from a mistaken effort to glorify Christ. The emperor, who had already, in 533, confirmed the formulas of the Theopaschites, makes it a law. Deposes Eutychius. Justinian's death, A. D. 565, delivers the church from the utter confusion which threatened it . . . 608, 609

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Formation of isolated church parties, which grew out of these disputes, beyond the limits of the Roman empire 609–616

Nestorians in Persia.

Edessa in Mesopotamia, a seminary for Persian church teachers. Rabulas of Edessa becomes a follower of Cyrill. Zealous against Nestorianism. Expels the presbyter Ibas and others, who go to Persia. Letter of Ibas to Maris (against Nestorius, but more vehement against Cyrill), and his translations of the writings of Theodore and Diodorus into the Syrian tongue. A. D. 536, becomes bishop of Edessa 610, 611

Activity of Barsumas (one of those who had been driven away by Rabulas) as bishop of Nisibis, from 435 to 489, in establishing the Nestorian church; the organization of which is completed by a synod under Babias, patriarch of Seleucia from the year 496. (Permits the clergy to marry) 611

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Monophysites, 611–616.

In Egypt (seceded in the time of Justinian) and in Ethiopia . 611

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d. Anthropology, 619–722.

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Ambrose, the predecessor of Augustin 622–624

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Cœlestius, formerly an advocate, openly appears as a defender of the principles of Pelagius 639
Cœlestius visits Carthage (with Pelagius) in 411. Endeavors to obtain there the place of a presbyter. Complained of by Paulinus before a synod of that country, A. D. 412 (for maintaining that Adam's sin injured no one but himself). Cœlestius of the opinion that the subject in hand was a *speculative* question *de traduce peccati;* but is excommunicated 639, 640
Pelagius in Palestine, A. D. 415. Jerome (scenting Origenistic influence, and personally excited against Pelagius) and Paul Orosius, his antagonists. Jerome's letter to Ctesiphon, and his dialogues. Yet the Oriental church, on the whole, more favorably inclined to Pelagius than to Augustin 640, 641
Orosius arraigns Pelagius before a synod under John of Jerusalem, A. D. 415. The prudent John will not allow himself to be moved by the authority of Augustin. Pelagius vindicates himself before the Orientals on account of the charge that "he taught man might easily fulfill the divine commands." The complainants allege that the matter belonged to the West, — and for this reason, John reports it to Innocent of Rome 641–643
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Alleged violences at Bethlehem. Jerome and Augustin (de gestis Pelagii) concerning the synod of Diospolis 644, 645
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More systematic, at the same time more passionate than Pelagius and Cœlestius. Free-spirited, well educated, moral, and devout. His remarks against the timid bishops. Against the interference of the civil power. (Augustin in reply.) Constantly makes his appeal to reason (ratio, — Augustin to the Christian consciousness, — as does Julian himself, with another reference) 652–655

The Pelagian anthropology, rigidly carried out, must needs introduce a change also in the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. (Theodore of Mopsuestia, a trace in Julian.) *Leporius*, condemned as a Pelagian, A. D. 426. His recantation at Carthage, in which, however, there is no trace of his earlier Pelagian views, but only of his Antiochian notions respecting the person of Christ 655–657

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Leo the Great opposed to Pelagianism. The Pelagian Seneca, about the year 500, — letter of Gelasius of Rome against him 657, 658

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Fundamental Difference, 660–666.

According to the professions of the parties: *the different views of man's moral condition in relation to the first sin* 660, 661

A good deal that cannot be traced back to this point. The different way of apprehending the doctrine of man's free will. Finding nowhere substantial freedom, Augustin is led to the supposition of *a corruption of man's nature*, and of a preceding *original moral state*. Pelagius, with his formal conception of freedom, conceives the possibility of goodness, as well as of moral evil, — and his theory of an original moral state and of a first sin stands disconnected from his system. The *possibilitas utriusque* of Pelagius. The antithesis of "nature" and "grace" of Augustin, the dependence of all rational beings on grace for attaining to their destination 661–664

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The first sin and its consequences. The Pelagians represent the first sin as the disobedience of a heedless child, yielding to the seductions of sense. Augustin makes the exceeding guilt of the first sin to consist in man's transgressing the law of God with a free will; "concupiscence" the root of selfishness. Augustin's *propagatio reatus et pœnæ*, Rom. 5 : 12. The Pelagians taught that Adam injured

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Julian, against the charge of the self-sufficiency of human reason, — yet holds there is no contradiction betwixt reason and revelation . 673, 674

Grace and free will. The Pelagians: all operations of grace conditioned on the bent of the will. According to Augustin, grace excludes all merit (with which belonged, in his view, all conditioning of grace on the different states of recipiency). From the Pelagians, although they probably acknowledged outward revelations, the notion of an internal communication of divine life, ever made prominent by Augustin, lay more remote 674, 675

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CHURCH HISTORY.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. FROM THE END OF THE DIOCLESIAN PERSECUTION TO THE TIME OF GREGORY THE GREAT, BISHOP OF ROME; OR FROM THE YEAR 312 TO THE YEAR 590.

SECTION FIRST.

RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE WORLD. ITS EXTENSION AND LIMITATION.

I. Within the Roman Empire.

A. *Relation of the Roman Emperors to the Christian Church.*

Christianity, after having, in the first place, practically demonstrated its power to transform man's nature, in the lives of individual men who had submitted to it from free conviction, proceeded next, as we have said, to evolve a new principle for the remodeling of the objective world; and we saw how this principle went on to develop itself triumphantly through a conflict of three hundred years with the principle of the ancient world, which was rooted in the ancient religion. Such progress had it already made, that even men who were still fast bound to the old religion felt constrained to confess the presence also of a divine power in Christianity; that even the bitterest enemies of Christianity, after having expended the whole force of their authority in opposing it, were compelled to acknowledge the fact of a superior force, against which it was in vain for them to contend. The author of the last bloody persecution, the emperor Galerius himself, was at length convinced of the folly of undertaking to extirpate the Christian church by fire and sword; and the failure which his schemes, one after another, had constantly met with, had finally led him to think that perhaps the God of the Christians was some mighty being, whose anger he had brought down upon himself. But although

Christianity had come forth victorious from this last and most fearful conflict, the final issue of the struggle was far from being reached as yet. It might have been conjectured, indeed, even now, that by virtue of an inward necessity, growing out of the whole preceding course of development, the old empire of the world would have to give up the old principle of the world, and submit to the new force which, as a fact, had already entered into history. But how soon this result must follow, depended on circumstances not to be calculated beforehand. That which would have to be the final and necessary issue of the whole struggle might, by various causes, be hindered for a long time from reaching a full completion. The fanaticism which would not be taught by experience, and could not understand the signs of the time, might try over and over again to stop the course of history, and that with a zeal rendered only more desperate by the futility of such a proceeding. Everything was now depending, first of all, on the religious views entertained by those who were in possession of unlimited power, the sovereign heads of the Roman empire.

One of the regents, at this present time, was Caius Galerius Valerius *Maximinus*, who at first governed Egypt and Syria; and then, after the death of his uncle Galerius, A. D. 311, made himself master of all the Asiatic provinces, — the bitterest enemy of Christianity and the Christians. Having risen from the humblest condition, that of a shepherd, he was blindly given to all the popular superstitions of Paganism, inclined by native disposition to serve as a tool to the priests, and at the same time, of a rough, violent, and despotic temper. He had now no *intention*, it is true, of standing forth as the only one among the regents of the Roman empire who meant to oppose the edict which had been issued by the oldest Augustus; but still he could not be satisfied to publish it in the same open manner in which it had been published in the other parts of the empire. He had only directed, under the hand of his first officer of state, Sabinus, the prætorian prefect, that it should be announced to all the provincial magistrates, as the emperor's will, that the Christians should no longer be molested. The prefect issued a mandate which agreed in substance with the edict of Galerius: "That it had long been with the emperors an object of their most anxious desire to bring back the souls of all men to the right ways of a pious life; so that those who followed any usage foreign from that of the Romans, might be induced to pay to the immortal gods the homage which is due to them; but such had been the obstinacy of many people, that they would neither be drawn away from their purpose by a reasonable obedience to the imperial command, nor awed by the punishments with which they were threatened. Inasmuch, then, as their imperial majesties[1] had graciously considered, that it would be contrary to their mild intentions to involve so many in danger, they had resolved that, for the future, no Christian should be punished or disturbed on account of his

[1] The Numen dominorum nostrorum ἡ θειότης τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν, — as the debasing, idolatrous flattery which had become already the diplomatic language, then expressed itself.

religion; since it had been made evident by the experience of so long a period, that they could in no way be persuaded to desist from their own willful determination."[1]

The more violent the persecution had been, especially in the countries subject to the government of Maximinus, the greater was the joy of the Christians in those countries, when this command of the emperor was everywhere put in execution. From their different places of exile, from the prisons, from the mines in which they had been condemned to labor, crowds of thankful Christians returned to their homes; and the public highways resounded with their songs of praise. The churches began to be rebuilt, and to be filled once more with worshipping assemblies. Scarcely for half a year did their joy and tranquillity remain undisturbed. As was to be expected, the restoration of the Christian churches, and the great number of those who now freely and publicly joined in the religious services, excited afresh the fanatic rage of the heathens, which could once more readily find an organ for its expression in that Maximinus, who, at heart, had never ceased to cherish his blind zeal for the old idolatry, and his hatred of Christianity.

At first, they could not bear to see the enthusiasm which the memory of the martyrs enkindled in the Christians who assembled at their graves. It was very easy, too, in pretending fear lest some disturbance might happen to the public peace, to find a reason for prohibiting the Christians from assembling at their places of burial — the cemeteries. The religious views of the emperor being well known, the heathen priests, conjurors, and magistrates, in various cities both of his old and of his new province, where from the earliest times the pagan worship stood in high repute, and certain forms of it in particular were exhibited with much antique display (as at Antioch, Tyre, and Nicomedia in Bithynia), instigated their fellow-citizens to beg it as a favor of the emperor, that no enemy to the gods of their fathers might be permitted to dwell or practice his own rites of worship within their walls. In part it was fanatical intolerance, and in part a spirit of servile flattery, more anxious to obtain the favor of the prince than to promote the honor of the gods, which dictated these petitions. Christian authors, it is true, affirm, that the emperor himself secretly encouraged these persons to present such petitions, that he might have a fair pretext for persecuting the Christians.[2] But it is plain that they do not here report a fact which was known to themselves; but only represent as a fact, the inference which they thought themselves warranted to draw, from the manner in which Maximinus received such petitions, and from his known disposition. The reception which these petitions met with from the emperor, was, at all events, without any further action on his part, a sufficient encouragement to repeat them. True, when he first took possession of the Asiatic prov-

[1] Euseb. hist. eccles. l. IX. c. 1: *ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνστάσεων ἀναχωρήσαιεν.*

[2] Thus De mortib. persecut. c. 36: Subornatis legationibus civitatum, quæ peterent, ne intra civitates suas Christianis conventicula extruere liceret, ut quasi coactus et impulsus facere videratur, quod erat sponte facturus; and Euseb. IX. 2: *Αὐτος ἑαυτῷ καθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβεύεται.*

inces, which had belonged to the empire of Galerius; and when, on his arrival at Nicomedia, many of the citizens appeared before him with the images of their gods, and presented him, in the name of the city, a petition of this sort, he was still just enough — unless we may suppose he was restrained for the present by reasons of policy — to refuse granting their petition immediately. He caused himself, in the first place, to be informed of the true state of things; and on finding that there were many Christians in the city, he told the deputies, that he would have been pleased to grant their request; but he understood that it was not the wish of all the citizens, and he desired to leave every man at liberty to follow his own convictions.[1] When, however, similar petitions came to him from other cities, testifying great zeal for the worship of the gods; when, moreover, pious frauds, so called, were employed to operate on the mind of the superstitious and credulous prince, — as at Antioch, where it was said a voice had issued from a wonder-working statue of Jupiter Philios, lately set up, and the god required that his enemies should be driven from the city and its territory,[2] — Maximin could no longer maintain that tone of impartiality which was so foreign from his nature. He thought it due to the honor of the gods, as he expressed it in the later edict, those gods to whom the state owed its preservation, that he should not reject a request which aimed at nothing but the promotion of that honor. He not only granted such petitions, but expressed to those who presented them his particular approbation of their pious disposition. At Tyre, he caused to be publicly fixed up, in answer to a proposal of this sort, and as an encouraging token of his satisfaction with its pious spirit, a laudatory writing, composed in the pompous, declamatory style of the rhetorical schools of that period, by some master or pupil of the same. Among other things it was here said: "That highest and greatest Jupiter, who presides over your famous city, who saved the gods of your fathers, your wives, children, hearths and homes from every pestilent infection, he it was who inspired your souls with this wholesome purpose, revealing to you how noble and salutary it is, to approach the worship of the immortal gods with becoming reverence." Next is set forth in swollen expressions, how, by the renewed worship of the gods, men had been delivered from the distresses of famine and of war, from contagious pestilence, and other public calamities, which formerly had been brought on by the guilt of the Christians: "For these things happened in consequence of the pernicious error of those reckless men, when it had taken possession of their souls, and covered almost the whole world with disgrace." It is then said of the Christians: "If they persist in their accursed folly, let them be banished, as you demand, far from your city and its territory." And that they themselves might know with what good will the emperor received their proposition, they were in-

[1] This is stated by Maximin himself, in the edict which he subsequently published in favor of the Christians, and which Eusebius, after his usual manner, has translated in very obscure language from the Latin original; or else it was composed in a very barbarous diplomatic style.

[2] Euseb. IX. 3.

vited to ask for some special favor, which should be granted them at once, as a memorial, to their children and children's children, of their piety towards the immortal gods.[1]

In every way, Maximin sought to restore the splendor of Paganism, and, by giving new power and new consequence to its zealous votaries, to supplant the Christians, without publishing any new edict against them. The appointment to sacerdotal offices in the provinces had hitherto been lodged with the senatorial colleges (the collegio decurionum, curialium), who chose to such posts, those of their own number who had been already tried in various municipal employments. But Maximin now reserved the appointment to such places in his own hands, that he might be sure to have promoted to them the most distinguished men of the Senate, and those from whom he could expect the most zealous and influential exertions to reanimate Paganism. To the highest posts of the sacerdotal colleges he chose, in fact, men who had already filled the higher civil offices; and, to procure for them greater respect, he gave them the mantle of glistening white, inwrought with gold, which before was the distinguishing badge of the court offices.[2]

Trials before Pilate (acta Pilati) were now forged, full of blasphemies against Christ.[3] These fabricated documents were distributed through the city and country schools, in order that hatred to Christianity might be seasonably instilled into the minds of the children, — a well-chosen means, no doubt, for giving currency to convictions such as men wished to have them.

The declamatory notice above cited, that public calamities were warded off by the worship of the gods, was soon refuted by experience. There was a failure of harvest, and a famine; pestilential disorders raged. Meanwhile the Christians chose the best way to manifest the spirit of their faith, and to show the heathens the groundlessness of their accusations.[4] They collected the whole multitude of the starving population in the city (probably Nicomedia) into one place, and distributed bread to them. Thus it might be that more was accomplished by this work of faith, than could have been effected by any demonstration of words; that, as Eusebius says,[5] the heathens praised the Christians' God, and pronounced the Christians themselves to be the only truly pious and God-fearing men. But there is always

[1] The edict, in a Greek translation, is in Eusebius, IX. 7.

[2] Euseb. IX. 4. De mortib. p. c. 36.

[3] Euseb. IX. 5. Still earlier than this, there may have been various recensions of the acta Pilati by Christians and Pagans; and so this new device of malice may have sprung out of some older root. Perhaps, also, it is inexact, when it is said, that those *acta* were then forged for the first time; perhaps the fanatical hate of the Pagans had already devised some contrivance of this sort in the earlier times of the Diocletian persecution; and special pains were now taken to put it in circulation. This we are obliged to suppose, if these *acta* are altogether the same with those to which a pagan priest, in some earlier year of the Diocletian persecution, appealed before a tribunal as testimony against the divinity of Christ. Acta Tarachi, Probi, et Andronici, c. 9. His words to the Christians are: Μωρὲ, τοῦτο οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι, ὃν ἐπικαλῇ, ἄνθρωπόν τινα γεγενημένον κακοῦργον, ὑπὸ ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ Πιλάτου τινὸς ἡγεμόνος ἀνηρτῆσθαι σταυρῷ, ὧν καὶ ὑπομνήματα κατακεῖνται.

[4] Compare the similar case in the first volume, p. 258.

[5] L. IX. c. 8.

a fanaticism which the strongest facts can neither confute nor embarrass.

Although no new edicts of a sanguinary character were issued, yet it could not fail to be the case, under the impulse of freshly excited passions, the outbreaks of which were rather favored than checked by the supreme power of the state, that in various scattered spots the blood of the martyrs would flow copiously. Individuals who, by their zeal for the spread of the faith, and by the authority in which they stood among their fellow-believers, had drawn particularly upon themselves the hatred of the governors or of the emperor, suffered martyrdom. Instances of this kind occurred at Emesa in Phœnicia, at Alexandria, and at Antioch.[1] This was the last martyr's blood which flowed in consequence of the Diocletian persecution. From the West began a train of events, which placed the whole Christian church in a different relation to the civil power in the Roman state; and the influence of these events soon extended, at least indirectly, to the Eastern portion of the empire.

Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, was the individual through whose instrumentality this change was accomplished. Although, as we have said, the way had already been laid open by the preceding course of historical development, for such a change sooner or later to take place, still it may not be wholly useless to inquire, through what course of psychological experience the individual who was the means of effecting this revolution, had been brought to yield to the world-subduing power of Christianity; and also, into the nature of his own personal relation to Christianity. But as it not seldom happens with those who have effected great revolutions in the history of the world, that the data are wholly wanting whereby alone the course of their psychological development could be clearly traced from the beginning onward to the time of their greatness, so it has happened in the case of Constantine. It only remains, therefore, to collect from a few scattered hints, the best conclusions which we can arrive at.

As Constantine rose gradually to power in contending with princes who were zealously devoted to the cause of Paganism; as his political importance regularly increased with his more decided declarations in favor of Christianity, it might indeed be maintained that the motives by which he was first led to throw himself on the side of Christianity, were not of a religious, but of a purely political character; and that afterwards he may have been really influenced in his measures by a sincere and earnest feeling of that religious interest, which at first he had only assumed for outward show; for religion, and especially Christianity, is a power which can even seize hold of and subdue the heart of a man whose only purpose at first is to use it as a means for his selfish ends. Examples of this sort were not wanting in these times. Though Constantine may not with deliberate calculation have planned to make such a use of Christianity, yet through his connection with his times, he may have felt sure, by a certain instinctive pre-

[1] Euseb. l. IX. c. 6.

sentiment, that Paganism had lost the power it once possessed in the life of the people, and that Christianity had drawn all the spiritual power that remained over to itself. Or it might, perhaps, be maintained that without any religious interest which he was conscious of, on his own part, he had been gradually drawn into the current which moved the times. We might maintain, with Gibbon, that some portion of the religious enthusiasm with which Constantine was regarded, and to which at first he merely gave way, making use of it for the furtherance of his own ends, had at length found its way into himself, and become to him a matter of personal conviction.[1] But though there may be some truth at bottom in these several hypotheses, particularly in the last, there is really no good reason whatever for supposing that Constantine's conversion to Christianity was a mere outward affair; on the other hand, there are many good reasons to be found for supposing that religious convictions originating in his own mind, had gradually ripened, under various outward influences, into a sincere faith, and that, step by step, he had passed from a certain religious eclecticism, to the acknowledgment and confession of Christianity as the only true faith; by a transition somewhat like what we might easily suppose would have taken place in the case of an Alexander Severus, or of a Philip the Arabian, had either of them happened to live at this particular period.

Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, was, as we have already had occasion to remark, a friend to the Christians, and probably a follower of that species of religious eclecticism which conceded to Christ a place by the side of the gods of Rome. His mother Helena, who was the first wife of Constantius, becomes known, at a somewhat later period, as a zealous Christian according to the measure of her religious knowledge, — devoted and punctilious in the performance of all the external duties of religion. There are no existing grounds for supposing that she came to this conviction suddenly, or that she was led to embrace it, in her later years, by the example of her son. Nothing forbids us to suppose that she was, in the earlier period of her life, if not a Christian, at least inclined to Christianity.[2] Possibly it was through *her* influence that this direction had been given to the mind of her husband; since it not unfrequently happened, that the husband came to the knowledge of Christianity through means of the wife. Slight as must have been the immediate influence of his

[1] In an age of religious fervor, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire. — *Gibbon.*

[2] Nothing certain is known with regard to the relations between Helena and her son as to this matter. Theodoret, it is true, says expressly (H. E. l. I. c. 18), that Constantine received his first impressions of Christianity from her; but we cannot be sure that his authority for this statement is deserving of confidence. Eusebius might have been more correctly informed; and he says (de vita Constant. l. III. c. 47), it was by means of Constantine that his mother first became a Christian,— *θεοσεβῆ καταστήσαντα, οὐκ οὖσαν πρότερον.* But we should remark, that Eusebius was strongly inclined to turn everything to the advantage of his hero; and that it is in nowise inconsistent with this statement, to suppose that Helena, while professing to be on the side of heathenism, still cherished a certain veneration for Christ, as a divine being, and was disposed to favor Christianity.

parents on the education of Constantine, who was so early removed from their side; yet it may well be supposed, that the religious principles of the parents would not fail to make some impression on the mind of their son. The Christians being at that time so numerous and so widely dispersed, Constantine would, without doubt, frequently come in contact with them; and, as we may readily suppose, they would neglect no opportunity which offered, of making the prince favorably disposed towards their religion and their party. While a youth, he resided at the court of Diocletian; and afterwards at that of Galerius. He witnessed at Nicomedia the outburst of the persecution against the Christians.[1] This example of blood-thirsty fanaticism could have no other effect than to revolt his youthful, and in respect to such proceedings, unprejudiced mind. When he compared the religious tolerance of his father with the spirit which he here saw displayed, it was no difficult task for him to decide which way of thinking would best contribute to promote the tranquillity and well-being of the state. He witnessed here, too, such proofs of the power of Christian faith, as might well make an impression on him. He saw there was something in Christianity, which was not to be subdued by fire and sword.

In the next following years, after Constantine, as his father's successor, had been proclaimed Augustus, in 306, by the legions in Britain, he appears to have been still attached to the pagan forms of worship. When, in the year 308, after the successful termination of the war with that Maximianus Herculius who had, for the second time, set himself up as emperor, unexpected intelligence came to him that the Franks, against whom he was preparing an expedition, had laid aside their hostile demonstrations, he offered public thanks in a celebrated temple of Apollo, probably at Autun (Augustodunum), and gave a magnificent offering to the god.[2] This act of Constantine deserves notice on two accounts: first, as supplying a fact relative to the development of his religious character, from which it may be gathered that he was then still devoted to the pagan cultus; and secondly, as proving that he was not of the class of princes and warriors, in whom the religious sense is either wanting altogether, or made little account of, and who rely on nothing but the arm of flesh and human means, to carry out their undertakings. He ascribed his good fortune in the present instance *to the protection of a god;* and possibly it was the sun-god Apollo, Helios, whom he was inclined to adopt at this time as his tutelary deity.[3]

[1] See the religious discourse which the Christian emperor is said to have pronounced before a Christian assembly — Oratio ad sanctorum cœtum, appended to the life of this emperor by Eusebius, c. 25. Though it assuredly cannot be supposed that the discourse was delivered by the emperor precisely as it stands here, yet the substance of it is nevertheless not wholly unlike what we might naturally expect from him. Compare also what Constantine says concerning the persecution of Dioclesian, in his proclamation issued in the East, after the victory over Licinius. Euseb. de vita Constantin. l. II. c. 49.

[2] Eumenii Panegyricus Constantini, c. 21, in the discourse pronounced by him before the emperor in that city, and which supposes that, at this time, he was still an avowed pagan: "vidisti, credo, Apollinem *tuum*."

[3] To this Julian also alludes, when in

Thus up to his thirty-eighth year, Constantine had as yet given no sign of a disposition to forsake the old religion of the state, or of an inclination towards Christianity. First, in the year 313, more than a year after the act of homage above mentioned, whereby he recognized Apollo as his protecting god; and at a time when, under the tolerating edict of Galerius, the situation of the Christian church in the Roman empire was totally changed, and Christianity was received among the lawful religions (the religiones licitæ), Constantine issued a public declaration in its favor; and this was done subsequently to an event of great importance to this regent, his victory over the tyrant Maxentius.[1] The question which now presents itself is, whether we must, on the faith of *one* tradition, believe that it was this victory, in connection with the extraordinary circumstances that preceded it, which produced this new and decided change, both in the public conduct, and in the religious convictions of this emperor.

According to Eusebius,[2] the way in which this important change was brought about, was as follows: — Maxentius, in making his preparations for the war, had scrupulously observed all the customary ceremonies of Paganism, and was relying for success on the agency of supernatural powers. Hence Constantine was the more strongly persuaded, that he ought not to place his whole confidence in an arm of flesh. He revolved in his mind, to what god it would be suitable for him to apply for aid. The misfortunes of the last emperors, who had been so zealously devoted to the cause of Paganism, and the example of his father, who had trusted in the one true and almighty God alone, admonished him that he also should place confidence in no other. To this God, therefore, he applied, praying that he would reveal himself to him, and lend him the protection of his arm in the approaching contest. While thus praying, a short time after noon,[3] he beheld, spread on the face of the heavens, a glittering cross, and above it the inscription: "By this conquer." [4] The emperor and his whole army, now just about to commence their march towards Italy, were seized with awe. While Constantine was still pondering the import of this sign, night came on; and in a dream Christ appeared to him, with the same symbol which he had seen in the heavens, and

that mystical representation, Orat. VII. f. 228, ed. Spanheim, he makes Zeus say to Helios, that Constantine, by forsaking the latter (to whom, therefore, he must before have been standing in some special relation), had caused all the calamities which had befallen himself and his family; *ὃς σε ἀπολείπων ἀυτῶ τε καὶ γένει καὶ παισὶν αἴτιος ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων.* Another confirmation of the hypothesis in the text is the fact that the sun-god is represented as Constantine's protector, on coins; the coins with the inscription "Soli invicto comiti:" in Eckhel, doctrina nummorum veterum, vol. VIII. p. 75.

[1] Maxentius, son of Maximianus Herculius, had seized upon the sovereignty in Italy and in North Africa; and by his abandoned and voluptuous life, his oppressions, and his despotic acts in every way, had rendered himself alike odious to Heathens and to Christians; though at Rome he had in the outset showed himself favorable to the Christians, with a view to secure on his side the interest of their party. Euseb. H. E. l. VIII. c. 14.

[2] De vita Constant. I. 27.

[3] The obscure language of Eusebius: *ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας, ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης,* is, I think, most naturally interpreted by supposing the last clause to contain a limitation of the first.

[4] *Τούτῳ νίκα*, undoubtedly, in the native language of the emperor and of the Roman soldiers: Hoc vince.

directed him to cause a banner to be prepared after the same pattern, and to use it as his protection against the power of the enemy. The emperor obeyed: he caused to be made, after the pattern he had seen, the resplendent banner of the cross (called the Labarum), on the shaft of which was affixed, with the symbol of the cross, the monogram (☧) of the name of Christ. He then sent for Christian teachers, of whom he inquired concerning the God that had appeared to him, and the import of the symbol. This gave them an opportunity of instructing him in the knowledge of Christianity.

Taking the account of Eusebius as literally true, we should have to recognize in this occurrence a real miracle. We should be the less tempted to separate the fact at bottom, from the subjective conception and representation of it by the narrator, and thus to reduce it from the form of a supernatural to that of a natural phenomenon, because the pagan army, which Constantine was leading from Gaul, and which, according to the pagan rhetorician Libanius, conquered, praying to the gods,[1] is said also to have beheld the words inscribed in the heavens. But if we take the right point of view for contemplating facts of Christian history, and consider what kind of conversion would probably be brought about by a cause of this nature, and what consequences would be likely to follow, we shall feel ourselves less inclined to interpret this event as a miracle. Nor is the historical evidence of a character to authorize such an interpretation. The sole witness in the case is Constantine himself, who, years after the event, narrated the circumstances to Eusebius.[2] But, as regards Constantine, how easily might it happen, that what was really nothing more than a natural phenomenon, should, through the influence of his feelings and subjective mode of representation, by the power of fancy, the length of the intervening time, the wish to be regarded by the bishops as a person peculiarly favored of God, gradually assume to itself the shape of a miracle. Add to this, that Eusebius himself, in the character of a rhetorical panegyrist, might indulge in some exaggeration.

His story is not wholly consistent with itself; but contains, besides the miraculous part of it, much that seems altogether improbable. Constantine must have received some knowledge of the God of the Christians from his father; yet he inquires who he is. It seems that he needed to be informed what was meant by the symbol of the cross; but the import of this sign, which appeared in the daily life of every Christian, and concerning the supernatural influence of which so much was said, could at that time hardly remain unknown to any one who was in the habit of associating with Christians. The very style of the

[1] Liban. *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν*, ed. Reiske, vol. II. p. 160, *Καθαιρεῖ μὲν τὸν περιβρίσαντα τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Γαλατῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγὼν στρατόπεδον, οἳ θεοῖς ἐπῆλθον πρότερον εὐξάμενοι.*

[2] As Eusebius does not mention this in his Church History, and yet we can hardly suppose that, when he composed this history, he did not know *something* about it through the popular tradition of the Christians, we must explain the circumstance by supposing that what he *then* knew about it, seemed to him either not well authenticated, or else not important enough for his purpose; for it was then his opinion that Constantine, following the example of his father, was already a Christian, and marched against Maxentius, calling on God and Christ to assist him.

narration, then, as drawn up by Eusebius, would lead us, of itself, to be cautious how we take everything it contains as literally true; and to conjecture that a natural phenomenon was the basis of what he has represented as a supernatural event. Now we do actually find *other accounts*, which may, perhaps, be traced back to a still older and purer source, — to an account given by Constantine, or by Christians who were with him, soon after the event, — and which point more directly to a natural incident. According to Rufinus, he sees, in a dream, towards the East, the flaming sign of a cross; and, waking in a fright, beholds at his side angels, who exclaim: "By this conquer."[1] The oldest narrative, composed only a few years after the occurrence, found in the work, "*De mortibus persecutorum*," reports, that he was directed in a vision to cause the sign of the Christian's God to be placed on the shields of his soldiers.[2] These statements point to a psychological explanation. Yet we must admit, that what then transpired *in the mind* of Constantine, through the occasion of any outward excitement, would have an important influence on his way of thinking, and on his conduct in regard to matters of religion.

But it may be doubted, whether we have sufficient warrant for adopting this hypothesis. It is possible that the whole story may have sprung up after the event. In the eyes of both Pagans and Christians, the victory over Maxentius was an event of the utmost importance. Pagans and Christians were at that time inclined, each party in their own way, to introduce, under such circumstances, the aid of higher powers; and the rhetorical panegyrists especially contributed to the propagation of such legends. Pagans saw, in this case, the gods of the eternal city, engaged to deliver them from the disgraceful yoke. Among them, accordingly, was circulated the legend of a heavenly army, seen in the air, and sent by the gods to the succor of Constantine, as the pagan rhetorician Nazarius adduces, in a discourse delivered before the emperor in the year 321.[3] Among the Christians, on the other hand, the story was propagated of an appearance of the cross. Constantine having been observed, in the later years of his life, to show a peculiar veneration for the cross, men would fain trace this habit to the fact, that it was by the aid of the cross he had obtained his victory; and by an anachronistic combination of events which is of no unfrequent occurrence, they referred many things, which belonged to a later period of the reign of Constantine, as for instance, the erection of the banner of the cross, back to the present time. In the latter part of his life, Constantine may have acknowledged this account of the popular tradition, to give himself importance in the eyes of the Christians; perhaps, by degrees, per-

[1] Rufin. hist. eccles. l. IX. c. 9.

[2] De m. p. c. 44. Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus ut cœleste signum Dei (the monogram of Christ) notaret in scutis atque ita prœlium committeret.

[3] Nazarii Panegyricus in Constantin, c. 14. In ore denique est omnium Galliarum, exercitus visos, qui se divinitus missos præ se ferebant. The words are even put into their mouth: Constantinum petimus, Constantino imus auxilio. And the pitiable flattery adds to this: Habent profecto et divina jactantiam, et cœlestia quoque tangit ambitio. Illi, divinitus *missi*, *gloriabantur* quod *tibi* militabant.

suading himself that the event had actually so happened. This, we must admit, is possible. In this way the origin and gradual amplification of the story might be explained, without resorting to the supposition of historical or psychological facts, as lying at its basis. No such facts are needed to explain the history of Constantine's conversion from Paganism to Christianity. This might be gathered from the statements on a former page. If already, in the earlier part of his life, he had recognized along with the gods of his people, the God of the Christians, then, — when by the edict of Galerius, Christianity was placed among the lawful religions; when, by the overthrow of a fierce enemy to the Christians, he had greatly added to his own power; when he had established his empire over districts where Christianity was widely diffused, and where he became successor to an enemy to that religion, — then, and for all these reasons, he may have been led to avow for the first time in public and civil transactions, a mode of thinking which had long been shaping itself in his mind; and his victory over an enemy to Christianity may have served both to confirm him in this mode of thinking, and to strengthen his faith in the God of the Christians.

Yet what good reason have we, after all, for pronouncing this whole story a fiction, if we can recognize, as lying at its basis, any fact which accords with the common notions of the time and of Constantine, and which presents a single point that might serve to explain his religious history and his public acts proceeding therefrom — any fact which, though not necessary, is yet exactly suited to fill up the gap between Constantine's earlier, and his later position, at the same time that it throws new light on many parts of his life. We have already observed that Constantine, in his wars, was in the habit of looking to the gods for assistance. Christian and Pagan historians are agreed, that Maxentius, whose superstition, as it frequently happens, was equal to his crimes, offered many sacrifices to secure the victory on his side; and that he relied more upon supernatural powers than upon the might of his arms.[1] Even in the later period of Constantine's life, we meet with many things which show that he dreaded the effects of the pagan rites. Supposing this to be the case, we may readily conceive that he, too, would wish to have some superior power on his own side; and that with this feeling, in accordance with the pagan mode of thinking, which, for the most part, still clung to him, his attention would be directed to watch for signs in the heavens, from which he could gather an omen.[2] In his intercourse with the Christians, he had heard of the miraculous power of the cross; he already believed in the God of the Christians as a powerful being. Now it is very possible, that, either of himself, or at the suggestion of Christians about his person, he imagined he perceived, in the shape of the clouds, or in some other object, a sign of the cross, — the Christians being disposed to trace their favorite symbol in almost every object of nature. The vision in his sleep, which perhaps immediately followed, admits, itself also, in

[1] Vid. Zosim. l. II. c. 16.

[2] We may compare the θεοσημία, in Eusebius vita Const. I. 28, with a Διοσημεῖον.

this case, of an easy explanation. Thus, then, Constantine was led to conceive the hope that, by the power of the God of the Christians and the sacred symbol of the cross, he should conquer.[1] He obtained the victory, and now felt that he was indebted for it to the God of the Christians. Instead of Helios, the latter gradually became his tutelar divinity. The sign of the cross became his amulet, of which fact we find many and various indications in the ensuing life of Constantine. After the victory, he caused to be erected, in the Forum at Rome, his own statue, holding in the right hand a standard, in the shape of a cross, with the following inscription beneath it: "By this salutary sign, the true symbol of valor, I freed your city from the yoke of the tyrant."[2] He was afterwards in the frequent habit of making this sign (to which he ascribed a supernatural power of protection) on the most ordinary occasions, and was often observed to draw the cross upon his forehead.[3]

This hypothesis is rendered probable, by similar examples belonging to the same period, where superstition became the way to faith, and men who imagined they perceived supernatural effects to proceed from the sign of the cross in the common occurrences of life, were thereby first led to repose faith in the God of the Christians.[4] Examples of this sort occur also at other periods, as, for instance, in the conversion of warlike princes, such as Clovis and Olof Trygwæson.

In this way we may best explain how in Constantine's mind there was at first only a mixture of Heathen with Christian views, — how at

[1] Although the remark is certainly just in itself, that the Christian historians were very ready to imagine they saw the sign of the cross where there was nothing of the kind, yet there are no existing grounds for applying this remark, with Eckhel and Manso, to all the monuments belonging to the time of Constantine, and for regarding the Labarum as no more than an ordinary Roman banner; still less is there any good reason for seeking in the Attic antiquities an explanation of the monogram of Christ, the meaning of which is so obvious.

[2] Euseb. hist. eccles. IX. 9, de v. C. I. 40. Τούτῳ τῷ σωτηριώδει σημείῳ, τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρίας, τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ τοῦ τυράννου διασωθεῖσαν ἐλευθέρωσα. Rufinus has it, hoc singulari signo: he seems, however, not to have had before him the original Latin words; but, in his usual way, to give an arbitrary translation of the Greek words in Eusebius. As Eusebius lays a peculiar stress on the word σωτηριώδης, we may conclude that in the Latin there was something exactly corresponding to it, as "salutari." Now unquestionably it may be said, that the emperor had perhaps caused himself to be represented simply with a Roman hasta (δόρυ σταυροῦ σχήματι, says Eusebius), and that it was only the word "salutare," and some accidental peculiarity in the shape of the spear, coupled with what was known respecting Constantine in his later life, which led to the explanation of that symbol as the cross; but the truth is we have not the least warrant for accusing Eusebius of any such misapprehension, especially when we consider that in his Church History, where this circumstance is already related, nothing as yet occurs respecting the supernatural appearance of the cross. The language certainly applies more naturally to the symbol of the cross than to an ordinary spear; yet we should remember that, in the language of Constantine, Roman and Christian notions flow together.

[3] Euseb. III. 2. Τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ σωτηρίῳ κατασφραγιζόμενος σημείῳ.

[4] In the poem of Severus, belonging to the fifth century, which may be taken as a picture drawn from real life, the pagan shepherd is led to embrace the faith, from observing, as he supposes, that the fold of the Christian shepherd is preserved by the sign of the cross from the contagious murrain which fell on the other folds. He concludes:

> Nam cur addubitem, quin homini quoque
> Signum prosit idem perpeti sæculo,
> Quo vis morbida vincitur?

In the same manner, a warrior, from observing, as he supposes, the power of the sign of the cross in battle, becomes more inclined to the faith.

first he could worship the God of the Christians along with the gods of Paganism, until, gradually led on by the conviction that this, his patron God, had procured him the victory over all his enemies, and made him master of the whole Roman empire, in order that His own worship might by his means become universally diffused, he came at length to believe that this God was the Almighty Being who alone deserved to be worshipped, and that the gods of the heathen were malignant spirits, opposed to the only true God — spirits whose kingdom was, through his instrumentality, to be destroyed. In the first instance, *his religious convictions* moved him, in conformity with his eclecticism, *simply* to grant equal toleration and freedom to all the religions existing in the Roman empire; and this, certainly, was the course best suited, under the existing circumstances, to secure tranquillity to the state. His peculiar veneration for the God of the Christians moved him to give special distinction to the Christian worship, without prejudice to the old Roman religion. The Paganism of Greece and Rome was, in fact, as the religion of the state, already in possession of the privileges; the Christian worship, hitherto oppressed, had yet to be elevated to the same rank with the other.

The first law relating to matters of religion, which Constantine enacted in common with *Licinius*, has not come down to us. The nature of its contents, therefore, can be gathered only from the character of the second law, published in the following year, in which the first is said to be amended. But this latter rescript has also come down to us in a form which renders the attempt to do this both difficult and unsafe.[1] It is most probable that, in the first rescript, all the religious parties then existing in the Roman empire — including the Christian party, with its various sects — were mentioned by name, and then the free exercise of their religion accorded to all the members of these different religious parties. This, however, was so expressed, that it might at least be interpreted to mean, that each individual was allowed indeed to follow, with unlimited freedom, the principles of that religious party with which he happened to be connected when this rescript appeared; but could not be permitted to leave the religious party with which he then happened to be connected, in order to unite himself with another.[2] This addition must

[1] We have this rescript in an abbreviated form, in the book de mort. persecut. chap. 48. Conditions are here spoken of, by which the free exercise of the Christian worship seemed to have been limited in the first rescript: the nature of these conditions, however, is not mentioned. In the next place, we have the same, after a Greek translation, in the Church History of Eusebius (X. 5), but somewhat obscurely expressed, as such translations from the Latin in Eusebius usually are (and perhaps distorted from the true sense by various misapprehensions of the Latin original). Yet we may infer, even from a comparison of Eusebius with the passage in the book de mortibus, that the translation was made from a somewhat different form of the rescript, than that which is found in the book de mortibus.

[2] In the book de mortibus, it says in the second rescript: *amotis omnibus omnino conditionibus* quæ (in) prius scriptis ad officium tuum datis super Christianorum nomine videbantur. If we chose to take the word *αἵρεσις* in the expression of Eusebius, *ἀφαιρεθεισῶν παντελῶς τῶν αἱρέσεων*, as synonymous with conditio, then Eusebius would agree word for word with the book de mortibus. But although the word *αἵρεσις* signifies choice, then also the condition on which anything is chosen, — and examples from the old Greek authors are not wanting in which this word plainly

have been felt to be a great constraint, especially by the Christians; for it may be conceived that under a new government, so favorable to the Christians, many who had heretofore been held back by fear, would wish to go over to the Christian church. The attention of the emperor having been directed to the injurious consequences of the first law, he published at Milan, in the year 313, in common with Licinius, a second edict, in which it was declared, *without mentioning by name any of the different religious parties*, that, in general, every one might be permitted to adopt the principles of *the religious party which he held to be right*, and, in particular, every one without exception to profess Christianity. This rescript contained, in fact, far more than the first edict of toleration published by the emperor Gallienus; since, by the latter, *Christianity* was merely received into the class of the *religiones licitæ* of the Roman empire; while this new law implied *the introduction of a universal and unconditional religious freedom and liberty of conscience*, a complete independence of religion in relation to the state,—something wholly new, and directly contrary to the political and religious modes of thought, fashioned after the dominant state religion, which had hitherto prevailed. It manifested a greater change of public opinion than if Christianity had been made the state religion at once; for this would have been nothing more than substituting Christianity in place of Paganism. But here

corresponds to the Latin conditio,—yet the way in which Eusebius uniformly employs this word in the rescript, will not allow of its being so construed in the place in question. It always retains in Eusebius the significations, choice,—choice arising from free conviction; religious sect, which one embraces out of free conviction; hence, sect in general. The word *παραφύλαξις* plainly answers to the preceding *αἵρεσις*, and the combination *πόλλοι καὶ διάφοροι* corresponds better with the meaning "sect" than "condition." If the word *αἵρεσις* in this rescript occurred nowhere else in Eusebius, it might be said that the translator had misunderstood the Latin word conditiones; as in fact it seems quite evident that in one passage of the rescript an error of translation has arisen out of a misunderstanding of the Latin, where the question relates to the indemnity which those were to receive who gave up to the churches the landed estates they had been deprived of, and where in the book de mortibus the rescript runs thus: Si putaverint, de nostra benevolentia aliquid vicarium postulent (if they think good to do so, they may ask of our benevolence some indemnity), and where the translator in Eusebius understands the word vicarium as a masculine noun, designating the name of an office; hence reads the passage as if it stood thus: aliquid Vicarium postulent (may demand something from the Vicarius of the province), and translates, *προσέλθωσι τῷ ἐπὶ τόπων Ἐπάρχῳ δικάζοντι*. (The remarks of Hrn. Arendt in the Tübinger Theol. Quartelschrift, 1834, p. 398, cannot possibly move me to depart from such a construction of the passage.) But since the same word occurs several times in a similar connection in Eusebius, and since, moreover, as we have remarked, the form of the original document as known to Eusebius, and the form of the rescript in the book de mortibus, seem not to have been in all respects the same, we are not warranted to suppose here a misconstruction of words, but must rather endeavor to gather the nature of the *conditions*, which are not clearly stated in the book de mortibus, from the rescript in its more detailed form, as it appears in Eusebius. The connection in Eusebius is as follows: as in the first rescript many sects of different kinds seem to have been expressly added, the case was, perhaps, that many belonging to the above-named sects, soon after the appearance of this rescript, abandoned their previous religion (*ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης παραφυλάξεως ἀνεκρούοντο*). These now seemed by that rescript, which extended religious freedom expressly to the then members of the respective sects, to be hindered from passing over to any other religious party;—hence in the second edict it was determined, *ὅπως μηδενὶ παντελῶς ἐξουσία ἀρνητέα ἡ τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν παραφύλαξιν ἢ θρησκείαν, ἑκάστῳ τὲ ἐξουσία δοθεῖη τοῦ διδόναι ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἣν αὐτός ἑαυτῷ ἁρμόζειν νομίζῃ*.

was a change of the whole relation of religion to the state. Here was a principle which, without the indirect influence of Christianity, would hardly, if ever, have come to the light, though the reasons assigned for it were by no means *purely Christian*. The emperors expressly declared it as their intention, that no religion, of whatever kind, should seem to be put under restriction by them;[1] and they profess to be actuated partly by political and partly by religious motives. It would be conducive, they said, to the tranquillity of the times, and it might conciliate to them and to their subjects the good-will of whatever beings there were, clothed with attributes of a divine and heavenly nature.[2]

While under the influence of this eclectic liberality, it was really of great importance to Constantine that he should be accurately informed respecting the different religious sects in the Roman empire, and especially respecting those which were little known and much decried (as for example, the Manichæan sect), in order to see whether he might not, consistently with the welfare of the state, extend the above-mentioned toleration to these sects also. He made it the special duty of Strategius—a person well fitted for this business by his education and learning—to examine fully into the character of the different sects, particularly of the Manichæans, and to draw up for the emperor's use a report on the whole matter.[3]

He at the same time directed, with regard to the Christians, that the places of assembly, and other estates belonging to the Christian church, which had been publicly confiscated in the Diocletian persecution, should be restored to the original proprietors. But he did so with a just provision for the indemnification of those private individuals who had purchased these estates, or received them as presents. In this case, also, he assigned as the reason for such a course, that the public tranquillity would thereby be promoted, "since by this method of proceeding, the care of the divine Providence, which we have already experienced in many things, will remain secure to us through all time." Thus it is plain, that the emperor, in restoring back what had been taken from the Christian churches, believed he was doing that which would be well-pleasing in the sight of God.

The union of the two Augustuses in promoting the interests of the Christians would, of necessity, have a favorable influence on the situation of the latter, in the other provinces. As the two emperors transmitted their laws to Maximin, who was then on good terms with them, this latter would, for political reasons if for no other, be unwilling,

[1] Ὅπως μηδεμιᾷ τιμῇ μηδὲ θνησκείᾳ τινὶ μειειῶσθαί τι ὑφ' ἡμῶν δοκοίη.

[2] Ὅπως ὅ τί ποτέ ἐστι θειότης καὶ οὐρανίου πράγματος, ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν διάγουσιν, εὐμενές εἶναι δυνηθῇ. In the book de mortibus: quod quidem (should perhaps be, quidquid est), divinitas (perhaps divinitatis) in sede cœlesti nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostra sunt constituti, placatum ac propitium possit existere.

[3] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XV. c. 13. Constantinus cum limatius superstitionum quæreret sectas, Manichæorum et similium, nec interpres inveniretur idoneus, hunc sibi commendatum ut sufficientem elegit. Having fulfilled this duty to the satisfaction of the emperor, he was afterwards called by him Musonianus, rose to a still higher post, and finally became præfectus prætorio in the East.

singly, to embitter the feelings of the Christians against himself. He wished to introduce a change of conduct towards that class of his subjects, without appearing to contradict his previous regulations; and to accommodate himself to influences from another quarter; but to do this he was obliged to resort to various shifts and evasions. In a rescript addressed to Sabinus, his prætorian prefect, he declared it to be generally known that Diocletian and Maximian, when they observed *how almost all were forsaking the worship of the gods and joining themselves to the Christian party*, had rightly decreed that whoever forsook the worship of the immortal gods should be brought back again to the same by open punishments. But when he first came to the East,[1] and found that very many such people, who might be serviceable to the state, had on this ground been banished by the judges to certain places, he had given directions to the several judges, that they should no longer use forcible measures with the inhabitants of the provinces, but rather endeavor to bring them back to the worship of the gods by friendly persuasion and admonition. Now so long as the judges had acted agreeably to these directions, no one in the Eastern provinces had been exiled or otherwise treated with violence; but, for the very reason that no forcible measures were employed against them, they had been reclaimed to the worship of the gods. The emperor proceeds to explain how he had been afterwards induced to yield to the petitions of certain heathen cities, who were unwilling to tolerate any Christians within their walls.[2] He next renewed the ordinance which secured the Christians against all oppressive measures, and forbade other means to be employed than those of kindness, for bringing his subjects to acknowledge the providence of the gods. If any individual was led, out of his own free conviction, to profess veneration for the gods, he should be joyfully received; but every other one was to be left to his own inclination, and no reproachful and oppressive conduct was to be allowed in any man. This will of the emperor was everywhere to be made publicly known. But although this was done, yet the Christians had so little confidence in the disposition of the man who had deceived them once already; the rescript itself wore so plainly the marks of constraint, and gave them so little security, inasmuch as the public and common exercise of their religious worship was nowhere distinctly permitted, — that they could have no encouragement to avail themselves of this more favorable declaration. It was the misfortune of the emperor, which procured for them what they could hardly have expected from his free inclination.

After Maximin had with the greatest difficulty barely saved himself out of the war with Licinius in the year 313, which was so unfortunate for him, he proceeded to arm himself for a new conflict with the enemy who was pursuing him and laying waste his provinces. In this difficult situation, the exasperation of so considerable a party as the Christians already formed, could not be regarded by him as a

[1] This took place in fact after he had already, in his older possessions, followed in some measure the edict of Galerius. See above, p. 2.

[2] See above, p. 3.

matter of indifference: perhaps, too, he had been led by his misfortunes to believe that the God of the Christians might, after all, be a powerful being, whose vengeance he was now made to experience. He therefore published another rescript, in which he declared that a misconception in some of the judges had betrayed his subjects into a distrust of his ordinances. In order, therefore, that all ambiguity and all suspicion might thenceforth be removed, it should be made publicly known that all who were disposed to profess the religion of the Christians, were left free to engage in the public exercise of this religion in whatever way they chose. The Christians were expressly permitted to found churches, and the houses and estates of which they had been deprived were to be restored back to them. Shortly afterwards, he met with a terrible death at Tarsus. Constantine and Licinius, who had heretofore both shown themselves favorable to the Christians, became, by the death of this last persecutor of the Christian church, sole masters of the Roman empire.

Ambition, love of power, and the strife for absolute sovereignty in the Roman empire, particularly on the part of Constantine, would not allow them to remain long peaceful neighbors to each other. By the battle of Cibalia in Lower Pannonia, in the year 314, the war was decided in favor of Constantine. It ended, it is true, in a treaty between the two princes; but their respective interests still continued to conflict with each other. Licinius, who perhaps was but little interested in the affairs of religion in themselves considered, had been only moved by his connection with Constantine, and perhaps also by the influence of his wife Constantia, the sister of Constantine, whom he had married in the year 313, to participate in the favorable proceedings begun towards the Christians. The former reason for favoring them was now removed. On the other hand, the Christians, as the friends of Constantine, especially the bishops, to whom Constantine paid so much honor, would become objects of suspicion to him.[1] Perhaps many of the bishops gave occasion for this, by the public manner in which they avowed their friendship for Constantine.[2] The Pagans would naturally avail themselves of this state of feeling in Licinius,—would endeavor to confirm him in his hostile sentiments against the Christians, and to inspire him with the hope, that he was destined by the gods to reëstablish their worship, and prostrate the power of their enemies. His ordinances against the Christians proceeded in part from his political suspicions; and partly it was their design to present the Christians, and especially their bishops, in an unfavorable light. He forbade the latter to assemble together: no bishop was allowed to pass over the limits of his own diocese; where, however, to allow to the pagan emperor what is justly his due, we should notice that, as is evident from the synodal laws of the fourth century, worldly-minded bishops, instead of caring for the salvation of their flocks, were often but too much inclined to travel about, and entangle themselves in

[1] Probably Sozomen represents the matter most correctly (I. 7), when he states that Licinius first altered his conduct towards the Christians *after his unfortunate war* with Constantine.

[2] Euseb. de v. C. I. 56.

worldly concerns. Whether, however, in the case of Licinius, any well-grounded occasion existed for these proceedings, aside from his excessive suspicion and unwarranted hostility, we are unable to determine with certainty, as the only accounts we have respecting these matters come from prejudiced Christian writers. He moreover directed that the seats of the men and the women should be separate (a custom which afterwards the ecclesiastical authorities themselves thought proper to retain); that no bishop should instruct a female in Christianity, but the women should be instructed only by women. The same remark which we have just made, applies also to these regulations; it is impossible to decide whether the hostile disposition of Licinius led him to adopt all these measures on false pretenses, merely with a view to degrade the Christians in the eyes of the people, or whether he was led to them by individual examples of abuse and criminality. He commanded the Christians at his residence at Nicomedia to hold their assemblies, not in the churches, but in the open fields without the city, under the sarcastic pretense that the fresh air was more healthful in such multitudinous assemblies. He caused the churches in Pontus to be closed, and others to be demolished; accusing the Christians, that they had prayed, not for his welfare, but for that of the emperor Constantine. He removed the Christians, who refused to offer, from his palace, also from all the high civil and military posts, and from the service of the military police in the cities. There were not wanting those who would have been willing to surrender even more than their earthly means of subsistence and their honors, as a sacrifice to their faith; but there were also to be found those who, being Christians rather from habit, than from any inward reason, or who, having become Christians only from outward motives, were hence ready again, from similar motives, to change their religion.[1] Others stood firm, it is true, at first, but afterwards the love of the world overcame their love of religion; they denied the highest and only true good, for an empty name, and gave bribes and good words into the bargain, so they might but be restored to their offices.[2] Licinius published no edict authorizing sanguinary measures; even the canons of the Nicene council represent this persecution as one which was attended with no effusion of blood. Yet it may have been the case, that, in consequence of the popular fury, and the malice of individual magistrates in many districts, and the opportunity which presented itself in the execution of the imperial laws themselves, the Christians suffered from occasional acts of violence and bloodshed. But on this point we are left without any sufficiently distinct and credible information.[3]

[1] Against such the XI. canon of the Nicene council is directed: Περὶ τῶν παραβάντων χωρὶς ἀνάγκης ἢ χωρὶς ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπαρχόντων ἢ χωρὶς κινδύνου ἢ τινος τοιούτου, ὁ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῆς τυράννιδος Λικινίου.

[2] Against such the XII. canon of the Nicene council is directed: Οἱ προσκληθέντες μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν ἐνδειξάμενοι καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὰς ζώνας, (the cingulum utriusque militiæ, palatinæ et militaris), μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔμετον ἀναδραμόντες ὡς κύνες, ὧν τινας καὶ ἀργύρια προέσθαι καὶ βενεφικίοις κατορθῶσαι τὸ ἀναστρατεύσασθαι.

[3] Particularly famous in the ancient church were the forty soldiers at Sebaste in Armenia, whom their commander endeavored to compel to offer incense by exposing them naked to the most extreme cold, of whom thirty-nine are said to have re-

Finally, in the year 323, the second war broke out between Constantine and Licinius. This war was, it is true, very far from being a religious war, inasmuch as on both sides the grounds of contention were merely political, and not religious. But yet it may notwithstanding be truly affirmed, that the triumph of the Pagan or Christian party was hanging on the issue. This, too, was well understood on both sides; and it is therefore natural to suppose, that the Pagan and the Christian parties would embark in the war, each with the feeling of their different interests, and that the two emperors also, in different ways, according to the difference of their religious convictions, would place their hopes of success in religion. A characteristic fact to denote the state of feeling among the Christians in the provinces of Licinius, is contained in the tradition cited by Eusebius,[1] that, even before the commencement of the war, men believed they saw several legions of Constantine marching victoriously through the streets at mid-day.[2]

Augurs, haruspices, pagan soothsayers of all sorts, fired the hopes of Licinius. Before proceeding to the war, he conducted the heads of his prætorians, and the most distinguished officers of his court, into a grove consecrated to the gods, where their images had been set up, and wax-candles placed burning before them.[3] After having sacrificed to the gods, he spoke as follows: "Here stand the images of the gods, whose worship we have received from our fathers. But our enemy, who has impiously abandoned the sanctuaries of his country, worships a foreign God, who has come from I know not whence, and dishonors his army by the disgraceful sign of his God. Placing his confidence upon this, he carries on the war, not so much with ourselves, as with the gods whom he has forsaken. The issue of this war must settle the question between his God and our gods. If that foreign thing which we now deride, come off victorious, we too shall be obliged to acknowledge and worship it, and we must dismiss the gods to whom we vainly kindle these lights. But if our gods conquer, as we doubt not they will, we will turn ourselves, after this victory, to the war against their enemies."

Constantine, on the other hand, relied upon the God whose symbol accompanied his army. He caused the Labarum to be borne in turn by fifty of his choicest soldiers, who constantly surrounded it. He had observed, as he supposed, that victory everywhere accompanied the appearance of this sign, operating with supernatural power, and that those divisions of his army which had already begun to give way, were often rallied by its means; an observation which, especially if

mained steadfast, and were brought to the stake almost frozen. By the rhetorical descriptions of the ancient Homilists, Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Gaudentius of Brescia, Ephraem Syrus, this story has been variously embellished; but we are in want of credible historical accounts, such as would enable us to determine what degree of truth lies at the bottom of this tale.

[1] De v. C. II. 6.

[2] It is well known that similar legends respecting such visions occur also in the case of other wars.

[3] Eusebius relates this after the report of eye-witnesses (de v. C. II. 5), and there is no existing reason for doubting the essential part of the narrative.

the emperor had a considerable number of Christians in his army, might doubtless be correct, and which may be easily explained from natural causes. Constantine imagined that, among other instances, he had met with a proof of the magical power of the sign of the cross, in an incident which he afterward related to the bishop Eusebius, and which we may cite as furnishing a characteristic trait of Constantine's religious way of thinking.[1] A soldier who bore the ensign of the cross, suddenly overcome with fear, gave it over to another, meaning to save himself by flight. Soon after, he was transfixed by an arrow; while he who bore the ensign, although many arrows were shot at him, and the staff of the ensign was struck, was yet unharmed himself, and came out of the battle without receiving a wound.

The defeat of Licinius, whom Constantine dishonorably and faithlessly allowed to be killed, made the latter sole master of the Roman empire; and, certainly, this fortunate accomplishment of his political plans had also an important influence upon his religious convictions, and the manner in which he exhibited them. Before we pass to these matters, we may take a retrospective glance of the manner in which he conducted himself in relation to matters of religion, from the time of the above-cited edict, until this decisive epoch. To form a correct judgment of his conduct during this period, we must make the following remarks.

Constantine had indeed gradually abandoned his system of religious eclecticism, and gone over to Monotheism; but yet the belief in the power of the heathen ceremonies (sacra), which had taken so deep root in his soul, could not at once be entirely removed, especially as his superstition had in many respects but altered its dress, in exchanging the Pagan for a Christian form; and it was natural that the influence of heathens who were about him, of the philosophers and rhetoricians, such as Sopatros, who still retained much of their ancient authority, as well as other circumstances, would again call forth the superstition that had been suppressed. In the next place, although Constantine already looked upon the pagan deities as evil spirits, yet, on this very account, he might still attribute a supernatural power to the magical arts of Paganism, and regard them with dread. To this we must add the political motives that forbade him to destroy at once the ancient religion of the state, which still had a considerable party in its favor; while it may be observed in general, that, by his naturally unbiased judgment, by the experience which he had already obtained in the persecution of Diocletian, and by his earlier eclecticism, Constantine was for the most part inclined to toleration, except when his mind had been thrown in an opposite direction through some paramount foreign influence.

Although Constantine had manifested in many ways, *before* that first edict,[2] a disposition to promote the Christian form of worship, yet, even down to the year 317, we find marks of the pagan state religion upon the imperial coins.[3] Laws of the year 319 presuppose the *pro-*

[1] Euseb. v. C. II. 9.

[2] See onward, the section concerning the relation of the church to the state.

[3] Vid. Eckhel doctrina numism. Vol. VIII. p. 78.

hibition of sacrifices in private dwellings. No haruspex was allowed to pass the threshold of another's house. Whoever transgressed this law should be burned; whoever had called an haruspex into his house should be banished, after the confiscation of his goods. Haruspices, priests, and other ministers of the pagan worship, were not allowed to go into the private dwelling of another, even under the plea of friendship. These rigid ordinances are still insufficient of themselves to prove that Constantine meant to suppress the heathen worship out of religious motives. His motives may have been merely political. He may have feared that the consultation of the haruspices and the use of the heathen rites (sacra) might be taken advantage of to form conspiracies against his government and against his life, the suspicions of men being at that time constantly awake on these matters; and *he* might be the more fearful of all this, since he was by no means free as yet from all faith in the power of the pagan magic.[1]

How far he was, at the same time, from wishing to suppress the public rites of heathenism by force, is sufficiently manifest from what he declares in the two cited laws of the year 319:[2] "They who are desirous of being slaves to their superstition, have liberty for the public exercise of their worship;"[3] and "You, who consider this profitable to yourselves, continue to visit the public altars and temples, and to observe the solemnities of your usage; for we do not forbid the rites of an antiquated usage to be performed in the open light."[4] In this concession we see only a wise toleration, the consciousness of the natural limits of civil power, and a knowledge of that human nature whose cravings are but the more strongly excited for that which has been forbidden. By the manner in which the emperor speaks of the heathen worship, — when he calls it a superstition, a *præterita usurpatio*, — he lets it be sufficiently seen that he was no longer held by any religious interest in favor of Paganism. With this, however, a law of the year 321 seems to conflict, in which Constantine not only repeats that permission in respect to the institution of the *haruspicia*, but expressly ordains, that whenever lightning should strike the imperial palace or any other public building, the haruspices, according to ancient usage, should be consulted as to what it might signify, and

[1] Libanius says of Constantine, praising his gentleness in other respects: *χαλεπώτατος δὲ ἦν τοῖς ὀρεγομένοις βασιλείας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ οὐ τούτοις δὲ μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι μάντεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποῖ χωρήσει τὰ ἐκείνων διελέγοντο. καὶ οὐδεμία τέχνη τόν γε τοιοῦτον ἐξείλετ' ἂν τοῦ πυρός.* II. *Θεοδόσ. περὶ στάσεως.* II. vol. I. ed. Reiske, page 635. Eunapius, whose testimony, to be sure, in such things, is not wholly to be relied on, he being a zealous pagan, relates that Constantine, at the delay of the provision fleet from Alexandria, whereby Constantinople was exposed to the danger of a famine, ordered Sopatros, who had stood high in his favor, to be executed, because the people accused Sopatros of being the cause of this delay, alleging that he had bound the winds by the power of the heathen magic. See Eunapius. vit. Ædes. vol. I. p. 23, ed. Boissonade. Similar accusations are said to have been brought even against the bishop Athanasius. Ammian. Marcellin. hist. l. XV. c. 7.

[2] Cod. Theodos. l. IX. Tit. 16, c. 1 et 2.

[3] Superstitioni suæ servire cupientes poterunt publice ritum proprium exercere.

[4] Qui vero id vobis existimatis conducere, adite aras publicas atque delubra, et consuetudinis vestræ celebrate solemnia. Nec enim prohibemus præteritæ usurpationis officia libera luce tractari.

a careful report of the answer should be drawn up for his use.[1] It is indeed possible, that he gave this direction, simply because he knew the power of this kind of superstition, of the belief in omens and similar things, which continued for so long a time over the minds of the Roman people; and because he feared, that if the haruspices and their consultors were left wholly to themselves, or if none but indefinite reports of their interpretations went abroad, the thing might be followed by still more dangerous consequences. On the other hand, he might hope to be able to dissipate more easily the public anxieties, if he reserved to himself, as the Pontifex Maximus, the supreme control of the whole. In this manner might we defend Constantine against the reproach of having fallen back into pagan superstition, and explain the whole as proceeding from a Roman policy, by which he seemed to confirm the pagan superstition; although we must admit, that such a course can never be justified in a Christian prince. Yet the other hypothesis, namely, that Constantine had actually fallen back into heathen superstition, may undoubtedly be regarded as the more natural. By a law of the same year, he declares also the employment of heathen magic, for good ends, as for the prevention or healing of diseases, for the protection of harvests, for the prevention of rain and of hail, to be permitted; and in such expressions, too, as certainly betray a faith in the efficacy of these pretended supernatural means: unless the whole is to be ascribed simply to the legal forms of Paganism.[2]

As Constantine, by the defeat of Licinius, had now become master of the whole Roman empire, he expresses everywhere, in his proclamation issued to his new subjects in the East, the conviction that the only true and Almighty God had, by his undeniable interpositions, given him the victory over all the powers of darkness, in order that his own worship might by his means be universally diffused. Thus, in one of the proclamations of this sort, issued to the inhabitants of the Eastern provinces of the Roman empire, he says: "Thee, the Supreme God, I invoke; be gracious to all thy citizens of the Eastern provinces, who have been worn down by long-continued distress, bestowing on them, through me thy servant, salvation. And well may I ask this of thee, Lord of the universe, holy God; for by the leading of thy hand have I undertaken and accomplished salutary things. Everywhere, preceded by *thy sign*,[3] have I led on a victorious army. And if anywhere the public affairs demand it, I go against the enemy,

[1] Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. 10, c. 1. Altogether in the technical language: Si quid de palatio nostro aut cæteris operibus publicis degustatum fulgore esse constiterit, retento more veteris observantiæ, quid portendat, ab haruspicibus requiratur.

[2] L. c. c. III. Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt remedia humanis quæsita corporibus, aut in agrestibus locis, ne maturis vindemiis metuerentur imbres aut ruentis grandinis lapidatione quaterentur innocenter adhibita suffragia quibus non cujusque salus aut existimatio læderetur; sed quorum proficerent actus, ne divina munera et labores hominum sternerentur. So that what the devotedly pagan, and on this point extremely prejudiced historian, Zosimus, says of Constantine (II. 29), — Ἐχρῆτο δὲ ἔτι καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἱεροῖς, οὐ τιμῆς ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ κρείας, ἧ καὶ μάντεσιν ἐπείθετο, πεπειραμένος, ὡς ἀληθῆ προεῖπον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις, αὐτῷ, — may be true so far as this, namely, that at a time when Constantine would no longer be consciously a pagan, he was still involuntarily governed by pagan superstition.

[3] Τὴν σὴν σφραγῖδα (the symbol of the cross) πανταχοῦ προβαλλόμενος.

following the same symbol of thy power.[1] For this reason, I have consecrated to thee my soul, deeply imbued with love and with fear; for I sincerely love thy name, I venerate thy power, *which thou hast revealed to me by so many proofs, and by which thou hast confirmed my faith.*"[2] And in a letter to the bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea, he says: "Freedom being once more restored, and, by the providence of the great God, and my own ministry, that dragon driven from the administration of the state, I trust that the divine power has become manifest even to all; and that they who through fear or unbelief have fallen into many crimes, will come to the knowledge of the true God,[3] and to the true and right ordering of their lives." What Constantine expresses in this written declaration, he represented visibly under an emblem which he caused to be publicly exhibited before the palace in his new residence at Constantinople, consisting of a group of wax-figures, in which the emperor was seen with the sign of the cross over his head, treading under foot a dragon transfixed by an arrow.[4]

It would be a very unjust thing, to suppose that all these public declarations and exhibitions amounted to nothing but mere Christian cant, or deliberate and intentional hypocrisy. Constantine's language and conduct admit of a far more natural explanation, when we consider them as in part the expression of his real convictions. We have already remarked, that he was not lacking in susceptibility to certain religious impressions; he acknowledged the peculiar providence of God in the manner in which he had been delivered from dangers, made victorious over all his pagan adversaries, and finally rendered master of the Roman world. It flattered his vanity to be considered the favorite of God, and his destined instrument to destroy the empire of the evil spirits (the heathen deities). The Christians attached to his court and nearest his person, certainly did their best to confirm Constantine in a persuasion which promised to be so advantageous to the external interests of the church. Nor was it at all surprising that, to men who were dazzled by the splendor of imperial power, the emperor should really appear to be such a favorite of Heaven. But to Constantine this persuasion neither operated as a motive for severe self-examination, nor as an incentive to a genuinely Christian course of conduct. On the contrary, relying with presumptuous confidence on the great things which God had done, through him, for the advancement of the

[1] Τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἑπόμενος συνθήμασιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρόειμι.

[2] Euseb. de v. C. II. 55.

[3] Τὸ ὄντως ὄν, after the Platonic form of expression. The language of the imperial court inclined sometimes to the doctrinal and biblical style of the church, at others to that of the Greek philosophy.

[4] Euseb. de v. C. III. 3. Quite like the coins which Eckhel represents, l. c. p. 88: a serpent lying beneath the Labarum — above it, the monogram of Christ — symbol of the spes publica. Although many coins of Constantine are not to be found, which allude to the victory by means of the cross, yet this cannot be considered as any proof that the above legend has no true foundation. Else we might also argue from the general fact of so few coins of Constantine being found with Christian symbols, against the undeniable public measures adopted by that emperor in favor of the Christian church. It may be questioned also, whether there are any sufficient grounds for pronouncing the coins to be not genuine, which in Eckhel (l. c. 84, col. II.) present an exhibition of the whole event, as Constantine related it to Eusebius.

Christian church, he found it easy to excuse or extenuate to his conscience many a wrong deed, into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed by ambition, the love of rule, the arbitrary exercise of power, or the jealousy of despotism. Among his Christian advisers, there was a sad lack of men possessed of sufficient firmness of character to look through the dazzling exterior, and, undisturbed by the fear of man, to speak sharply to his conscience. We may easily conclude how the case must have stood with the others, when we find that a Eusebius, one of the best of the bishops at the court, did not scruple for a moment to ascribe to the purest motives of a true servant of God, all those transactions into which the emperor, without evincing the slightest regard to truth or to humanity, had suffered himself to be drawn by an ambition which could not abide a rival, in the struggle with Licinius; when he represents the emperor, in a war which, beyond a doubt, had been undertaken from motives of a purely selfish policy, as marshalling the order of the battle, and giving out the words of command by divine inspiration bestowed in answer to his prayers.[1] Bishops, in immediate attendance on the emperor, so far forgot indeed to what master they belonged, that at the celebration of the third decennium of his reign (the tricennalia), one of them congratulated him as constituted by God the ruler over all, in the present world, and destined to reign with the Son of God in the world to come. The feelings of Constantine himself were shocked at such a parallel. He admonished the bishop that he should not venture to use such language as that, but should rather pray for him, that he might be deemed worthy to be a servant of God both in this world and in the next.[2]

It was now the wish of Constantine that all his subjects might be united in the worship of the same God. This wish he expressed publicly, and gladly employed every means in his power to bring it about; but he was determined not to resort to any forcible measures. He still continued to express publicly the principles of toleration and of universal freedom of conscience, and distinctly contradicted the report, which had arisen from very natural causes, that he intended to suppress Paganism by force. Thus he declares, in the proclamation already cited, to the people of the East:[3] "Let the followers of error enjoy the liberty of sharing in the same peace and tranquillity with the faithful: this very restoration of common intercourse among men[4] may lead these people to the way of truth. Let no one molest his neighbor, but let each act according to the inclination of his own soul. The well-disposed must be convinced, that they alone will live in holiness and purity, whom Thou thyself dost call to find rest in Thy holy laws. But let those who remain strangers to them retain, since they wish it, the temples of falsehood: we have the resplendent house of Thy truth, which Thou hast given us in answer to the cravings of our

[1] De v. C. II. 12. Θεοφανείας ἐτύγχανεν, θειοτέρᾳ κινηθεὶς ἐμπνεύσει.
[2] Euseb. de v. C. IV. 48.
[3] L. c. II. 56.
[4] Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐπανόρθωσις (perhaps ipsa hæc commercii restitutio). The indefinite words may also mean, "the improving influence of intercourse." The connection, however, favors the first interpretation.

nature. We could wish that they too might share with us the joy of a common harmony. Yet let no one trouble his neighbor by that which is his own conviction. With the knowledge which he has gained, let him, if possible, profit his neighbor. If it is not possible, he should allow his neighbor to go on in his own way; for it is one thing, to enter voluntarily into the contest for eternal life, and another to force one to it against his will. I have entered more fully into the exposition of these matters, because I was unwilling to keep concealed my own belief in the truth; and especially because, as I hear, certain persons affirm[1] that the temple worship and the power of darkness are abolished. I would avow this as my *counsel* to all men, if the mighty dominion of error were not too firmly rooted in the souls of some to permit the restoration of the common happiness." [2]

In the particular instances in which Constantine first caused temples to be destroyed and ancient forms of worship to be suppressed by force, the criminal excesses sanctioned under the name of religion, or the fraudulent tricks resorted to for the maintenance of heathen superstition among the credulous multitude, gave him special and just occasion for these proceedings; as, for example, when he caused to be demolished the temple and sacred grove of Venus at Aphaca in Phœnicia,[3] where from the remotest times the most abominable licentiousness was practiced under the name of religion; and when he suppressed the like abominable rites at Heliopolis in Phœnicia. At the same time he sent to the inhabitants of this ancient heathen city a letter, in which he represented to them the hatefulness of these rites, and exhorted them to embrace Christianity. He founded here a church, with a complete body of clergymen and a bishop; — somewhat too early, indeed, since there were as yet no Christians in the place. He bestowed on this church *large sums* for the *support of the poor;* so that the *conversion of the heathen might be promoted by doing good to their bodies*, — a measure, doubtless, which was calculated rather to mislead these people into hypocrisy, than to conduct them to the faith.[4] Again, there was at Ægæ, in Cilicia, a temple of Æsculapius of ancient fame, where the priests availed themselves of their knowledge of certain powers of nature, perhaps of magnetism (the incubationes), for the healing of diseases; and these cures were ascribed to the power of the god who appeared there, and employed as a means to promote the declining paganism. The temple was filled with the consecrated gifts and the inscriptions of those who supposed themselves indebted to it for their recovery. Far-famed in particular were the remedies

[1] These "certain persons" may have been fearful Pagans, or Christians triumphing in a false zeal,—more naturally the latter, especially as the emperor made use of expressions which only Christians could employ. At all events, it is clear how important it was considered by Constantine to repress the zeal of the Christians, which might easily lead to violent proceedings, and to inspire confidence in the anxious Pagans.

[2] Euseb. de v. C. II. 56 and 60.

[3] Euseb. de v. C. III. 55.

[4] L. c. III. 58. A poor way of "preaching Christ," as Eusebius calls it, when he applies to it the words of the Apostle Paul, Phil. 1: 18, "Notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretense or truth, Christ is preached."

which, as it was pretended, the god himself prescribed in dreams to the sick who slept in the temple. Not only the populace, but many even of the better class, men of learning, and self-styled philosophers, lauded these wonderful cures. With a view to put an end to the knavery at a single blow, Constantine ordered the temple to be destroyed.[1] How important a prop of heathenism, which needed such means for its support, was taken away by the destruction of this temple, appears from the complaints which a man like Libanius utters over this impiety and its attendant consequences: "The sick now," he says, "in vain make their pilgrimages to Cilicia."[2] By dismantling and publicly exhibiting those images of the gods to which miraculous powers had been ascribed, many a trick of the priests was exposed, and what had been venerated by the deluded populace, became the objects of their sport. Magnificent temples and statues of the gods were despoiled of their treasures, and stripped of all their costly materials; and then were either turned to the public use, or bestowed as presents on private individuals. Many objects of art taken from the temples were used for the decoration of the imperial residence.[3]

As regards the effect of such proceedings on the minds of the people, it is obvious to remark generally, the little use of trying to suppress religious errors by destroying the objects to which they cling, or by mere negation. Delusions which are cherished in the heart cannot be removed by arguments addressed to the senses. The fanatical pagans, especially those of the educated class, who had framed to themselves a certain mystical Paganism set off with Platonic ideas, an artificial system, made up of heterogeneous elements, would not be greatly disturbed or perplexed by proceedings of this sort. They well knew how to distinguish between the gods ever present to their imagination, and those images which alone could be destroyed or profaned by the hands of man. They found no difficulty in making a difference between that which they looked upon as the divine reality and that which stood to the latter merely in the relation of an organ. Hence the only effect which could be produced on them by seeing those venerable objects exposed to a profanation which their worshippers had no power to prevent, was to arouse their secret resentment. There were others, not under the influence of such fanaticism, whose simple and artless superstition could more easily be exposed. This class might, by such sudden impressions, be led to a sense of their error, and then be gradually prepared to receive the knowledge of the gospel. Others made sport of their old superstition, but without receiving the true faith in its stead. They fell a prey to utter skepticism, or endeavored to

[1] Euseb. de v. C. III. 56.

[2] Liban. de templis, vol. II. 187. *Καὶ νῦν οὓς ἄγει μὲν εἰς Κιλικίαν νοσήματα, τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χρῄζοντα χειρὸς, αἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν τόπον ὕβρεις ἀπῥάκτους ἀποπέμπουσι.* And quoting from the eulogy of a pagan rhetorician, in the time of the emperor Julian, probably in reference to the destruction of this temple: *Νῦν μὲν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν δεικνὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων, ἃ ἦν τῶν ὑγιανάντων, νῦν δὲ τραγῳδῶν τὸν τῶν ἀθέων κατὰ τὸν νεὼ πόλεμον, ἀδικουμένους ἱκέτας, οὐκ ἐωμένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι κακῶν.* Liban. ep. 607.

[3] De v. C. III. 54, Liban. ed. Reiske, III. p. 436, concerning Constantine: *Ἐγύμνωσε τοῦ πλούτου τοῦς θεούς.* He calls him plainly the *σεσυληκὼς*. Pro templis, vol. II. p. 183.

satisfy their religious needs with a general system of Deism.[1] It is a fact worthy of notice, and a proof of the already diminished power of heathenism over the popular mind, that officers clothed with full powers by the emperor, might venture, without the protection of an armed force, to go through vast crowds of the people, and plunder famous temples, bearing off their venerated treasures.[2] What fierce commotions, on the other hand, were excited at a later period by the seizure of the *Christian* images in the Byzantine empire!

Again, Constantine endeavored to place Christians in the highest offices of state, and to appoint them governors in the provinces. Since, however, it was difficult at that time to carry this plan into execution, and wholly exclude the pagans from the public service of the state; and since, moreover, he was unwilling to pass any law of this kind, he contented himself with forbidding the holders of office to sacrifice; — a practice which the previous importance of Paganism, as the religion of the state, had made a duty incumbent upon them in the execution of many kinds of public business. At length *the erection of idolatrous images and the performance of religious sacrifices were universally forbidden.* But as many pagans still occupied important civil stations, and as Constantine moreover was not inclined to resort in this case to arbitrary force, it naturally followed that these laws were but little observed. Hence the succeeding emperor, Constantius, was under the necessity of reënforcing this ordinance.[3]

It was a religious interest which actuated Constantine in his attempts to introduce the Christian form of worship; but he never employed forcible measures for its extension: he never compelled any person whatever to act in matters of religion against the dictates of his own conscience. *To those of his soldiers who were Christians*, he gave full liberty to attend church on Sunday. Upon those of them who were not Christians, he did not enforce a Christian form of prayer, nor did he compel them to unite in any of the Christian forms, as the pagan emperors had endeavored to force Christians to join in the pagan ceremonies. He simply required the Pagans among his soldiers to assemble before the city in the open fields, and here, at a given signal, to repeat in the Latin language the following form of prayer: "Thee alone we acknowledge as the true God; thee we acknowledge as ruler; thee we invoke for help; from thee have we received the victory; through thee have we conquered our enemies; to thee are

[1] Euseb. de v. C. III. 57. Οἱ μὲν τῷ σωτηρίῳ προσέφυγον λόγῳ· οἱ δ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ἔπραττον, τῆς γοῦν πατρῴας πατεγίνωσκον ματαιότητος.

[2] Euseb. de v. C. III. 54.

[3] This prohibition of the emperor, Eusebius cites in his work, de v. C. II. 44, 45; IV. 23; and Sozomen, I. 8, who seems, however, here merely to copy from Eusebius, and that not accurately. The surest proof that Constantine did actually enact such a law, lies in the fact, that Constantius, by renewing the prohibition in the year 341, presupposed this law as already existing. If Libanius, on the contrary, in his discourse defending the temple (vol. II. p. 162), says of Constantine: Τῆς κατὰ νόμους θεραπείας ἐκίνησεν οὐδὲ ἓν, and p. 183, ὡσ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας προῆλθε, we remember not only that Libanius was interested here to represent what had been done by the first Christian emperor for the suppression of Paganism, as of the least possible account; but also that he confounded what was done at different times, and that he was looking at the effects of those laws, which it must be allowed were insignificant.

we indebted for our present blessings; from thee also we hope for future favors; to thee we all direct our prayer. We beseech thee, that thou wouldst preserve our emperor Constantine and his pious sons in health and prosperity through the longest life."[1] The same thing indeed becomes clearly apparent here, which we have observed on various other occasions, that the emperor had no just conception of the true nature of divine worship and of prayer, and that he laid an undue stress on outward religious forms; for it was hardly possible, surely, that in repeating, at the word of command, a prayer committed to memory, and that in a language which to a part of the soldiers was not their own, there could be any of that devotion which alone gives to prayer its significance; but yet it is worthy of remark, how the emperor respected the religious convictions of his soldiers. He avoided in this prayer everything peculiar to Christianity, and nothing in it but the Monotheism would be incompatible with the pagan religion. As it respects this, Constantine perhaps regarded the belief in one God as that which the contemplation of the universe would teach every man, and the necessary acknowledgment of which might be presupposed in every man:[2] besides, the heathen soldiers, who were not so scrupulous in regard to every word, might easily interpret the whole as an address to their own Jupiter.

But, if Constantine was unwilling to employ any forcible measures for the extension of Christianity, it by no means follows that he rejected *all outward* means for this end, and that he had come to understand how Christianity, disdaining all outward means of persuasion and outward supports, would make its own way, simply by the power with which it operates upon the inner convictions and in the life of men.[3] We have from himself a remarkable declaration concerning the means which he supposed necessary to promote the spread of Christianity. At the council of Nice he exhorted the bishops not to be envious of each other on account of the applause bestowed on their discourses, and the reputation of oratorical gifts; not to lay the foundations of schisms by their mutual jealousies, lest they should give occasion to the heathen of blaspheming the Christian religion. The heathen, he said, would be most easily led to salvation, if the condition of the Christians were made to appear to them in *all respects* enviable. They should consider, *that the advantage to be derived from preaching could not belong to all. Some*, he said, *might be drawn to the faith by being seasonably supplied with the means of subsistence;*[4] *others were accustomed to repair to that quarter where they found protection and intercession* (alluding to the *intercessions* of the bishops, see below); *others would be won by an affable reception; others, by being honored with presents. There were but few who honestly loved the exhibitions of religious doctrine; but few who were the friends of truth* (therefore, few sin-

[1] Euseb. de v. C. IV. 18, 19.

[2] See his declaration in Euseb. de v. C. II. 58.

[3] Though he often said things in public which might be construed as an acknowledgment of this, yet he was far from making it a principle of his own conduct.

[4] See p. 26.

cere conversions).[1] For this reason, they should accommodate themselves to the characters of all, and, like skilfull physicians, give to each man that which might contribute to his cure, so that in every way the saving doctrine might be glorified in all. A course of proceeding upon such principles must naturally have thrown open a wide door for all manner of hypocrisy. Even Eusebius, the panegyrist of Constantine, blinded as he was by the splendor which the latter had cast over the outward church, — even he is obliged to reckon among the grievous evils of this period, of which he was an eye-witness, the *indescribable hypocrisy* of those who gave themselves out as Christians merely for temporal advantage, and who, by their outward show of zeal for the faith, contrived to win the confidence of the emperor, which he suffered them to abuse.[2]

It must appear surprising that Constantine, although he exhibited so much zeal for all the concerns of the church, although he took part in the transactions of a council assembled to discuss matters of controversy, had never as yet received baptism; that he continued to remain without the pale of the community of believers; that he could still assist at no complete form of worship, no complete celebration of a festival. He continued to remain in the first class of catechumens (not catechumens in the stricter sense of the word, see below), though already sixty-four years of age. Thus far he had enjoyed sound and uninterrupted health. He now, for the first time, began to feel the infirmities of age; and illness induced him to leave Constantinople, and repair to the neighboring city of Helenopolis in Bithynia, Asia Minor, recently founded by his mother, in order to enjoy the benefit of the warm springs in that place. When his malady grew worse, and he felt a presentiment of the approach of death, he repaired, for the purpose of prayer, to the church consecrated to the memory of the martyr Lucian. Here first he made the confession which was customary before entering into the class of the catechumens, so called in the stricter sense; and the bishops gave him the blessing.[3] He next repaired to a castle, near the city of Nicomedia, where he called together an assembly of the bishops, and, surrounded by them, received baptism from Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. This took place shortly before his death in the year 337. Now, for the first time, he could profess it to be his purpose, that, if God spared his life, he would join in the assembly of God's people, and unite with all the faithful in all the prayers of the church.[4]

[1] Euseb. de v. C. III. 21. I place the passage here, which, as it seems to me, has been corrupted by a transposition of the words, in the way in which I suppose it ought to be corrected, by restoring the words to their proper order: Ὧν μάλιστα σωθῆναι δυναμένων, εἰ πάντα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ζηλωτὰ φαίνοιντο, μὴ δεῖν ἀμφιγνοεῖν, ὡς οὐ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡ ἐκ λόγων ὠφέλεια συντελεῖ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς τροφὴν χαίρουσιν ἐπικουρούμενοι· οἱ δὲ τῆς προστασίας (ταῖς προστασίαις or τὰς) ὑποτρέχειν εἰώθασιν· ἄλλοι τοὺς ἀφ' ἑστίας ξενίοις τιμώμενοι ἀγαπῶσιν ἕτεροι. Βραχεῖς δ' οἱ λόγων ἀληθεῖς ἐρασταὶ καὶ σπάνιος αὐ ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας φίλος.

[2] Euseb. de v. C. IV. 54. Εἰρωνείαν ἄλεκτον τῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑποδυομένων καὶ τὸ χριστιανῶν ἐπιπλάστως σχηματιζομένων ὄνομα, οἷς ἑαυτὸν καταπιστεύων τάχα ἂν ποτε καὶ τοῖς μὴ πρέπουσιν ἐνεπείρετο.

[3] He received for the first time the χειροθεσία, and was thus taken among the γονυκλινόντες.

[4] Euseb. de v. C. IV. 62. Οὕτως ἐμὲ συναγελάζεσθαι λοιπὸν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λαῷ, καὶ

Doubtless we should consider here, that it was not the custom in this period for all to receive baptism immediately after embracing the faith; but many, especially in the East, deferred it until some special occasion, inward or outward, brought about in them a new crisis of life.[1] But still it must ever seem strange, that an emperor who took such interest in the concerns of the Christian church, should remain without baptism till his sixty-fourth year. We may indeed give credit to what he says, and suppose — what was quite in character with his religious notions — that he entertained the design of receiving baptism in the Jordan, whose water Christ had first consecrated by his own baptism.[2] This does not suffice, however, to explain his long delay. It is most probable that he was influenced by those false notions of baptism and regeneration, — making of them both something merely outward, — traces of which we found already in the former period. Since he saw in baptism a sort of rite for the magical removal of sin, he delayed it till near the end of his life, in order that, purified at once from all its stains, he might be sure of entering into bliss. He was doubtless sincere, therefore, when, on receiving baptism, he said, as Eusebius reports, that from thenceforth, if God spared him his life, he would devote himself to God's worthy laws of life.[3] This remark leads us to notice a report, which circulated among the heathen of this period, respecting the cause of Constantine's conversion; for the mode of thinking which betrays itself in his notion of baptism, furnishes us also with a key to the right interpretation of this story.

Constantine, instigated by the calumnious representations of his second wife Fausta, had, in a paroxysm of anger, caused his son, the Cæsar Crispus, step-son of Fausta, to be put to death. Reproached for this act by his mother Helena, and convinced afterwards himself that he had been falsely informed, he had added another crime to this by a cruel revenge on Fausta, whom he caused to be thrown into the glowing furnace of a bath. Suspicious jealousy had misled him to order the execution of his nephew, a hopeful prince, the son of the unfortunate Licinius; and several others, connected with the court, are said to have fallen victims to his anger or his suspicion. When at length he began to feel the reproaches of conscience, he inquired of the Platonic philosopher Sopatros, or, according to others, of heathen priests, what he could do to atone for these crimes. It was replied to him, that there *was* no lustration for such atrocious conduct. At that time an Egyptian bishop from Spain (probably Hosius of Cordova is meant) became known at the palace, through the ladies of the court. He said to the emperor, that in the Christian faith he could find a remedy for every sin; and this promise, which soothed the conscience of Constantine, first led him to declare decidedly in favor of Christianity.[4]

ταῖς εὐχαῖς ὁμοῦ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκκλησιάζοντα κοινωνεῖν ἄπαξ ὥρισται.

[1] See below, under the history of worship.

[2] Euseb. de v. C. IV. 62.

[3] *Θεσμοὺς ἤδη βίου θεῷ πρέποντας ἐμαυτῷ διατετάξομαι.* L. c. At an earlier period, and while a catechumen, he did not consider himself bound to lead so rigorous a Christian life.

[4] Zosim. II. 29. Sozom. I. 5.

Certainly we should not be warranted to pronounce this story a sheer fabrication. It is very possible that some one of the court bishops may have taken the course here laid to the charge of Hosius, and sought to pacify the emperor's conscience in a false way, instead of leading him by the way of true repentance to genuine faith. But the testimony of pagans inimical to Christianity and the emperor, furnishes no sufficient evidence *for the truth* of a story which they could have so easily invented; while, on the other hand, the silence of Christian historians, whose prejudices were all on one side, furnishes no evidence *against its truth*. That this account cannot, however, be literally true, appears, as Sozomenus has justly remarked, from the gross anachronism which it contains; for, long before Constantine had committed these crimes,[1] he had taken his decided stand in favor of Christianity. The whole story, therefore, may have no other foundation than the fact, that Constantine strove to quiet his sins by relying on the opus operatum of outward means of justification, especially upon the justifying power of outward baptism, which he reserved against the time of his death, and upon the merit of what he had done to promote the outward splendor of the church; and it may be that the bishops of the court, instead of teaching him better, confirmed him in this destructive error.[2] This doubtless would be observed by the pagans, who would not be slow in taking advantage of it to misrepresent Christianity.[3]

[1] The execution of Crispus took place at the same time with the vicennalia of Constantine, or the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of his assuming the dignity of Augustus, that is, in 326; and it was in the preceding year that Constantine displayed, at the council of Nice, so decided a zeal in favor of the Christian faith.

[2] Eusebius of Cæsarea was a man conversant with still higher things than mere worldly interests, and cannot be reckoned among the number of the ordinary court bishops of this period; yet mark how he describes a banquet which the emperor gave to the bishops at the breaking up of the Nicene council, in celebration of the *vicennalia* of his entrance upon the dignity of Cæsar: "When the emperor held a banquet with the bishops, among whom he had established peace, he presented it through them, as it were an offering worthy of God. No one of the bishops was excluded from the imperial table. The proceedings on this occasion were sublime beyond description. The soldiers of the emperor's body-guard were drawn up before the door of the palace with their bare swords. The men of God (the bishops) passed along undaunted between their files into the interior of the palace. Some sat at the same table with the emperor himself; the others, at side-tables. One might easily imagine that one beheld the type of Christ's kingdom." Euseb. vit. Constant. l. III. c. 15. Making due allowance for the corrupt rhetorical taste of those times, in passing our judgment on these expressions, still we must feel certain, that a man who was capable of using such language was in no condition to speak to the emperor in the spirit of the gospel, as one charged with the care of souls.

[3] Thus Julian, in his satirical performance entitled "the Cæsars," makes Jesus (for the original abbreviation $\bar{\iota\nu}$ is to be explained, not by *νἱὸν* but by *Ἰησοῦν*, as the context plainly demands) in the lower world proclaim to all, and to Constantine, who is led into his presence; "Whoever is a voluptuary, a murderer, whoever is a vicious man, a profligate, let him boldly come hither. Having washed him with this water, I will instantly make him pure. And should he fall into the same crimes again, let him only beat on his breast and on his head, and I will bestow on him power to become pure." *Ὅστις φθορεὺς, ὅστις μιαφόνος, ὅστις ἐναγὴς καὶ βδελυρὸς ἔτω θαῤῥῶν· ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τοντῳὶ τῷ ὕδατι λούσας, αὐτίκα καθαρόν, καὶ πάλιν ἔνοχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δώσω τὸ στῆθος πληξαντι κὰν τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι, καθαρῷ γενέσθαι.* (But I cannot see in these words a play on Matt. 11: 28–30, with Dr. Teuffel in his dissertation de Juliano imperatore christianismi contemptore et osore, Tubengae 1844, a work evincing profound study, and containing many excellent re-

If the reign of Constantine *bears witness that the state which seeks to advance Christianity by the worldly means at its command may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it with whatever virulence*, this truth is still more clearly demonstrated by the reign of his successor Constantius.

Constantius, in the outset, shared the government with his two brothers, Constantine the Younger and Constans, and to the portion of the two last fell the dominion of the West. The younger Constantine having, in the war against his brother Constans, lost his life in the year 348, Constans made himself master of the whole Western, as Constantius was already of the whole Eastern empire; and when Constans perished in the year 350, in the revolt of Magnentius, Constantius was left sole master of the entire Roman empire. Now, although the measures adopted for the suppression of Paganism proceeded directly from Constantius, although they were executed in his empire with the greatest severity and rigor, — despotism in the East being, as a general thing, the most oppressive; yet, on the whole, the principles upon which he proceeded were those which prevailed throughout the entire empire. Constantius, in reënacting, in the year 341, the law of the previous reign against sacrifices, gave the following peremptory command: "Let superstition cease; let the folly of sacrifices be abolished.[1] Whoever, after the publication of this law, continues to sacrifice shall be punished according to his deserts;" yet the nature of the punishment is not clearly defined.

Although this law might properly refer only to the Eastern empire, yet in a law of the year 346, enacted in common by the emperors Constantius and Constans, and therefore valid for the whole Western and Eastern empire, it is presupposed that the extirpation of the entire pagan superstition had already been commanded;[2] and in the same year the two emperors again conjointly directed, that the temples should everywhere be closed, that access to them should be forbidden to all, and thus liberty for crime taken away from abandoned men.[3] Sacrifices were forbidden on pain of death and the confiscation of goods. When at a still later period, under the usurper Magnentius, who himself[4] professed to be a Christian, the pagan cultus in the West had recovered a certain degree of freedom, — whether it was that the usurper, from political reasons or want of interest in religious matters, made show of greater toleration; or whether it was that, without any interference of his own, the laws which had been passed against the pagan worship had, in the turmoils of this revolution, lost their power, — yet for this cause Con-

marks.) And Libanius sees in the cruelty of Constantine towards his own family, a punishment inflicted on him for his plundering of the temples: Τὶς οὕτω μεγάλην τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα δέδωκε δίκην τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν μετιών; Pro templis, p. 184, vol. II.

[1] Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. 10, c. 2. Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania.

[2] Omnis superstitio penitus eruenda.

[3] Licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari.

[4] As the ensigns of the cross on his coins prove. See Eckhel, vol. VIII. p. 122.

stantius thought it necessary, after he had suppressed the insurrection in the year 353, and become the sole ruler, to issue a new law against sacrifices by night, which had been again introduced. Three years later, in 356, he passed a law, in the name also of the Cæsar Julian, who was even then secretly inclined to Paganism, by which law he made it once more a capital crime to sacrifice, and worship the images of the gods. The relation of things had become reversed. As in former times the observance of the pagan ceremonies, the religion of the state, had appeared in the light of a civil duty, and the profession of Christianity in that of a crime against the state; so now it was the case, not indeed that the outward profession of Christianity was commanded as a universal civil duty, for against this the spirit of Christianity too earnestly remonstrated; but that the exercise of the pagan religion was made politically dangerous. There was an inclination to regard the heathens as unsatisfied with the present order of things; and the suspicious despot Constantius feared, whenever he heard about the celebration of pagan rites, especially about augurs, haruspices, consultation of oracles, and sacrifices, that conspiracies were brooding against his government and his life. It was especially the notary Paulus, widely known under his well-deserved soubriquet, the *Chain* (catena), who, in the later times of this reign, working upon the suspicious temper of Constantius, and using him as the instrument of his own designs, ravaged the land as a cruel persecutor. It thus happened that a heathen philosopher, Demetrius Chytas of Alexandria, was convicted of having repeatedly sacrificed. Not so much for religious as for political reasons, this transgression of the laws was interpreted as a grievous crime; his judges pretending to look upon it as a magical ceremony, undertaken in a hostile spirit against the emperor.[1] No credit was given to his assurances, that from his early youth he had been accustomed to sacrifice, simply to propitiate the favor of the gods. But when he steadfastly persisted in the same assertion under the rack, he was dismissed to his home; although, if the imperial law had been strictly carried into execution, he must have suffered the penalty of death, as a heathen who, by his own confession, had offered sacrifices. To wear heathen amulets for keeping off diseases, to consult an astrologer on any private affair whatever, might easily involve one in a crimen majestatis, leading to tortures and death.[2]

To the great vexation of the pagans, Constantius caused several celebrated temples to be destroyed. Some he plundered, and presented others or their treasures to Christian churches, or to his favorites among the courtiers; and sometimes, therefore, to the most unworthy of men. The property of the temples, which might have been employed to a better purpose in the cause of religion, often became a

[1] See Ammian. Marcellin. l. XIX. c. 12.

[2] Ammian. Marcellin. l. c. Liban. pro Aristophane, vol. I. p. 430. The words of Ammianus Marcellinus are particularly worthy of notice: "Prorsus ita res agebatur, quasi Clarium, Dodonæas arbores et effata Delphorum *olim solennia* in imperatoris exitium sollicitaverint multi."

prey to cupidity and revenge ;[1] and when many, who had become rich by the plundering of temples, abandoned themselves to every lust, and finally brought ruin upon themselves by their own wickedness, the pagans looked upon this as the punishment sent by their gods for robbing the temples ; and they predicted that similar punishments would follow every instance in which the temples were desecrated, as appears from the asseverations of Libanius and Julian.[2]

The emperor, however, thought it advisable to keep under some restraint the fury for destroying temples, in order to preserve certain national antiquities which were dear to the people. By a law of the year 346, he ordained that all temples existing without the walls of the city, should be preserved uninjured, since with many of them were connected national festivities, and certain of the public games and contests had derived their origin from them.[3] When Constantius, after his victory over Magnentius, resided in Rome, and there saw the heathen temples in their full splendor, he took no measures against them ; and heathenism, as the old religion of the Roman state, still retained so much consequence, that much that belonged to the heathen forms of worship was left unaltered in the Western empire. Thus it was with the privileges of the vestals, and the priestly dignities, which were given to Romans belonging to the noblest heathen families,[4] although we must allow that these dignities had lost much of their ancient importance. Subsequently to the establishment of the law which made the offering of sacrifice a capital crime, Tertullus, the prefect of the city, did not hesitate, when a storm at sea hindered the provision fleet from arriving at Rome, and threatened a famine, to offer public sacrifices in the temple of Castor and Pollux (ædes Castorum), near the mouth of the Tiber, that the gods might calm the fury of the storm.[5]

Whilst falsely flattering pagan rhetoricians, such as Libanius and Themistius, publicly spoke in praise of the emperor, whom at heart they detested as the enemy of the gods ; there were still among the teachers of the Christian church many bold and fearless voices, which plainly told him that he rather injured than aided Christianity, when he sought to advance its interests by outward power, — voices which now presented before a professedly Christian emperor, who confounded the Christian with the political standing-ground, the principles of liberty of conscience and belief brought to light by Christianity, just as they had been presented before the pagan emperors by its first defenders. Very pertinently says Hilary to the emperor Constantius : "With the gold of the state you burden the sanctuary of God; and what has been torn from the temples, or gained by the confiscation of

[1] Liban. de accusatorib. III. 436. *Κατέσκαψε τοὺς ναοὺς καὶ πάντα ἱερὸν ἐξαλείψας νόμον, ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν (αὐτοὺς), οἷς ἴσμεν.* Liban. Epitaph. Julian. vol. II. p. 529 : *Τὸν τῶν ἱερῶν πλοῦτον εἰς τοὺς ἀσελγεστάτους μεμερισμένον.* Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXII. c. 4. Pasti quidam templorum spoliis.

[2] See below.

[3] Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. X. c. 3. Nam cum ex nonnullis vel ludorum vel circensium vel agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus populo Romano præbentur priscarum sollennitas voluptatum.

[4] See Symmach. relat. ad Valentinian l. X. ep. 61.

[5] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XIX. c. 10.

goods, or extorted by punishments, that you force upon God."[1] Concerning the resort to violent measures for the advancement of religion, Athanasius finely remarks:[2] "It is an evidence that they want confidence in their own faith, when they use force, and constrain men against their wills. So Satan, because there is no truth in him, wherever he gains admittance, pays away with hatchet and sword. But the Saviour is so gentle that he teaches, it is true: 'If any *will* come after me, and if any man *will be my disciple*,' while he *forces* none to whom he comes, but only knocks at the door of the soul, and says: 'Open to me, my sister' (Cant. 5: 2); and if the door is opened, he goes in. But if any one is unwilling to open, he withdraws; for the truth is not preached by sword and javelin, nor by armies, but by persuasion and admonition.[3] How can there be anything like persuasion, where the fear of the emperor rules? How can there be anything like admonition, where he who contradicts has to expect banishment and death?" Says the same writer, in another place:[4] "It is the character of true piety, not to force, but to convince; since our Lord himself forced no man, but left free the choice of each individual, saying to all: 'If any man *will*, let him come after me;' but to his disciples: '*Will* ye also go away?'" (John 6: 67.)

The men who expressed such truths with Christian boldness, were thinking, indeed, in this case, not so much of the conduct of the emperor towards the pagans, as of his conduct towards the contending parties of the Christian church; their own interest (for they belonged to a party which lay under the constraint of outward power) coincided in this case with what the spirit of Christianity requires; and hence they might the more readily perceive this, and be led to make it a prominent point in opposition to the prevailing sentiments of their time. It is plain, that the same could have been said also concerning the emperor's conduct towards the pagans; but it may be justly questioned, whether they would have been equally free to recognize and proclaim the same truths in this wider application. It is certain at least, that many of the fathers were actuated by another spirit than this Christian one: they were concerned only for the outward suppression of Paganism, without considering whether the means employed for this purpose agreed with the spirit of the gospel, and were suited to destroy Paganism in the hearts of men. We recognize the blind, narrow zeal against Paganism in a Julius Firmicus Maternus,[5] when he addresses[6] the emperors Constantius and Constantine in words that breathe quite another spirit than the one referred to above: "Take off without scruple the decorations of the temples; use all their consecrated gifts for your own profit, and that of the Lord. After destroying the temples, ye are, by the power of God, exalted higher." He paid homage to the error, so ruinous to the emperors, which led them to imagine that, by merely destroying the outward monuments of

[1] C. Constant. imperator. lib. c. 10.

[2] Hist. Arian. § 33.

[3] Οὐ γὰρ ξίφεσιν ἢ βέλεσιν οὐδὲ διά στρατιωτῶν ἡ ἀλήθεια καταγγέλεται, ἀλλὰ πειθοῖ καὶ συμβουλίᾳ.

[4] Hist. Arian. § 67.

[5] Concerning whom we shall speak further in another place, under the head of the Apologists.

[6] In his book de errore profanorum religionum.

Paganism, they proved themselves to be Christians, and secured the divine favor. He also describes the political success of the emperors in the usual style of exaggerated flattery peculiar to the panegyrists of the age, and says nothing of their misfortunes. He next invites them to punish idolatry, and assures them that the divine law required them to suppress all Paganism by force.[1] Forgetting the spirit which it became Christians to cherish, and by what means the Christian church had overcome all earthly powers that had opposed her, and finally rendered them subservient to her own interests, he employs those passages of the Old Testament which threatened with the punishment of death those who became idolaters, from among the people of God, to show how Christian emperors should deal with the same class of men. Worldly-minded bishops, who by their proceedings caused the name of the Lord to be blasphemed among the Gentiles, — such as Georgius of Alexandria, — raged against Paganism, and stood ready to reward with everything which their powerful influence at court enabled them to procure, — with the favor of the prince, and titles, and stations of honor, — the hypocrisy of those who accounted earthly things of more value than divine.[2]

But this suppression of Paganism did but prepare the way for a new and a final effort to restore it. Of this attempt, made by the emperor Julian, the same may be said as of Constantine's undertaking to make Christianity the dominant state religion of the Roman empire. The latter was a change which had long before been prepared in the progress of events, and which Constantine had only carried into execution. So, by the measures which were resorted to for promoting Christianity and suppressing Paganism, had the way also been prepared for giving a new upward spring to the latter; and it needed nothing more, at present, than an organ, possessed of the necessary outward power,

[1] C. 30. Ut severitas vestra idolatriæ facinus omnifariam persequatur.

[2] Libanius doubtless expresses what he had seized from the life of the times, when he says, speaking of a certain Aristophanes, who, even under the reign of Constantius, had continued steadfast in the profession of heathenism: "What rewards might he not have obtained from Georgius, if he had been willing to make in the church a public profession of Christianity, and to insult the gods? What prefecture of Egypt, what power with the eunuchs of the court, and with the emperor himself, would not Georgius have procured for him? Ποίαν οὐκ ἂν προὔπιεν Αἴγυπτον ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς κωμῳδίας; παρὰ τίσιν οὐκ ἂν εὐνόυχοις τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπέφηνεν ἰσχυρόν; ἥπτετ' ἂν εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ τῆς Κωνσταντίου κεφαλῆς εἰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν πρὸς Γεώργιον ἤρειδεν." Pro Aristophane, vol. I. p. 448. This agrees with the description which Athanasius gives of those who became Christians for the sake of spiritual offices, to obtain exemption from the burdens of the state, and to secure powerful connections, — men who were satisfied with any creed, provided only they could be released from state burdens, and maintain their connections with those in power: ἕως μόνον εἰσὶν ἀλειτούργητοι καὶ προστασίαν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔχουσι. Athanas. hist. Arianor. ad monachos, § 78. Of the fury with which the bishop Georgius attacked the temples, — of his influence over the emperor Constantius, and so over all the civil and military offices, — which became subject to his will, — the emperor Julian also speaks in his letter to the people of Alexandria: Τὸν Κωνστάντιον ἐρείτε ὅτι καθ' ὑμῶν παρῶξυνεν, εἶτα εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν στρατόπεδον, καὶ κατέλαβεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ ἁγιώτατον τοῦ θεοῦ τέμενος, ἀποσυλήσας ἐκεῖθεν εἰκόνας καὶ ἀναθήματα καὶ ἐν τοις ἱεροῖς κόσμον· ὑμῶν δ' ἀγανακτούντων εἰκότως καὶ πειρωμένων ἀμύνειν τῷ θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κτήμασιν, ὅδε ἐτόλμησεν ὑμῖν ἐπιπεμπαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀδίκως καὶ παρανομόμως καὶ ἀσέβως· ἴσως Γεώργιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Κωνστάντιον δεδοικὼς, ἑαυτὸν παρεφύλαττεν εἰ μετρώτερον ὑμῖν καὶ πολιτικώτερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννικώτερον πόρρωθεν προσεφέρετο. See ep. 10 Juliani epistolæ ed. Heyler. Moguntiæ, 1828. p. 14.

to place himself at the head of a party which, with ill-repressed feelings of resentment, was longing for the restoration of the old state of things. It was one of those reactions, of which history, down to the latest times, furnishes so many examples — reactions which are so certain to follow, whenever it is attempted to hasten by unjustifiable means, the triumph of a cause which is strong enough to establish itself gradually by its own inherent vigor. But history shows frequently, also, how such reactions of a force already ruined by the course which history has taken, and which are made possible only through the fault of those who would promote a righteous cause in an unrighteous way, — how such reactions serve only to prove that no outward means whatever can supply the lack of inward strength, to a cause which seeks to be restored to life again by man's arbitrary will. How the way was prepared for such a reaction of Paganism will plainly appear, on a slight retrospect of the course of events down to the time of which we are speaking.

From the way in which many had been converted, it followed, of necessity, that if Paganism should once more get the upper hand, these persons would turn pagans again as easily as they had become Christians. They were persons who had been induced to embrace Christianity only by outward considerations; or such as concealed, under the outward profession of Christianity, a pagan way of thinking, or were destitute of any religious interest whatever, or those who were wont to float any way with the current of the times; or they were persons whose religion consisted of a mixture of Paganism and Christianity, and required but a slight change in the tone of the times to give the pagan element predominance. While, in the earlier centuries, the spread of Christianity had been especially promoted by its manifest effects on the lives of believers; so now, on the other hand, the absence of these effects as observed in the great masses, and the many bad things done under the show, or indeed in the very name of Christianity, by those who, in high worldly positions, affected a zeal for it, could not fail to have the effect of making this religion to be either misunderstood or misrepresented by those who still continued to be pagans. The corrupt court, which pretended to be Christian; the violent passions manifested in controversial disputes, and which excited Christians to rail against each other; the impure motives intermingled with these disputes, particularly through the influence of the court; the zeal shown for a formal orthodoxy and for a churchly ceremonial by so many, who by their manner of life betrayed a spirit utterly foreign to that of the gospel, — all this, which gave so much occasion for misapprehending Christianity, both as to its essence and as to its effects, and for finding fault with it, to such as were only watching appearances on the outside, and with an unfriendly eye, would doubtless be seized upon with avidity by that party which still clung with enthusiastic attachment to the old-world principle of polytheism, and whose fanaticism had mounted to a higher pitch, under the oppressions they had been obliged to endure. This party was composed chiefly of persons of the higher rank in ancient Greek and

Roman families. With attachment to the old Greek and Roman customs, was closely connected a love also for the old religion. It was doubtless felt, that the whole of the old national life had its root in religion. Men were well aware of the intimate connection which must exist between the science and art, — between the entire culture of antiquity, and its religious principle.[1] Hence those who had devoted their lives to the study of the ancient literature and eloquence, — the rhetoricians, the sophists,—were, for the most part, zealous promoters, also, of the old religion, and enemies to Christianity. Take Libanius for an example. They, moreover, had the greatest influence on the education of the youth. In explaining the old writers, they instilled into the minds of their pupils, who frequently had not received as yet any deep-reaching and living impressions of Christian truth, the principles of a way of thinking which was hostile to Christianity, and let no opportunity pass of which they could possibly avail themselves for throwing out sarcastic hints against that religion. Athens, the flourishing seat of the study of ancient literature, was also the seat of a stealthily propagated Paganism, where the opposition broke forth between a pagan and a Christian set of young men.[2] That philosophy of religion which proceeded in the first place from the Neo-Platonic school, still continued to have its zealous advocates, and to breathe a sort of artificial life into the dead body of the ancient religion. In Asia Minor had been formed a central gathering place for men of this tendency. A vaunting, much-promising Theurgy, and traffic in mysteries, contributed also to attract and to enchain, by their deceptive arts, many minds which were influenced more by a vain curiosity, striving to penetrate into things beyond the province of the human mind, than by the feeling of any true religious need. Still, in art and science, there was nothing truly creative which could any longer spring out of the withered trunk of Paganism. All the creative force dwelt in Christianity. This alone could bestow the spirit of a new life on the forms borrowed from Grecian art and science. They who, instead of surrendering themselves to the new creation whereby everything was to be restored to the freshness of youth, mourned over the grave of the ancient world, long since perished, could do nothing more than form an idle patchwork out of the old fragments of rhetoric, philosophy, and literature.

From what has now been said, it is easy to see that, should a pagan emperor once more ascend the throne, this Paganism would make another attempt to gain the supremacy; since *for the moment* everything in fact depended upon the will of the emperor, although, indeed, no human will had the power of actually calling back to life what was

[1] *Ἀδελφὰ λόγοι τε καὶ θεῶν ἱερά.* Liban. Epitaph. in Julian. ed. Reiske, vol. I. p. 574.

[2] Gregory of Nazianzen describes, in his funeral discourse over his friend Basilius, how they were preserved, through the influence of a Christian education, from the dangers above mentioned, while they studied together at Athens; and how all that was done to recommend Paganism served only to confirm their faith; and in this connection, he remarks: *Βλαβερὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθῆναι τὰ εἰς ψυχὴν τοῖς εὐσεβεστέροις. Καὶ γὰρ πλουτοῦσι τὸν κακὸν πλοῦτον τὰ εἴδωλα μᾶλλον τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ χαλεπὸν μὴ συναρπασθῆναι τοῖς τούτων ἐπαινέταις καὶ συνηγόροις.* Orat. XX. ed. Lips. 1690, f. 331.

already dead. And to this very end, that a pagan emperor should once more be established on the throne, Constantius was to prove the instrument, — Constantius, who had ever been the chief cause of mischief to the Christian church, for which he displayed so much zeal.

The new emperor was Julian, the nephew of Constantius, whose desertion to Paganism admits of an easy explanation, both from the peculiarity of his character, and from his course of life and education. In fact, a very slight turn seemed all that was necessary to change the peculiar bent, manifested by the whole family of Constantines, for the outward show and form of religion, from Christianity to Paganism; and this turn Julian took from his earliest youth. Having lost, as it is said, early in life, his nearest relatives, through the jealousy of his uncle, who discarded the natural feelings of kindred, this circumstance would leave on the mind of Julian no very favorable impression of the religion which prevailed at the imperial court, and for which Constantius manifested such excessive zeal; although, at the time this took place, he was too young to be conscious of any such impression. Every pains was taken to keep him away, while a boy and a young man, from the infection of Paganism, and to fasten him to Christianity. This was done as well from political as from religious motives; since any connection of the prince with the pagan party might prove dangerous to the state. But the right means were not chosen to secure this end. What was thus forced upon him could not easily take root in a mind which naturally hated constraint. This careful surveillance would only have the natural effect to excite his longing after that which they were so anxious to keep from him. And the men, too, whom the court employed as its instruments, were not such as would be likely to scatter in the mind of Julian the seeds of a thorough Christianity, and to leave impressions on his heart calculated to give a decided Christian direction to his inner life. It was in a diligent attention to those outward religious forms which busy the imagination, that he and his brother Gallus were chiefly exercised, while pursuing their education under vigilant masters, in the solitude of Macellum, a country-seat in Cappadocia. Their very sports were made to wear the color of devotional exercises; as when they were taught to emulate each other in erecting a chapel over the tomb of Mamas, a pretended martyr, held in special veneration throughout this district.[1] The boys might easily become accustomed to all this; and, unless some mightier reaction took place in the innermost recesses of the mind, the habits thus formed might become fixed, as they actually were in the case of Gallus; but not so, where a mightier influence than religious mechanism began to work in an opposite direction, as in the case of Julian.

Both are said to have been educated as ecclesiastics; they were consecrated as pre-lectors in the church, little as the disposition of either one of them was suited for the clerical profession. This office, which had been given to Julian when young, must have made him quite familiar with the Scriptures; and the writings of Julian do actu-

[1] See Gregor. Naz. Orat. III. f. 58.

ally show, that he possessed a ready acquaintance with the letter of the Scriptures; but of what avail could that be, when his mind had taken a direction which unfitted him altogether for entering into their inward meaning? The New Testament itself could offer, to the increasing opposition of his heart, only manifold occasions of offence. Homer, on the other hand, was expounded to him by a man much more skilful in imparting to the imagination of the young student an enthusiasm for his author, than the clergy had proved to be in implanting a love of the divine word in his heart. This was Nicocles, a civilian, enthusiastically devoted to the Grecian literature, who, after the fashion of the Platonists of that period, contemplated Homer, through the medium of an allegorical interpretation, as the guide to a higher wisdom.[1] Probably, in his own convictions, he was a pagan,[2] although he might not openly avow this to be the case; and we may well conceive, that such a person was far more fitted to disseminate imperceptibly in the mind of the young student something hostile to Christianity, than to cherish in him the Christian tendency. Besides, the light in which such an instructor must have taught him to contemplate Homer, would not be likely to harmonize with Christianity. Two heterogeneous and hostile elements were here brought at once into his soul; the one penetrated deeply, the other only touched lightly upon the surface. These two elements might, it is true, rest peaceably side by side; and the more so, the less deeply Christianity took hold of the life: but a conflict between them might afterwards easily be excited by outward causes, and a religion afterwards find its way to his soul, the medium of entrance for which had been prepared by that fundamental element of his education. Thus he contracted a great fondness for the study of the ancient Greek poets and orators generally; and this love for ancient literature next formed a point of transition to the love of ancient Paganism, as the living spring of this literature, — the two things being in fact intimately connected in the view of the pagan party among the learned. It was said, indeed, that the ancient literature had sunk with the ancient religion, and that the disgrace of that literature had followed close after the degradation of the temples in the time of Constantine; — a complaint which in one respect was wholly groundless, inasmuch as this literature, without inward life, had long carried within it the germ of its own decay, and nothing but Christianity remained to infuse new life into the dead bones of antiquity.[3]

After six years' residence at the country-seat in Cappadocia, Julian was called, in the year 350, to Constantinople, where he occupied himself exclusively with literary pursuits. Here he was not allowed to avail himself of the instructions of the rhetorician Libanius, who openly acknowledged himself a pagan; but the rhetorician Ecebolius,

[1] Liban. Πρεσβευτικὸς πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν. Vol. I. p. 459. Εἰδὼς εἴπερ τις, τῆς Ὁμήρου γνώμης τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα.

[2] Otherwise Libanius would hardly have bestowed on him so much praise in the passage just referred to.

[3] Libanius, not without reason, says to Julian: Ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν τῶν θεῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκινήθης τῶν λόγων. Προσφωνητικ. Vol. I. p. 405, — Οἰκεία καὶ συγγενῆ ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, ἱερὰ καὶ λόγοι. Vol. III. p. 437.

a man of less elevated mind, who accommodated his religion to the air of the court, and who, under Constantius, was a zealous Christian and a violent antagonist of Paganism, while under Julian he became an equally zealous pagan, and antagonist of Christianity, obtained, as the reward of his hypocrisy, the charge of the prince's education.[1] How could such an instructor imbue the youthful mind of his pupil with the love of Christianity!

The foolish Constantius, who must be so often deceived and led to act contrary to his own interests where he thought that he was doing the utmost to promote them, was afraid to leave behind him at Constantinople, a young prince who already began to attract a good deal of attention, while he himself went to the West on his expedition against Magnentius. He gave him leave, therefore, to visit Nicomedia, in Bithynia, for the purpose of prosecuting his literary pursuits at a flourishing seat of learning, where several distinguished rhetoricians were teachers. Yet there he was exposed much more to the infection of Paganism than at Constantinople, where fear and worldly interest induced even those who were pagans at heart to wear the mask of Christianity. He was obliged to promise, on departing from Constantinople, that he would not attend the lectures of the pagan Libanius, who also then taught at Nicomedia. But the prohibition, as might be expected, served only to stimulate his curiosity; and he contrived to procure copies of the lectures of Libanius, which indeed, if we may judge from his writings that remain, barren as they were of ideas and sentiments, dry in their contents, and rich only in the ornaments of rhetoric, could have attractions only for a very disordered mind, unaccustomed to healthy nourishment, weaned from simplicity, and easily pleased with the glare of superficial ornament. The gratification which he found in the lectures of Libanius, doubtless brought him gradually into connection with the whole pagan party. At its head, stood at that time, along with the rhetoricians, *the Platonists*, who had schools in Asia Minor, particularly at Pergamos. The most renowned among these Platonists were the old Ædesius, Chrysanthius, Eusebius, Maximus. The last-mentioned was also an adroit juggler, who boasted of his power to do great things by means of supernatural agents. These Platonists maintained a close correspondence with the pagans at Nicomedia. To gain over a young man who was destined to hold so important a position in the state was naturally regarded by them as a great object, worthy of the most skilful finesse. It may easily be conceived that the mind of Julian, already perverted and made vain by his rhetorical education, and eagerly catching at the glitter and pomp of words, would be more strongly attracted by the dainty philo-

[1] Liban. Epitaph. Julian. vol. I. p. 526. Σοφιστής τις πονηρὸς τοῦ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς μισθὸν εἶχε τὸν νέον. Socrates (l. III. c. 1) mentions his name. The same writer also relates the rest which is noticed in the text, and moreover adds, that after Julian's death he was for once more playing the Christian, and proposed to subject himself to the penance of the church, that he might be again admitted to its communion; that he prostrated himself on the earth before the door of the church, and called out to the people, — "Tread me under foot; I am the senseless salt, πατήσατέ με, τὸ ἅλας τὸ ἀναίσθητον. Socrat. l. III. c. 13.

sophico-mystical Paganism which these people set forth — by their high-sounding phrases about the heavenly derivation of the soul, its debasement to matter, its bondage, and its freedom, and by their pretended clearing up of the doctrine concerning gods and demons — than by the simple gospel, even if this had been preached to him. But his Christianity at this time was not a Christianity which had penetrated to the inner life. It consisted of nothing more than dead traditional dogmas, and a mechanical routine of religious observances. It was a Christianity which could easily make the transition to a Paganism rendered so attractive, which found him at so many points already accessible, and which seemed to him so much more full of life. Manifold arts were still further resorted to, in order to engage him more and more. They now gave him samples of the pagan art of divination, — an art strictly forbidden, and dangerous to practice, but on this very account so much the more eagerly practiced in secret.[1] They persuaded him to see, in prophecies which were laid before him, an approaching triumph of the gods; and doubtless excited in him the hope that he himself was to be the instrument of it. True, the political interest could not, in this case assuredly, be made to work on the religious;[2] the former would, under the presently existing relations of the parties, have determined Julian rather to show great zeal for the church orthodoxy. His connection with the oppressed, and on the whole impotent, pagan party, could be only prejudicial to his political interests. But doubtless it was with him, as it had been with Constantine, that the political and the religious interests were combined together, though in an opposite relation; the political interest in his case was stimulated to action by the religious. While Constantine, with whom at first the political interest predominated, had been led, from this point of view, to the conviction that he was appointed by God to make his religion the ruling one in the Roman empire; so on the other hand, in the soul of Julian, with whom the interest in favor of the old principle of the world gradually became predominant, the conviction unfolded itself, that he was appointed and called by the gods to restore their kingdom. The man who obtained the greatest influence over him was the braggart Maximus, who had come over from Ephesus. He was just the person to catch within his toils a young man like Julian. There were then two parties of the Platonic school, one which, true to the spirit of Plotinus, despised magic, as a thing belonging to a lower province of spiritual life still fettered to the

[1] So Libanius, in his discourse before Julian the emperor, Προσφωνητικὸς Ἰουλιανῷ, Vol. I. p. 408, says of Julian's residence in Nicomedia, which residence he represents as being the ἀρχὴ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γῇ: — Ἦν γάρ τις σπινθὴρ μαντικῆς αὐτόθι κρυπτόμενος, μόλις διαφυγὼν τὰς χεῖρας τῶν δυσσεβῶν ὑφ' ὧ δὴ πρῶτον τἀφανὲς ἀνιχνεύων τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος κατὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπέσχες ὑπὸ τῶν μαντευμάτων ἐξημερούμενος. Therefore the prospects of the future disclosed to him by divination seem to have surprised him. Predictions were made known to him, purporting that the worship of the gods should again be victorious. Libanius, himself an eye-witness of all which then transpired at Nicomedia, was well acquainted with the facts, though his statement of these facts is colored by rhetorical exaggeration. The σφοδρὸν μῖσος κατὰ τῶν θεῶν, was perhaps never present with Julian.

[2] To which Dr. Teuffel, in the Dissertation above cited, has justly called attention.

sidereal world, to nature; and held that the only thing worthy of a philosopher was to consecrate his life, in contemplation, to the purely spiritual, the divine, which is exalted above all reach of the forces of the sidereal world, of all forces subject to the sway of magic; and another, which did not disdain to busy itself also with magic and divination, and, by the use of such arts, so to operate on the minds of men as to gain proselytes to the ancient worship. Maximus belonged to this latter party; and the young man Julian was peculiarly susceptible to such influences. Maximus took him along with him to Ionia; and there, in the society of Neo-Platonic philosophers and hierophants, the work begun at Nicomedia was completed. Julian was converted from a mechanical Christian (inclined by temper, while a Christian in appearance, to heathenism, without being himself conscious of it) into a decided, zealous pagan.[1]

Although Julian had special reasons for concealing his conversion to Paganism, which, if it had become known to Constantius, might have cost him his life, yet he could not avoid exciting suspicions with regard to his connections in Ionia. His brother Gallus, who happened at that time to be in the neighborhood, heard reports which troubled him. But Aëtius, an ecclesiastic of Antioch, who stood on friendly terms with Julian, quieted his suspicions by informing him that Julian frequented the churches, and particularly the chapels of the martyrs;[2] and as it can hardly be supposed that Aëtius invented such a story, merely with a view to quiet the mind of Gallus, we see to what low

[1] Libanius, after speaking, in the passage above cited, of Julian's residence in Nicomedia, mentions his journey to Ionia, where, by the *δοκοῦντα καὶ ὄντα σοφόν*, that is, by Maximus, he was led to the full knowledge of the truth. Epitaph. Julian. l. c. p. 528. He mentions less distinctly how Julian, during his residence in Nicomedia, having once fallen into company with Platonicians, and heard them discourse on divine things, suddenly changed his opinions. Εἰς Ἰουλιανὸν Αὐτοκράτορ. ὑπατόν, l. c. p. 376, *Ἐκείνην ἐγὼ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀρχὴν ἐλευθερίας τῇ γῇ καλῶ, καὶ μακαρίζω τόπον τε ὃς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸν τῆς γνώμης ἰατρὸν, ὃς κινδύνων τὸν κάλλιστον αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσας, καὶ τόνδε πείσας, μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ τὰς κυανέας διέπλευσεν·* (the voyage to Ionia in company with Maximus, which, beyond question, would have exposed both him and Julian to great danger, if Julian's conversion to Paganism had been discovered). What Eunapius relates, particularly in the life of Maximus (ed. Boissonade, vol. I. p. 49, ff.), cannot, indeed, be received as literally true; and besides, it is too inexact to be used in deciding about the time when events occurred in this portion of Julian's history; yet these accounts contain a good deal which serves to illustrate the characters of both Julian and Maximus. When Chrysanthius first tells the young man about the magical arts of Maximus (how, by his forms of incantation, he had caused the statue of Hecate to laugh, and the torches in her hands to kindle of themselves), as it is said, for the purpose of warning him against these things, so foreign from the pure spiritual philosophy, Julian exclaims: "Keep to your books; you have shown me the man whom I seek;" and he hastens from Pergamos to meet him at Ephesus. Something like this may perhaps have happened, though the time, place, and circumstances are here not correctly stated. The warning letter which Gallus wrote to Julian, during the residence of the latter in Ionia, because the reports that Julian had gone over to Paganism had excited his alarm, agrees with the above account; as also the remark of Julian in his proclamation to the Athenians, that he was a zealous and decided Christian until his one and twentieth year; for this would coincide with the time of his residence in Nicomedia, with the year 351: though it ought to be taken into consideration, that this cannot well be understood literally, and that Julian himself, perhaps, would not be able distinctly to recall that which had taken place in his mind by gradual and progressive changes.

[2] See the letter of Gallus to Julian Julian. opp. f. 454.

arts of dissimulation Julian must have descended. The assassination of Gallus, A. D. 354; the danger in which he was himself, for a long time, involved through the jealousy of Constantius; the close confinement in which he was held; — all this could only serve to make the Byzantine court, and the Christianity which was here put on merely for appearance, still more disgusting to him. The ever-deluded Constantius finally gave him permission to reside for a season at Athens, the ancient and still flourishing seat of literary pursuits and of Hellenism. And here Julian was made the centre of the secret pagan party; as Basil, afterwards bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Gregory, afterwards bishop of Nazianzen, who were now residing here as young students, were looked up to as the centre of the Christian party.

While Julian, after he had been elevated to the dignity of Cæsar, was carrying on the war in Gaul, the fear, under which he lived, of the jealous temper of Constantius,[1] prompted him to resort to every expedient for the purpose of concealing his pagan way of thinking; hence on the feast of the Epiphany A. D. 361, he assisted at the celebration of this Christian observance in Vienna.[2] He was accompanied by only three men, who agreed with himself in their religious views, and were wont to unite with him in the secret observance of the pagan cultus, — a slave who was his librarian; his physician Oribasius,[3] an active and enterprising man, whose pretended knowledge of magic, divination, and the interpretation of dreams, gave him great influence with Julian; and Salustius, a learned civilian, whom the emperor had sent with him to watch over his proceedings, but who, in consequence of his friendly intimacy with Julian, soon excited suspicion, and was removed.

Thus the religious convictions of Julian had been rendered doubly dear to him by these measures of constraint, when, in the year 361, he found himself seated on the imperial throne.

In order to a perfectly clear understanding of the course pursued by this emperor, in his endeavors to restore the pagan cultus, and also in dealing with Judaism and Christianity, it will be necessary to examine a little more closely the particular position at which he stood, and the way of thinking to which he was given, in the great matter of religion. Materials for this, in sufficient abundance, are to be found in Julian's letters and discourses, and in his work against Christianity, considerable fragments of which are preserved in the Refutation of the work by Cyrill, bishop of Alexandria in the fifth century.

[1] It is characteristic of the great prejudice and untruthfulness of the rhetorician, that Gregory of Nazianzen, in his first Στηλιτεύτικος says even to Julian (Orat. III. f. 66), in defending Constantius against the reproach that he suffered himself to be so easily deceived by Julian, comparing him in this respect with Alexander — Ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ περιουσία τοῦ θαρρεῖν τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

[2] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXI. c. 2.

[3] Comp. Julian. ep. ad Atheniens. Eunap. vit. Oribas. Eunapius says, indeed, that this man made Julian emperor, probably referring to those higher arts in which Oribasius was supposed to be a proficient. See the letter of Julian to Oribasius, written in his critical situation, where he also communicates to him a dream. (Ep. 17.) Respecting Salust, see Zosim. l. III. c. 9 Julian's consolatory address at taking leave of Salust, Orat. 8, and ep. ad Athenienses.

The first question we have to consider is, whether Julian's hostility to Christianity, was hostility to it in its essence and its true shape, or only to some false view of it, which he had mistaken for its true character; so that we might presume, that, if the gospel had been presented to him in a true light, he would have embraced it heartily. As he assuredly did not obtain his first instruction in Christianity from persons who were qualified to set it before him in its true light; as many foreign elements had already come to be mixed up with Christianity in the teaching of the church, — we might the more easily be inclined to adopt the latter supposition. But this supposition becomes at once improbable, when we call to mind, that he full well understood how to distinguish between the teaching of the church and the teaching of the Bible; that in his own opinion there was much in the teaching, in the religious worship, and in the conduct of the Christians, which instead of finding support in the Bible, stood in plain contradiction with its language. In one who was so sensible of the difference and contrariety between primitive Christianity and the Christianity of his time, it is possible that a reformatory, but hardly probable that a hostile spirit towards the religion would have been awakened, in case he had possessed a recipient disposition for Christianity in its essence.

For example, he objects to the Christians, their persecutions of pagans and heretics, rightly perceiving that such methods of procedure were contrary to the teaching of Christ and the apostles. "You have put to death," he exclaims, "not only those who persevere in the religion of our fathers, but also the heretics who are in the same error with yourselves, except that they do not, after your manner, make grief over a dead man."[1] "But this," he adds, "is a thing of your own invention; for nowhere has Jesus or Paul commanded you to do so." His prejudices against Christianity were, indeed, too strong for him to be just enough to admit that the spirit and the teaching of Christ were essentially opposed to such proceedings. His fanatical hatred could not concede so much that was good in Christianity. He could only account for this difference from the difference of outward circumstances. "The reason of it," he says, "is that *they* never once thought of your rising to such power.[2] For they were satisfied with being able to deceive female servants and slaves, and by their means the women, and such men as Cornelius and Sergius — people who passed their whole lives in so great obscurity, that if their names have been mentioned by one respectable author of those times, you may put me down for a liar."[3] Thus he was disposed to give a bad turn to everything connected with Christianity; and thus, under the blinding influence of this fanatical hatred, he was wont to overlook the plain declarations of Christ by which his assertions might be refuted; or

[1] Ἀπεσφάξετε οὐχ' ἡμῶν μόνον τοὺς τοῖς πατρῴοις ἐμμένοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξίσης ὑμῖν πεπλανημένων αἱρετικῶν τοὺς μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν τὸν νεκρὸν θρηνοῦντας. Since he denied Christ's resurrection, he could sarcastically represent Christianity in general as "the mourning over a dead man."

[2] Αἴτιον δὲ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἤλπισαν, εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίξεσθαί ποτε δυνάμεως ὑμᾶς.

[3] Vid. opp. ed. Spanheim, f. 206.

else, starting with that assumption of his own, as a thing inflexibly settled, he must have insisted that everything contradictory to this, in the sayings of Christ, was an interpolation by some later hand; though we find no evidence that his attention had ever been drawn to the species of critical investigation which seems here to be implied. It is far more probable that he had never thought of the matter seriously enough to take the trouble of examining into what was so directly contradictory to his own assertions.

Again, he looked upon the saint-worship and relic-worship of his time as a thing altogether foreign to Christ's original teaching. "Who can look with sufficient abhorrence and disgust at that later invention of yours, which you have added (to the primitive Christian doctrine), — that invention by which a great company of new dead men has been joined to the original one?[1] You have filled up every corner with graves and tombstones. And yet with you (in your sacred writings) it is nowhere said, that a man must roll about among, and pay worship to graves."[2] Putting his own interpretation on the words of Christ, Matt. 23: 27, he finds in them, without any good reason, to be sure, a contradiction of this practice; as though Christ intended to say that the dead are unclean. "If, then," he writes, "Jesus says that graves are full of all uncleanness, why is it that you call upon God over them?" The practice of sleeping on graves with a view to obtain prophetic dreams from the spirits of the dead, he considers to be a species of magic. He looks upon it as a custom which had come down from the Jews, referring for proof to Isaiah 65: 4,[3] where, indeed, his view of the matter is plainly supported by the Septuagint version. But if, in any case, a custom foreign to Judaism had originated from the opposite side of Paganism, and afterwards incorporated itself with Judaism, he traces back this custom to Judaism as its source. And also among the Christians of this time, the pagan *incubations*, to which Julian elsewhere attaches importance, had passed over into the martyr-worship — a practice of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter in its proper connection. Sick persons laid themselves down to sleep in the churches of the martyrs, under the expectation that some saint would reveal to them how they might be cured.[4] The apostles, as he supposes, first used this sort of magic after the death

[1] Πολλοὺς ἐπεισάγοντες τῷ πάλαι νεκρῷ τοὺς προσφάτους νεκρούς.

[2] L. c. f. 335.

[3] Σκωπεῖτε οὖν, ὅπως παλαιὸν ἦν τοῦτο τοῖς Ιουδαίοις τῆς μαγγανείας τὸ ἔργον, ἐγκαθεύδειν τοῖς μνήμασιν, ἐννυπνίων χάριν.

[4] In Egypt, where, from the most ancient times, the "incubations" had been connected with the worship of Isis (Diodor. Sicul. I. 25), those persons were probably pagans who laid themselves down on the top of an obelisk, which was supposed to be sacred, for the purpose of obtaining miraculous dreams through apparitions of the gods. To Julian, who saw something divine in the mysterious look of these ancient monuments, it appeared to be an abominable custom. He looked upon it as being a profanation of the holy place, which made the worship of the gods contemptible. For this reason, among others, he caused this monument to be removed from Egypt to Constantinople. Καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον δὲ, ὡς τινές εἰσιν οἱ θεραπεύοντες καὶ προσκαθεύδοντες αὐτοῦ τῇ κορυφῇ, πάνυ με πείθει χρῆναι τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ταύτης ἀπάγειν αὐτόν. Οἱ γὰρ θεώμενοι τοὺς καθεύδοντας ἐκεῖ, πολλοῦ μὲν ῥύπου πολλῆς δὲ ἀσελγείας περὶ τὸν τόπον, ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὔσης, οὔτε πιστεύουσιν αὐτὸν (τὸν ὀβελον) θεῖον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν προσεχόντων αὐτῷ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀπιστότεροι περὶ τούς θεοὺς καθίστανται. Epist. 58, ad Alexandrin. p. 110, ed. Heyler.

of Christ, and propagated it secretly.[1] In later times, it became a more common and a more open practice.

If, then, Julian very well understood how to distinguish the primitive religion from the later additions in the Christianity of his time, it is plain that his hatred of the religion could not have been caused by the latter. And if we compare the shape of the Christianity of his time with the primitive religion, we cannot but see that the change which had been brought about in the apostolical Christianity was, in many respects, such as did but bring it into nearer approximation to the position held by Julian himself; since this change, in fact, consisted in the introduction of Jewish, and then, afterwards, of pagan elements, which stood in very close affinity with the notions peculiar to that position. So it must be said of the hierarchy, of the pompous ceremonial service, and of the complete externalization of religion. Christianity, it its primitive spirituality and simplicity, would have stood in the like contrast with Julian's way of thinking, as it had stood to that of the Greeks in the first centuries.

It was the way of thinking peculiar to the old days of Paganism, though altered for the worse by the artificial habits of this present time, which, in his mind, opposed itself to the Christian principle concerning the world. The appearance of the divine in the form of a servant, the annunciation of a crucified Saviour of the world, — this way to God through humility, — was a thing utterly foreign to his disposition. The Christian conceptions of redemption, of the forgiveness of sins, of the new birth, found no responsive chord in Julian's heart. They would, therefore, of necessity, be misapprehended by him, and this misapprehension would, doubtless, be corroborated by the prevailing false notions of baptism, as a magical expurgation of sin. So incapable was he of comprehending the moral power of the gospel to transform man's nature, that he looks upon it as a great reproach to Christianity, that the first Christian communities should be composed of persons who were once sunk in vice, as they are described by Paul himself, 1 Cor. 6 : 11. "Thou seest," he says, "that even these were such as he describes: but it is said, They were sanctified, washed clean by a water that could purify, and penetrate to the soul. Yet baptism cannot remove leprosy, gout, warts, and other less or greater bodily infirmities; though it can purge away adultery, robbery, and, in a word, all sins from the soul."[2]

He stood at a position where his religious views must, of necessity, be limited and circumscribed by the intuition of nature. His gods surrounded him on all sides with their splendor in the visible world. In the heavenly orbs above, he beheld his divinities, raying forth on him their effluences of light. The regular courses of the stars, moving by eternal and unchangeable laws, were to him the symbols of a world superior to decay, a higher region appropriated to the life of the gods. The fountain of light to all nature, was, to him, the source of spiritual

[1] Τεχνικώτερον μαγγανεῦσαι. Perhaps he was inclined to explain in this way the appearances of Christ after his resurrection.

[2] Lib. VII. f. 245.

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light also to men. Helios was the mediator between the invisible world and the visible, between the κόσμος νοητὸς and αἰσθητὸς; between ideas and the world of manifestation. He viewed *himself* as a soul standing in relationship with Helios.[1] Calling to mind how wonderfully, in boyhood, he had been attracted by the sunlight, he supposed that he might now recognize, in this, an instinctive longing after the god to whom he was related, already dwelling within him, and beaming through him, in that time of darkness.[2] Accordingly, Theism could only appear to him a religion too abstract, too lifeless. Christianity, as seen on one side, could only appear to him a religion whereby the divine in man was too much repelled; and as seen on another side, a religion in which the divine was brought too near, was too much humanized. He wanted a revelation of the divine which should dart its radiance into the sensible world. He had no heart to appreciate the spiritual majesty in the appearance and the life of Christ. It was true of him, as it is found to be true in every case, where the secret thoughts of the heart can freely express themselves, that whoever is not *for* Christ is *against* him,—whoever is not attracted by his appearance, will, of necessity, be repelled by it. How low and contemptible did he, who called himself the Light of the world, appear to him, in comparison with the never-ceasing, ever-present revelation of Helios, shining forth to the eyes of all. How insignificant he who invites to himself the heavy-laden, who holds fellowship with the bowed down, whether under bodily or spiritual infirmities, in comparison with the old mythical and historical heroes, and the conquerors of the world! We need only to hear Julian himself speaking in his own characteristic style: "Jesus, who persuaded a few, and those the worst people among you, has had a name for these three hundred years,—a man who, while living, did nothing to deserve notice, unless it be your opinion, that curing lame and blind people and exorcising demoniacs, in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany, are to be ranked among the greatest of works."[3] He sets over against the cross, the *ancile*, that pledge of everlasting duration to the Roman empire. "You pitiful creatures," he says, "who, while we preserve the Diospetes, sent down to us by great Jupiter or father Mars, as a pledge, not in words, but in a work, that he would forever protect our city, have forsaken the worship of the gods, to adore the wood of the cross, the image of which you mark on your foreheads, and place before your houses. Can one feel indignation enough towards the intelligent

[1] Ὀπαδὸς θεοῦ ἡλίου.

[2] In his eulogium of Helios. Orat. IV. f. 130: Ἐντέθηκε μοι δεινὸς ἐκ παίδων τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόθος καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς οὕτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον ἐκ παιδαρίου κομιδῇ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξιστάμην. So nature taught him, though as yet he had never seen a book from which he could learn anything concerning the nature of the gods. Δήθη δὲ ἔστω τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνου, he says. I am, indeed, well aware, that a great deal in Julian is mere rhetorical flourish; but I see not why that which he says here, may not have its psychological truth.

[3] Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀναπείσας τὸ χείριστον τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγους πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ὀνομάζεται, ἐργασάμενος πάρ' ὃν ἔζη χρόνον ἔργον οὐδὲν ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μή τις οἴεται τοὺς κυλλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς ἰάσασθαι καὶ δαιμονῶντας ἐφορκίζειν ἐν Βηθσαϊδᾷ καὶ ἐν Βηθανιᾷ ταῖς κώμαις τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων εἶναι. Cyrill. c. Julian l. VI. ed. Spanheim. f. 191.

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among you, or pity enough for the ignorant herd who, by following you, have fallen so low as to forsake the eternal gods, and go over to the dead man of the Jews?"[1] How far he was from having the least conception of the nature of a truly religious and moral work in man's heart, from understanding the conditions under which alone such a work can take place, — how strange and foreign to him, the idea of a gradually unfolding process of religious conviction must have appeared, becomes plainly manifest when we find him adducing, in proof of Christ's want of power, the fact that he could gain but few disciples in his lifetime, that indeed he could not convince even his own kinsfolk, which, with Julian, was a sufficient argument against his divinity, and against the miracles said to have been wrought by him. "The Jesus whom you preach," says he, "was one of the emperor's subjects. What good did he do to his own kinsmen? They indeed, as your writers say, would not listen to him. How, then, did it happen, that the same stiff-necked race could be made to listen to Moses? Jesus, on the other hand, who commanded spirits, walked on the sea, cast out demons, and, as you will have it, created the heavens and the earth, could not alter the wilful bent of his friends and kinsmen, even for their own salvation."[2]

He was devoted to a Polytheism spiritualized by Neo-Platonic doctrines. Out of the Absolute, the ὄν, came forth a plurality of gods, succeeding one after the other in manifold gradations, from the purely spiritual deities, the θεοὶ νοητοὶ, down to those gods who, veiled under the shining bodies (the stars), which they freely controlled, reveal themselves to sense both by their appearance and by their effects (θεοὶ αισθητοὶ). Correspondent with these different grades of teaching by the gods, there are different stages of religion among men, according to the degree of their culture. To the one first essence, from which all other being is derived, it is only the mind of the wise man that can soar, by contemplation; whilst the rest of mankind must be content to mount upward, through the several stages as they follow one after another, from the sensible world, in which the revelation of the gods comes to meet them, to the gods belonging to the pure world of spirits. So, by reference to this gradual scale, reaching downwards from the highest spiritual to the sensible world, the entire system of image-worship could be defended.

This whole process of evolution, from the Absolute to the extreme limits of all existence, seems to him to be one which is necessary and eternal. It was absurd to speak of a creation and a redemption, as free acts of God. He must attribute such notions as these to the rude anthropomorphism of Judaism and Christianity.[3]

[1] L. c. f. 194.

[2] L. c. f. 213.

[3] Concerning Helios: Ὑπέστη μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ φαινόμενος κόσμος ἐξ αἰῶνος· ἔδραν δὲ ἔχει τὸ περικόσμιον φῶς ἐξ αἰῶνος· οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν, τότε δὲ οὐ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἀεὶ δὲ ὡσαύτως. Plato's notion of the beginning of a formation of the world, he explained as being only a figurative account of a timeless process, — as mythical. He says of the philosophers who so represented the matter: Ἄχρις ὑποθέσεως τῷ γεννητῷ προσχρωμένους καὶ οἱονεὶ χρονικήν τινα τὴν ποίησιν ὑποτιθεμένους. Opp. Orat. IV. f. 146.

The thoroughly consistent manner in which he adhered to the position of the ancient world appears in this, that the conception of a primitive type of humanity, of a completeness of the human nature, capable of being realized in all nations alike, was a conception utterly foreign to his mode of thinking. He knew nothing about *one* humanity; he recognized only races, nationalities, one set over against the other. As he had renounced the faith in one God of the human race, in one God-man and Mediator for all, so, with this faith, he had lost also the idea of a higher unity embracing all mankind. Considering the several gods as representatives of the predominant bents of intellectual character, he saw their types impressed on the different races of men over which these deities presided. The various peculiarities of nations which had sprung from different paternal stocks,[1] would, of necessity, correspond to the peculiar natures of the gods under whose special guidance they had stood from the beginning. The force of the nature, therefore, residing in the ground-character of each race, seemed to him to be invincible. National characteristics were ineradicable. He could discern no difference here, between that which has its ground in the laws of creation, in the original character of races, and that which has grown out of a disturbance of those original elements by the entrance of sin. In fact, he was a stranger to all such distinctions as those of nature, sin, and grace. Hence, and for these reasons, the union of all nations in one kingdom of God, in other words, a religion of mankind, would, of necessity, appear to him as an absurdity. "In the Father," he says, "all is perfect, all is one. But in separated existence, some one power or other predominates. Mars, for example, leads the warlike among the nations; Minerva, the warlike endowed with intelligence; Mercury, those possessed of more cunning than boldness." For proof, he appeals to the undeniable difference of character actually existing among nations; as, in the case of the Germans, the Greeks, and the Romans. To explain this as an accident, would be to deny the fact of a Providence. The question returned, then, "What is the cause of it?" And the answer was to be found in what has been stated.[2] It was not, he supposes, the different codes of law which first gave their stamp to the national character; but the diversities of national character expressed themselves in these codes. The lawgivers, he maintained, had, by their guidance and teaching, added but little to the original natures and characters of the people.[3] For proof of this, he appeals to the fact that, notwithstanding the influence of the Roman dominion had already

[1] Julian was probably inclined to the hypothesis of distinct parents for the different races, instead of one common parent of the human race. To the latter view he was already disinclined on account of its relationship with Christianity and the monotheistic theory of the world. It was, on the other hand, perfectly consistent with the theory, here carried out, of an original difference of races corresponding in their several peculiarities to their several gods, to suppose that, from the beginning, the gods had given existence to different men with different natures. Οἱ γὰρ ἕνα καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες οἱοί τε ἦσαν ἅμα καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰς [ὑποστῆσαι], εἰς τε τὸ διάφορον ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν ἠθῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων κτλ. Opp. f. 292.

[2] L. c. f. 115.

[3] Οἱ νομοθέτεις μικρὰ ταῖς φύσεσι καί ταῖς ἐπιτηδειότησι διὰ τῆς ἀγωγῆς προσέθεσαν.

been felt for so long a time, the Western nations had only adopted the language, or at most, something of the rhetoric, but had remained utter strangers to the philosophy and the scientific culture of Rome. So mighty was nature.[1] For these reasons, the Hellenic *culture* seemed to him to be something strictly connected with the *worship* of the Hellenic *gods*, with the Hellenic *cultus;* something utterly foreign to Judaism and Christianity. And as he never separated the human from the divine element, from that element by which human culture, in all its branches, must be transfigured; as he did not notice that the sole end of revelation was to communicate a divine life, which was to serve as the ennobling principle of all human culture; so he urged it as an objection against the sacred Scriptures and against Christianity, that they were incapable of bestowing a complete culture; that other helps were needed to supply their deficiencies. "Why is it," he asks the Christians, "that you dip into the Hellenic literature, if the reading of your own Scriptures is sufficient for you?[2] And yet it would be better for you to keep your disciples from touching that, than to keep them from eating the meat offered in sacrifices. From the latter, as even Paul says, nobody can take harm; except that the conscience of some brother who should chance to see it, might be offended, as you suppose. But it is by means of that literature, that all the more noble spirits among you have been won away from ungodliness. Whoever possessed talents, was very soon induced by it to lay aside your denial of the gods.[3] It were better for you, then, to keep your disciples away from the literature than from the sacrifices. But you yourselves are, as it seems to me, well persuaded of the different influence on intellectual development exerted by your writings and by ours. By your Scriptures, no person could be made a noble, or even an ordinary character. But by our writings, any man, be he ever so destitute of talents, becomes improved beyond his nature. But if he is highly gifted by nature, by adding thereto the advantages of this culture, he becomes really a blessing bestowed by the gods upon mankind, whether it be," as he instances, "in science, in politics, or in the affairs of war." In confirmation of this, he challenges the Christians to select any number of young persons who had been taught solely from the Bible, and observe whether, in the age of

[1] L. c. f. 131.

[2] Τοῦ χάριν ὑμεῖς τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παρεσθίετε μαθημάτων, εἰπερ αὐτάρκης ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ὑμετέρων γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις.

[3] Διὰ δὲ τῶν μαθημάτων, τούτων ἀπέστη τὴς ἀθεότητος πᾶν ὅτιπερ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ φύσις ἤνεγκε γενναῖον, ὅτῳ οὖν ὑπῆρξεν εὐφυΐας κἂν μικρόν μόριον, τούτῳ τάχιστα συνέβη τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἀθεότητος ἀποστῆναι. Noticeable words. It is true, we cannot fail to perceive in them an exaggeration, which is exposed by the history of the church in this very period; for it is clearly evident that the most distinguished church-teachers, particularly of the Oriental church, had passed through the school of Hellenic literary culture; and that this, instead of being in any way injurious to their faith, had proved rather a means of confirming, of developing, and of defending it; and the emperor Julian himself would never have enacted the law hereafter to be noticed, by which Christians were prohibited from explaining the ancient authors, had he really believed, that intercourse with these would result only in turning away Christians from their faith. Still, however, this was not an altogether empty pretense; but the truth at bottom was, that the schools of the rhetoricians really served, as has been said before, to unsettle the faith of many of the youth.

maturity, they turned out to be anything better than slaves. He then says, "You are so pitifully unreasonable as to hold those writings to be divine, by which no man can be made either wiser or braver, whilst you consign over to Satan and his agents those writings from which any man may gain courage, wisdom, and uprightness of conduct." This was a mode of attack well suited, no doubt, to the case of those who held fast to such stiff and narrow views of the ancient literature as are here described. But such views would have been disowned by all the more eminent church-teachers of the East. And in drawing such a comparison between the Bible and the ancient literature, Julian betrayed his very slight knowledge of the nature of that higher life, far surpassing all other means of human culture, which Christianity was to impart to mankind. That which constitutes the very soul of the Christian life, would, to one who had so decidedly taken his position with the ancient world, be something incomprehensible. The nature of humility, in particular, that virtue in which we are taught by Christianity to recognize the genuine mark of the divine, would, of necessity, appear to him, as it did to all antiquity, a thing strange and inconceivable. The same constitution of mind which kept him from understanding the glory of Christ's life, made him incapable of being touched by the reflection of it in the lives of believers. He measured everything by the standard of the ancient world. Hence he bestows notice only upon the education for science, for the state, and for war; passing by the culture which is higher than all this, and from which, as the point of departure, Christianity extends its influence to all things else. And the very arguments he brings against Christianity, attest its peculiar significance, its fitness, as the superior element, to appropriate to itself all the existing forms of human culture; and by thus merging itself in the current of human development, to impenetrate it with a higher vitality.

Judaism, as we have seen already in the history of the first three centuries, stood much nearer than Christianity to the religious way of thinking peculiar to Paganism; and Judaism approached nearer than Christianity did to Julian's position also. Here at least, he found, as he supposed, a national God, and a national religion; a worship addressed to the senses; a temple and sacrifices; — everything, in short, as in other religions; though he thought it necessary to find fault with the narrow-minded monotheistic bent, manifested in the excluding of all other gods and their worship, and with the unphilosophical spirit shown in the doctrine of divine things. He saw no vestige, in Judaism, of that Hellenic culture which was to be traced back to the influence of the Hellenic gods. And this he explained to himself by supposing that, either the God of the Old Testament was the Supreme former of the world,[1] and all the limitation proceeded from

[1] There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the God of the Jews is a great being, but that he failed of having genuine prophets and interpreters, *οὐ μὴν σπουδαίων προφητῶν ὐυδὲ ἐξηγητῶν τυχεῖν*, namely, because they had not subjected their souls to the purifying influence of the encyclical learning, *αἴτιον δὲ, ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν, οὐ παρέσχον ἀποκαθᾶραι τυῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι.* Opp. f. 295.

something defective in the prophets who were his organs, owing to their want of Grecian culture; or this God was himself a limited and jealous being. He was doubtless inclined also to attribute the nonsense which he found, as he supposed, in many of the things stated in the Old Testament, simply to the literal understanding of that which, like the Hellenic myths, possessed a deeper, mystical sense. "The Jews," he says,[1] "did not agree with the Christians, but with the Pagans. They differed from us, only in worshipping one God exclusively. Everything else they have in common with us; temple, sacred groves, altars, purifications, various rites and ceremonies; in all of which, we differ from each other not at all, or but slightly."[2] "If," he says to the Jews,[3] "the God proclaimed by Moses is the presiding, universal demiurge, who is immediately above the world, then have *we* more correct conceptions of him, who hold him to be the supreme lord of the universe, but the others to be rulers over the several nations, and to stand under him as vicegerents to a king, each charged with the exercise of his separate office; and who make him no rival of the gods that stand under him. But if Moses worships a particular god, and confers on him the guidance of the All, then it is better to follow us, and acknowledge the god of the All, without omitting to acknowledge him who has obtained the rule over the smallest province; rather than to worship the latter instead of the being who formed the All." Julian was evidently most inclined to adopt the more exalted view of the God of the Old Testament. Upbraiding the Christians on account of their apostasy from the ceremonial law, he says, "And yet I am one who scruple not to join with the Jews in celebrating their feasts; since I venerate the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.[4] They worshipped a God who is to me, and to those who honor him as Abraham did, a gracious being, a very great and mighty God, but one who has no concern with you,[5] who are not like Abraham; since to this God you erect no altars, neither do you worship him with sacrifices, as Abraham did."[6] Accordingly he praises the Jews[7] for their fidelity in holding fast to the laws of their religion, from which they were not to be driven by any power on earth. "The God they serve," he says, "is the true one — the mightiest and best that governs the visible world; the same, as I well know, that we also worship under other names. They seem to me to do right in not transgressing their laws, and to fail in this respect only, that while they chiefly worship this God, they do not combine with it the worship of the other gods also, but believe that these latter are consigned over to us Pagans alone."

[1] Cyrill. c. Julian. l. IX. p. 306.

[2] Τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁμολογοῦντας Ἰουδαίους, ἔξω τοῦ νομίζειν ἕνα θεὸν μόνον· ἐπεί τά γε ἄλλα κοινά πως ἡμῖν ἐστι, ναοί, τεμένη, θυσιαστήρια, ἀγνεῖαι, φυλάγματά τινα, περὶ ὧν ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδαμῶς ἢ μικρὰ διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

[3] L. c. l. IV. f. 148.

[4] Καί τοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς! εἰς εἰμὶ τῶν [μὴ] ἐκτρεπομένων συνεορτάζειν Ἰουδαίοις. (I believe that the negation within the brackets has fallen out of the text. Without it, the sentence may be understood, but it corresponds better with the context to insert it.)

[5] Ἐσεβάσθησάν γε θεὸν ὃς ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς αὐτὸν ὥσπερ Ἀβραὰμ ἔσεβε σεβομένοις, εὐμενὴς ἦν, μέγας τε ὢν πάνυ καὶ δυνατὸς ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν προσήκων.

[6] L. c. l. X. f. 354.

[7] In the letter to the high priest Theodore, ep. 63, ed. Heyler, p. 132.

He looks on this as a mark of exceeding self-conceit, savoring of the spirit of barbarians.[1]

Contemplating, with the eye of an enemy, the relation of the New Testament to the Old, the relation of the several writings of the New Testament and of the several apostles, one to the other, he could see nothing but contradiction on all sides. He would, of necessity, fail of perceiving the *higher unity*, where others, they who allowed themselves to be governed by the exigency of some immediate practical or religious interest, saw nothing but *uniform sameness*, — making no account of the differences, of the successive *stadia* passed through, in the gradual development of God's kingdom in history. Thus whatever was in one sense true, and in another sense not true, in the attacks of opponents, *might have* led the way to a deeper and more liberal investigation of the process according to which divine truth is gradually unfolded. He maintains that the Christians, in teaching that the laws of the Old Testament were given and intended only for a particular time, asserted what was in direct contradiction to the plain declarations of the Old Testament, which pronounced these laws to be of eternal validity.[2] He is of the opinion also, that the Christians had departed from the doctrine of Christ himself; inasmuch as Christ had expressly disavowed any intention of annulling the ceremonial law of Moses. Christ had enjoined the exact observance of this law in the well-known passages in his sermon on the mount. Then, addressing himself to the Christians, Julian says: "If Christ threatened with such awful penalties those who transgressed but a single precept, what excuse do you expect to find, who have broken every commandment?"[3]

As the Apostle Paul, from his own time downward, had ever been regarded with special dislike and scorn by such as were incapable of comprehending his lofty, profound, and many-sided spirit; so Julian can discern, in that liberality of mind and wisdom which led Paul to become all things to all men, to speak and act differently under different circumstances and relations, nothing but deception and self-contradiction.[4] He endeavors to show, how Paul contradicts the Old Testament, Christ, and himself; how he alters his doctrine concerning God according to circumstances,[5] asserting sometimes that the Jews alone are God's inheritance, teaching at other times, with a view to gain the Gentiles, that God is not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles also. Whilst the church-teachers sought to collect proof-passages for the divinity of Christ from the Old and New Testaments, and from all the Scriptures of the New Testament alike, without distinguishing that which was implied, from that which was said explicitly, that is to say, without paying attention to the different *stadia* in the progressive development of the truth, — Julian, on the other hand, would make it appear, that this was a doctrine of which

[1] Ἀλαζονεία βαρβαριχῇ πρὸς ταυτηνὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐπαρθέντες.

[2] L. c. l. IX. f. 319.

[3] Cyrill. l. X. f. 351.

[4] Τὸν πάντας πανταχοῦ τοὺς πώποτε γοήτας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ὑπερβαλλόμενον Παῦλον. L. c. l. III. f. 100.

[5] Πρὸς τὰς τύχας ὥσπερ οἱ πολύποδες πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀλλάττει τὰ περὶ θεοῦ δόγματα. L. c. f. 106.

the Old Testament knew nothing at all; that it was not the original doctrine in the New Testament, even, but one which was first introduced, surreptitiously, by John. He held that the worship of the Son, of which not a trace was to be found in the Old Testament, was in direct contradiction to the command, that no other than the One God should be worshipped.[1] One God, exalted over all, was named by Moses: he alone was to be worshipped, and no second God after him, whether equal to him or unequal to him.[2] "Let them point out a single expression," he says, "which authorizes this, in Moses." The place in Deut. 18: 18, which was cited as a prophecy relating to the Messiah, had no reference to the son of Mary. But granting it had, still Moses said that the promised individual should be like unto himself, not that he should be like unto God. He spoke of a prophet such as he was himself; one who was to proceed from men, not one who was to come forth from God.[3] "You are such a pitiable set," says he to the Christians, "that you do not abide even by that which has been taught you by the apostles. In fact, the doctrine which they taught has been continually deteriorating, and by your later teachers has been carried to a worse kind of atheism.[4] Neither Paul nor Matthew, neither Luke nor Mark, dared to call Jesus God; but the good John, who saw that already a great multitude in many cities of Greece and of Italy were seized with this contagion; who had heard also, as I imagine, that the graves of Peter and of Paul were worshipped, though secretly, first ventured to call Jesus God." Julian hints, that John himself was afraid to say directly that Jesus is God, and thinks he sees some artifice in the gradual, and as it were, imperceptible manner in which John makes the transition from the Logos to the historical Christ. He spoke first only of God and of the Logos, said that the latter became man and dwelt among us; but was ashamed to say *how;* never mentioned the name Jesus, or Christ; and after having thus stealthily introduced what he chose, brings in John the Baptist to testify that Jesus is the one on whom, as God and Logos, we must believe.[5]

If Julian had studied the character of the apostles with a little more impartiality, he would have pursued a different course. Having once so far mistaken the simplicity of John's language as to feel that he must constantly be on the watch against matter surreptitiously introduced, instead of charging this to the apostle, he would have felt

[1] Εἰ γὰρ οὐδένα θέλει προσκυνεῖσθαι, τοῦ χάριν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦτον προσκυνεῖτε, καὶ ὃν ἐκεῖνον οὐδ' ἠγήσατο, πώποτε ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ οἰδ' ὁθὲν ὑποβλητὸν αὐτῷ προστίθετε. L. c. l. V. f. 159.

[2] Allusion here to the divers doctrinal parties which had sprung up during the controversies of the fourth century.

[3] Cyrill. l. VIII. f. 253.

[4] Οὕτω δὲ ἐστε δυστυχεῖς, ὥστε οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῖν παραδεδομένοις ἐκμεμενήκατε, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ δυσσεβέστερον ὑπο τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἐξειργάσθη. L. c. l. X. f. 327.

[5] Καὶ ὁ λόγος, φησί, σὰρξ ἐγένετο κτλ., τὸ δὲ ὅπως λέγειν ἀισχυνόμενος, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αὐτὸν οὔτε Ἰησοῦν οὔτε Χριστὸν ἄχρις τοῦ θεὸν καὶ λόγον ἀποκαλεῖ. Κλέπτων δὲ ὥσπερ ῥῆμα καὶ λάθρα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν, Ἰωάννην φησὶ τὸν βαπτιστὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταύτην ἐκθέσθαι τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ὅτι ἄρα οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν χρὴ πεπιστευκέναι θεὸν εἶναι λόγον. Cyrill. l. X. f. 327. — Σκωπεῖτε, ὅπως εὐλαβῶς ῥῆμα καὶ λεληθότως ἐπεισάγει τῷ δράματι τὸν κολοφῶα τῆς ἀσεβείας, οὕτω τε ἔστ πανοῦργος καὶ ἀπατεών. L. c. f. 333.

bound to consider this gospel as a work which had proceeded from some later impostor. The truth was, however, that he gladly laid hold of any occasion to present the apostles themselves in this unfavorable light.

We have had occasion to say already, that Julian, whenever he speaks, as an opponent, of the nature of Christianity, is compelled to bear unconscious testimony to qualities which proved its superiority over every other religious standing-ground. Among examples of this sort, we may reckon his method of coupling Judaism with Paganism, and placing both in a common relation over against Christianity. And very correctly: inasmuch as it was by Christianity that the theistic principle was first freed from the narrow limitation of externality and of particularism whereby it was still confined at the position of Judaism. To the same class belongs also another remark of his, that Christianity is on one side related to Judaism; on another, to Paganism; — in its theistic character, in its opposition to Polytheism, it is one with Judaism; in its opposition to legality, in its freedom (though a freedom reposing on a different basis), it agrees with Hellenism; — all which he interpreted, to be sure, in the sense that the Christians appropriated to themselves only that which was bad, while they omitted all that was good in both religions. They had adopted from the Jews only their denial of the gods, but had rejected the severe discipline of the law, and the manifold ceremonies of purification. They had adopted from the Pagans their free mode of life, but renounced their pious reverence for all forms of the divine.[1] "If you," he says to the Christians, "had adopted the religious doctrine of the Jews, you would have fared worse than by remaining with us; yet your condition would have been more tolerable that it now is, since *then* you would have worshipped but one God, instead of many; certainly you would not have worshipped a man, or rather many unfortunate men.[2] You would have placed yourselves under a harsh and rude law, with many things cleaving to it peculiar to barbarians, instead of enjoying our mild and philanthropic laws. In some respects you would have been worse off; but you would have been more holy and more pure." Hence he compares them to leeches that suck up the bad blood, leaving the good behind.[3]

Julian's religious system, like that of the later Platonicians generally, was composed of a various mixture of elements, belonging partly to rationalism and partly to supernaturalism. On the one hand, in opposition to supernaturalism, which probably had been set before him in some extreme and exaggerated form, he maintains, "It is not enough to say: God spake, and it was done; but God's commands must harmonize with the nature of things. As God is eternal, his commands must correspond with his eternal being; hence they can be no other

[1] Τὸ εὐλαβὲς πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν κρείττονα φύσιν. Cyrill. l. VII. f. 238.

[2] The multitude of saints.

[3] Ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν τὰς παραπεπηγυίας τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὥσπερ τινὰς κῆρας δρεπόμενοι, τὴν ἀθεότητα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ῥαδιουργίας, φαῦλον δὲ καὶ ἐπισεσυρμένον βίον ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ῥαθυμίας καὶ χυδαιότητος. L. c. l. II. f. 43. — Νῦν δὲ ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ὥσπερ ταῖς βδέλλαις, τὸ χείριστον ἕλκειν αἷμα ἐκεῖθεν ἀφεῖναι δὲ τὸ καθαρώτερον. L. c. l. VI. f. 202.

than the very nature of things, or that which harmonizes with it. How can nature possibly be opposed to the commands of God, or at disagreement with them?"[1] Still he approved of the custom of looking to revelations from the gods for the resolving of questions which he supposed too difficult for human reason left to itself. Thus, in defending the doctrine of the soul's immortality, he says, "We here do not depend on any man's authority, but on that of the gods alone; since they alone, doubtless, have knowledge about this; for on such matters it becomes men to express only their conjectures, but the gods must know."[2] He attributed the excellence and the high authority of the ancient religions and their sacred institutions, to their supernatural, divine origin. "In everything," he writes to a high priest,[3] "I shun novelty; but, above all, in things relating to the gods; since I am of the opinion that, from the beginning and always, the laws of one's country should be observed, because it is manifest that they have been given by the gods; for if they had proceeded from men, they would not be so beautiful."[4] While Christianity informs us, that the implanting of a new life, by the Divine Spirit, into redeemed humanity, has entered, as an abiding thing, into the place of the earlier, more isolated, and fragmentary communications of divine powers; Julian, on the other hand, holding fast by the older position, thinks that communications of the spirit from the gods have taken place but rarely and transitorily; and that, by certain conditions of nature, such divine powers had finally ceased altogether. "The spirit," he says, "which cometh to men from the gods, appears but seldom, and only to a few; and it is not an easy thing for every man at every time to receive it. Therefore the communication of the spirit has ceased, with the Jews; and even with the Egyptians it has not been continued down to the present times. Even the spontaneous oracles seem to have yielded to the ever-fluctuating periods of time."[5] He therefore supposed, that in place of these supernatural communications from the gods, which had now ceased, a constant means of securing intercourse with them had been introduced, in the holy arts:—as he says, immediately after the passage above quoted: "Our father Zeus, the lover of mankind, in order that we might not be wholly deprived of fellowship with the gods, has bestowed on us those holy arts (the auspicia, haruspicia),

[1] Τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπάρχοντος ἀϊδίου καὶ τὰ προστάγματα τοιαῦτα εἶναι προσήκει. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὄντα ἤτοι φύσεις εἰσὶ τῶν ὄντων ἢ τῇ φύσει τῶν ὄντων ὁμολογούμενα. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἡ φύσις τῷ προστάγματι μάχοιτο τοῦ θεοῦ; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔξω πίπτοι τῆς ὁμολογίας. Cyrill. l. IV. f. 143.

[2] Πειθόμεθα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὶ, τοῖς θεοῖς δὲ μόνοις, οὓς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ταῦτα εἰκὸς εἰδέναι μόνους, εἴ γε χρὴ καλεῖν εἰκὸς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον· ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἁρμόζει περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάζειν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνάγκη. Epist. 63, p. 131. Yet in consoling one who was grieving over the early death of his wife, all he had to say was, that he must submit to a necessity inseparable from human nature. Ep. 37.

[3] Ep. 63.

[4] Φεύγω τὴν καινοτομίαν ἐν ἅπασι μὲν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, οἰόμενος χρῆναι ἀν πατρίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυλάττεσθαι νόμους, οὓς ὅτι μὲν ἔδοσαν οἱ θεοὶ, φανερὸν, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὕτω καλοὶ, παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἁπλῶς γενόμενοι. Ep. 63.

[5] Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνούμενον πνεῦμα, σπανιάκις μὲν καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις γίνεται. Καὶ οὔτε πάντα ἄνδρα τούτου μετασχεῖν ῥᾴδιον, οὔτε ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ. Ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐπέλιπεν, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς τοῦτο σώζεται. Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰ αὐτοφυῆ χρηστήρια ταῖς τῶν χρόνων εἰκοντα περιόδοις. Cyrill. l. VI. f. 198.

in which we have a sufficient help for our needs."[1] Moreover, he regarded the higher healing art, revealed by apparitions of Esculapius, as a still abiding, posterior effect of the revelation from the gods. Esculapius still revealed himself, everywhere, for the cure of bodily and mental infirmities;[2] where he has reference to those incubations, which were supposed to have wrought so many cures in the first centuries after the birth of Christ. In proof of this, he cites his own experience, affirming that he had often been cured of an illness by remedies revealed to him by Esculapius, in dreams.[3]

Looking back upon history, then, with an eye thus hoodwinked by his prejudices, Julian imagined he saw in the old Grecian-Roman religion something imperishably divine; and believed that, by renouncing it, the Roman world was fast passing on to barbarism and ruin. In Christianity, he could see nothing but a device of man, which had spread so extensively by means of sundry cunning tricks; while the decline of the ancient religion and manners, which was to be attributed to the Christians, had helped to extend their faith still farther in all directions; ignorance and credulity had opened the way for its entrance. So, in his introduction to the work against Christianity, which he wrote, as he says, with a view of giving to the world an account of his reasons for renouncing this religion, he asserts: "Christianity is a fabrication, got up by the wickedness of men, — a system in which there is not a particle of the divine, but which has simply taken advantage of man's folly, and his love of the marvelous and wonderful, to procure belief in its pretensions."[4] And so, accordingly, he might cherish the thought that he himself was the appointed instrument of the gods to restore the old religion, and to suppress the new one, which had risen to importance only by human contrivance and will; and thus to save the Roman State from impending destruction. Let us see how he went to work.

Perhaps more than any one of the Roman emperors before him, he magnified the office of the Pontifex Maximus. The longer the time since the sacrificial worship had been abolished, the greater was his joy and zeal in laboring to restore it. He took special delight in the offering of multitudinous sacrifices, slaying the victims with his own hands; and the great activity which he displayed on such occasions, often provoked the ridicule of the Christians. He was desirous of organizing a new hierarchy, modeled after Neo-Platonic ideas, where everything pertaining to the pagan cultus should find its due place, with a spiritualized meaning. Here the entire system of idolatry was again introduced, and the above-mentioned doctrine of manifold gradations from the supreme being to the sensible world, and of divers

[1] Ὁ δὴ φιλάνθρωπος ἡμῶν Ζεὺς ἐννοήσας, ὡς ἂν μὴ παντάπασι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποστερηθῶμεν κοινωνίας, δέδωκεν ἡμῖν διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τεχνῶν ἐπίσκεψιν, ὑφ' ἧς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἔξομεν τὴν ἀποχρῶσαν βοήθειαν.

[2] Cyrill. l. VI. f. 200.

[3] Ἰατρικὴν τὴν ἐξ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, οὗ πανταχοῦ γῆς ἐστὶ χρηστήρια, ἃ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μεταλαγχάνειν διηνεκῶς. Ἐμὲ γοῦν λάσατο πολλάκις Ἀσκληπιὸς κάμνοντα, ὑπαγορεύσας φάρμακα. L. c. l. VII. f. 235.

[4] Πλάσμα ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ κακουργίας συντεθὲν, ἔχουσα μὲν οὐδὲν θεῖον, ἀποχρησαμένη δὲ τῷ φιλομύθῳ καί παιδαριώδει καὶ ἀνόητῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ, τὴν τέρατολογίαν εἰς πίστιν ἤγαγεν ἀληθείας. Cyrill. l. I. f. 39.

stages of the religious life, was made use of, with a view to justify and extenuate it. In a tract, probably intended to serve as a directory to priests in performing the functions of their office, — a fragment of which has been preserved,[1] — after speaking of those gradations in the higher world, he says: "But as these great heavenly beings (the divine beings which reveal themselves in the stars) are still too remote from creatures of sense, and as no sensuous worship, such as accords with man's sensuous nature, can be offered them, therefore it is that images of the gods have been invented, here on the earth, in order that we, by paying our worship through them to the gods, may obtain their favor; just as they who pay homage to the emperor's image, secure his favor, not because the emperor needs the homage, but because by showing our readiness to pay him such respect as lies in our power, we show him the real piety of our disposition. But he who neglects to do what he can, while he pretends to be seeking to do what he cannot, does but neglect the former without being really in earnest about the latter. If we offer no sensible worship to God, for the reason that he is self-sufficient, we might for the same reason refuse to praise him with words, and to honor him by our deeds. You need not object to us that we make the gods to be wood, stone, and brass. When we look at the images of the gods, we must not indeed see in them nothing but wood and stone; nor yet are we to believe that we see in them the gods themselves. We should not call the *images of the emperors* mere stone, wood, or brass; neither should we call them the emperors themselves, but images of the emperors. Now whoever loves the emperor is glad to see his image; whoever loves his child is glad to see his picture. So whoever loves the gods is glad to behold their images, being filled with awe towards those invisible beings that look down upon him from above."

The same argument is employed here, as was afterwards urged in defense of image-worship in the Christian church. But notwithstanding all such spiritualizations, the people still clung fast to their rude superstition.

The Christians were in the habit of referring to the destruction of the temples and images, under the preceding reigns, as a proof of the impotence of the gods. Assuredly this was an argument which could in nowise affect the position held by the educated Pagans. On the ground of the above explained theory of the relation of the gods to their images, Julian could easily dispose of it. He could say, all this applied, not to the gods themselves, but to their perishable images, made of earthly materials, and subject therefore to the common lot of all things perishable. The same thing had happened, he said, to distinguished men, — to Socrates for example, — who were far dearer to the gods than such busts or statues. "Let no one," says he, "refuse to believe in the gods, because he sees or has heard, that some have sacrilegiously profaned their images or temples." Yet, at the same time, however, he cites, as an example of judgment from the gods, the destruction which had overtaken the temple-robbers of the preceding

[1] Opp. f. 293, et seq.

reigns; — a destruction, to be sure, which these men of violence had often brought upon themselves by their own wickedness, for it was, for the most part, only the worst of men who had sought in this way to gratify their cupidity.

He next proceeds to show how the whole system of the pagan worship had sprung out of those general ideas; — yet those ideas had not prevented him from falling himself into the popular superstition which supposed that *an ancile* had really dropped from heaven. "We should pay religious homage," he says, "not only to the images of the gods, but to the temples also, to the sacred groves and to the altars. It is right, also, to venerate the priests, those ministers of the gods, who act as mediators between them and us, and who contribute their full share towards bringing down on us those blessings which flow from the gods; since they offer and pray for all." Such a conception of the priesthood was assuredly not one which he must needs have framed to himself, for the first time, after his transition to Paganism. We have here the same mode of apprehending the priesthood, at bottom, which he had received in his youth from the church of that time, and which he needed but to transplant back again to its pagan soil, since it was the one lying at the basis of the whole mode of contemplating the religious relation, antecedent to Christianity. Pursuing this idea, he would have the objective dignity of the priesthood respected even in the persons of unworthy priests. "During the time that he sacrifices for us," says he, "and stands before the gods as our representative, we are bound to regard him with reverence and awe, as an organ of the gods, most worthy of all honor. If the priest were solely spirit, not soul and body together, he might maintain uniformly the same tenor of life. But since this is not the case, the life which he devotes to his sacred functions must be distinguished from his other life. During the whole of that time, *he* should live as a super-earthly being, should reside constantly in the temple, occupied with holy contemplations.[1] He may not go into any private dwelling, visit any public place, nor even see a public officer elsewhere than in the temple. In performing the functions of his office, also, he should be clad *in the most costly apparel*."

But Julian would also elevate the character of the pagan priesthood. He would have the priests subjected to a mental and moral discipline suited to the nature of their high vocation. He requires of a priest, that he should live after a manner worthy of the gods, that he should never allow himself to hear or to use any improper language, that he should never read the works of obscene poets. In the work before cited, the "Instruction for Priests," he advises that "the best, and particularly the most pious[2] and benevolent persons, should be selected for this office." Though he did not hold to the principle, that, in religion, no regard should be paid to distinctions of rank or wealth, yet he might be obliged, under certain circumstances, to overlook such

[1] Μένειν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφοῦντα.

[2] φιλοθεωτάτους, which, taken in his own sense, means therefore, persons not then commonly to be found, those who had most distinguished themselves by their zeal for the old religion.

considerations, for zealous Pagans were to be found, sometimes, only in noble and wealthy families; at other times, only among the lower classes. Hence, in pointing out the qualifications for the priestly office, spoken of before, he adds, "whether such persons be rich or poor." Neither was it of importance to consider whether the candidate was of noble birth or not. Still, it would have been his preference that the priests should be men of the better class, inasmuch as they were to be organs of a Paganism spiritualized by the Neo-Platonic philosophy, which they should be capable of using in support of it. He recommended to his priests the study of those philosophers[1] who attached themselves to the religious interest. He advised them to cultivate that philosophy which had been derived from the gods, — the philosophy of such men as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, and Zeno. The priest should confine himself to those doctrines of philosophy which lead to piety. The list is, to be sure, a very meagre one; "first, the gods exist; second, they take interest in the affairs of this world; and lastly, they bring no evils on mankind — they are without jealousy, and not enemies to the human race." He concurs with Plato in accusing the Greek poets, — and then he accuses the prophets admired by the Galileans, — of teaching a contrary doctrine. The deeper significance of the conception of a "divine wrath" was a thing utterly incomprehensible to him, from the standing-point of his Platonic philosophy. "Of Epicurus, of Pyrrho, the priest should read nothing; it had, in fact, been so ordered by the gods, that of the writings of these men the greatest portion had already perished.[2]

As it is here manifest already that Julian was guided all along by the idea of the education suitable for the spiritual office which he had involuntarily borrowed from the Christian church, so too he must follow the pattern of this Christian church in many things, in order to bring about, by means of his spiritualized Paganism, a reaction against Christianity. One of these was the didactic element — a thing originally foreign to the pagan cultus. Garlanded priests, in purple mantles,[3] appeared on the tribune, setting forth, in pompous language, allegorical expositions of the pagan myths, expositions above the comprehension, or, at any rate, incapable of touching the feelings of the populace.

As he who knows nothing about the inner essence of a phenomenon must seek to derive from outward circumstances and influences that which has flowed from this inner essence, so Julian sought in this outward way to account for the spread of Christianity; looking upon the exhibitions of Christian life, in which the peculiar spirit of Christianity revealed itself, and which, by expressing this spirit, served also to promote the spread of Christianity, as means artfully devised with refer-

[1] In the epistle before cited.

[2] In like manner as Christian clergymen were forbidden to read the works of pagan authors, or of the heretics.

[3] Gregory Nazianzen pertinently remarks of these Pagans, in this particular respect: "I have often observed that they study what is dignified and imposing, what surpasses ordinary experience; as if the common things of every day would be despised, while the pompous and seemingly sublime would inspire faith." Πολλὰχοῦ τὸ σεμνὸν ἔγνων αὐτοῖς σπουδαζόμενον, καὶ τὸ ὑπεράνω τοῦ ἰδιώτου, ὡς τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ καὶ πεζοῦ, τὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον ἔχοντος, τοῦ δὲ ὑπερόγκου καὶ δυσεφίκτου τὸ ἀξιόπιστον. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. steliteut. I. vel Orat. III. opp. I. f. 103.

ence to this end, and skillfully applied, to accomplish what Christianity never could have done by its own inherent power. He reckoned among these means, first, the honorable life of its votaries, and particularly of the clergy; which honorable life, however, must have appeared to him, if he could see nothing good in Christianity itself, mere hypocrisy; next, the pious regard shown to the dead; and finally, the institutions which had sprung from Christian charity.[1]

He laid great stress on benevolence, as one of the means of which the Christians had availed themselves to spread their religion. "The fact was," he remarks in the above-mentioned "Instruction for Priests,"[2] "that by the priests the poor were neglected; which, being observed by the godless Galileans, the latter took this work of benevolence into their own hands; thus helping forward the worst of causes by acts which commend themselves to all men. Like the people who entice away children with cakes, and, having feasted them two or three times with these dainties, persuade the poor creatures to follow them, and, when they have got them a long distance from their homes, force them on board a ship and sell them for slaves; so that what seemed to them a pleasant thing for the moment turns out to be a bitter thing to them for the remainder of their lives; so those Christians began first with their *agapae*, so called, their entertainment of strangers, and their service of the table, — such names, and the things they signify; are in common use among them, — and thus by degrees enticed away believers to the denial of the gods." All these means should now be used for the restoration of the ancient worship of the gods: that which, among the Christians, was mere hypocrisy, should be made by the Pagans a reality. Therefore, in a letter to the high priest of Galatia, he directs that, in every city, several houses should be established for the reception of strangers (ξενοδοχεία), where not only Pagans, *but all others needing assistance might find entertainment.* To meet the expense of these establishments, he transferred to the service of Paganism, what Constantine had once granted in favor of Christianity; he caused to be distributed among the priests thirty thousand measures of grain; and whatever might be left, after they had provided for their own subsistence, was to be distributed among the strangers and the poor: "since it was shameful," he said, "that no Jew ever begged; and that the godless Galileans supported, besides *their own poor*, those of the Pagans, while the pagan poor obtained no assistance from their own people." The Pagans themselves should be challenged to such acts of kindness, and the pagan villagers admonished to offer their first fruits to the gods.[3]

In these directions and explanations of Julian, we cannot fail to

[1] See ep. 49, to the high priest Arsacios in Galatia: Ὡς μάλιστα τὴν ἀθεότητα συνηύξησεν ἡ περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια, καὶ ἡ πεπλασμένη σεμνότης κατὰ τὸν βίον.

[2] Opp. f. 305.

[3] Imitation of the church collections, and of the oblations among the Christians. To this imitation of the ecclesiastical regulations of the Christians, in the founding of schools, in the institutions of charity, in the epistolæ formata for travellers, and in the system of penance, Gregory Nazianzen very justly refers in Orat. III. p. 102.

perceive a design to make proselytes by money and the relief of bodily necessities, in which he did but follow the example of Constantine. In the instance of both these emperors, their mode of proceeding stood in direct contradiction with the fine sentiment which was so often on their lips, that in religion everything depends on the free conviction of the individual, and the disposition of heart.

As regards the mode of life which was to correspond with the holiness of the vocation, he directs, in his letter to the high priest of Galatia, that priests should not attend the theatre, nor visit taverns, nor engage in any unsuitable business. In the "Instruction for Priests" he first distinguishes the two different positions of the priestly life, that in the temple, and that abroad in the world;[1] and then goes on to say, "When the priest returns into ordinary human life, he may visit the houses of friends, accept invitations to banquets; yet not from all persons, but only from the best. Next, he may appear, though seldom, upon the market-place; converse with the governor of the province; and, so far as he can, assist those who are truly in need (by interceding for them with the magistrates). Also, the dress worn by the priest should differ, in the temple, and outside of the temple. In the temple, it should be gorgeous, outside, more simple. He should keep away from the fights of wild beasts in the circus, and from the obscene, theatrical plays." Julian would have been glad to have it in his power to restore the theatre to its original purity, as an institution connected with the worship of Dionysius.[2] But as this was impracticable, the priests, at least, should avoid the place. No singer at the theatre, no dancer, no player of mimes should enter the dwelling of a priest.

We perceive here also, without much doubt, a copying after the church laws with regard to the manner of life suitable for the clergy.

In consequence of the power which Christianity exercised at this time over the minds of men, it might so happen, that in families where the husband was a zealous Pagan, the wife, the children, the slaves may not have been able to resist the influence of the gospel. To see Christianity thus penetrating into the families of such patrons of the old religion could not be otherwise that a sore vexation to every zealous Pagan, and especially to Julian. Hence those words in the letter to the high priest of Galatia: "Priests should be deposed if they were not, *together with* their wives, children, and slaves, devoted to the worship of the gods, if they permitted their wives, servants, or sons to connect themselves with the Galileans." And in the fragment of that "Instruction for Priests," he requires of the candidates for such offices, in proof of their piety, that they should have been able to bring all their kinsmen to reverence the gods.[3]

[1] See above p. 61.

[2] Πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Διονύσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα.

[3] Δεῖγμα δὲ τοῦ φιλοθέου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγοι. Opp. f. 305. We find similar church laws with regard to the choice of persons for spiritual offices, *e. g.* the law which, posterior to this time, was proposed before the third council of Carthage, c. 18: ut episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi, non ordinentur, priusquam omnes qui sunt in domo eorum, christianos catholicos fecerint.

The care which Julian took to keep at a distance from the sanctuaries of religion all thoughts of worldly glory, to have this glory of the earth entirely forgotten in the presence of the sacred objects of religion, might well have served as a pattern for Christian magistrates, particularly in the East. In a letter to the high priest of Galatia, he writes, "that he should but seldom see the governors in his own house; he should, for the most part, only write to them. When they made a public entrance into the city, no priest should go out to meet them. But if they came to the temple, the priest might go to meet them as far, only, as to the court. In this case, they should come in without a guard: *for the magistrate became a private man as soon as he crossed the threshold of the sanctuary; within the temple, the priest was supreme.*"

Accordingly, Julian would make no exception here of his own person. In the temple, the people should not regard the emperor, they should be thinking only of the gods. Probably it was not seldom that he had to carry out this principle into practice; for there were many, doubtless, who put on the show of reverence for the gods simply to please the emperor, and with no other object in view than to be observed by him.[1] On a certain occasion, that he might not disturb the service, and draw the eyes of the worshippers upon himself, he sought to enter the temple of Fortuna in Constantinople, without being noticed. But the eyes of all present were immediately turned upon him, and it was manifest that he, much more than the gods, was the object before their minds. The truth doubtless was, that they were only waiting for him. The salutation, "Long live the emperor," broke forth; and he was displeased. He immediately issued the following rescript: "Whenever I appear unexpectedly in the theatre, you may salute me with acclamations; but when I come unexpectedly into the temple, preserve quiet, and transfer your praises to the gods; or rather the gods require no applause."[2]

As we said before, Julian attributed to the priesthood a dignity which ought not in any way to be desecrated; and he strove to uphold it. An officer whose duties were in some way or other connected with the administration of the pagan worship, had caused a pagan priest to be beaten. For this he was accused before the emperor by the high priest of his province. Julian severely reprimanded him for his want of respect to the priesthood, even in its unworthy representative, if such he were; and for daring to subject to such violence one before whom he was bound to rise even from his chair of office. Having observed, probably, that many, for the sake of pleasing him, feigned to cherish different opinions from those they actually entertained, he

[1] So Libanius speaks of people who did everything in the temple merely to be seen by the emperor. Πᾶν ἐποίουν, ὅπως ὀφθήσονται. Orat. de fortuna sua, vol. I. p. 82.

[2] Published by Muratori Anecdota Græca. Patav. 1709, p. 332, ed. Heyler, p. 134. Εἰ μὲν εἰς τὸ θέατρον λαθὼν εἰσῆλθον, εὐφημεῖτε, εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε καὶ μετενέγκατε ὑμῶν τὰς εὐφημίας εἰς τοὺς θεούς. Μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν εὐφημιῶν οὐ χρήζουσιν. Muratori supposed that the οὐ, which the manuscript has here, proceeded from a misapprehension; but the negation is required by the δὲ, by the whole position of the sentence, and by the sense; it is, moreover, wholly after Julian's manner, to close with this sort of affected declamation.

added: "Perhaps the bishops and presbyters of the Galileans sit with you, if not publicly, out of regard to me, yet secretly in your house." In punishment, he excluded this officer, for three months, from all public business connected with the functions of the pagan priesthood.[1]

As Constantine had caused the churches which were destroyed during the times of persecution under Diocletian, to be rebuilt, restoring to them the estates of which they were then deprived; so Julian undertook to do the same with the temples which had been destroyed and plundered in the preceding reigns. The care of restoring the demolished temples was intrusted to agents especially selected for the purpose. It was to be a sacred work, in which only men of a pure life must be used as instruments. It seems, however, that the standard in this respect was not set very high. People not of the purest moral character were often employed in this business. The standard which educated Pagans applied to the requisitions of chastity, was, to be sure, a very different one from that of the Christians. Let a man only avoid unlawful intercourse with a married woman, let him but sacredly regard the marriage covenant, and all other delinquencies were easily overlooked, were considered as a necessary satisfaction of wants grounded in human nature.[2]

Many of the governors prosecuted this business with great zeal; some, led on by their own interest in the cause; others, because they knew that by so doing they would in the surest and easiest way gain favor with the emperor. The images of the gods, which had been rescued from the hands of the Christians, were conveyed back to the temples in the midst of festive processions;[3] and in the endeavor, in every way, to honor such festivals, no expense was spared.

But, in rebuilding the temples, Julian did not proceed in the same upright and honorable manner as Constantine had done in restoring

[1] Julian, ep. 62. It is difficult to determine to whom this letter was addressed. From the sentence of condemnation, "*τῶν εἰς ἱερέα μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν*," it might be conjectured, that the matter related to a priest; yet the whole contents of the letter contradict this supposition. The language, moreover, does not lead us to suppose that a mere excommunication from the pagan ceremonies (sacris) is here meant. Hence I have represented the matter as it stands in the text.

[2] So Libanius alleges in praise of a certain pagan, Aristophanes: *Οὐδ' ἐξ ὧν ἄλλους ἠδίκει, τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐπλήρωσεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἀφιεμέναις εἰς Ἀφροδίτης ἐξουσίαν τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἐκούφιζεν ἀνάγκας.* He himself then makes the objection, that this is still saying but little, but is of opinion that it is enough, however, for literary and business men. *Τί ἄν τις παρ' αὐτῷ ζητοίη τὰ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου*; and he adds that he excelled in purity of morals many of those who were intrusted with the restoration of the temples. Liban. Orat. Aristoph. vol. I. p. 446.

[3] See, respecting the festivities at the restoration of an image of Artemis, which had been torn down by the Christians, Liban. ep. 622, etc. The emperor himself was informed by the governor of the province, how great expense had been made at this festival, and how many sacrifices had been offered, ep. 624. Libanius writes to a certain Seleucus, who probably held civil office: "At present we behold altars, temples, sacred groves, and images of the gods, which have been decorated by you, but which will also decorate you and your posterity. Since you have so great allies, count the arrows of the godless race to be pointless (he should give himself no concern about the enmity of the Christians). Make them to weep, who have long time made merry with the better cause. You are bound to give thanks to the gods, that they have caused you to become a father; which thanks you must render to them, by helping to erect their prostrate temples." Ep. 680.

the churches. The latter, as we have remarked, had caused these to be rebuilt at his own expense; and he had indemnified those who had legally come into possession of the buildings belonging to the churches, or of the grounds upon which they stood. But Julian compelled the Christians who had taken any share in the destruction of the temples during the preceding reign, or who perhaps were only accused of this by popular rumor, to be at the expense of rebuilding them. To those who were required to give up property of this sort, he allowed no indemnification; thus giving occasion to many acts of oppression and violence, resorted to against individual Christians under the pretense of restoring the temples,[1] — which oppressions sometimes fell on those who, in the former reign, had been distinguished for their gentleness and forbearance, and the moderate use of the power which was in their hands. The letters of Libanius, the rhetorician, to Antioch, in which he intercedes with the pagan governors and priests in behalf of those who are said to have suffered under such acts of injustice, furnish indubitable evidence of this; while they redound to the honor of the man, in spite of his many foibles, who, zealous Pagan as he was, so earnestly remonstrated against the injustice done to the Christians.[2]

[1] See Sozomen, Hist. V. 5. The edict was made known at Alexandria on the X. Mechir (4th of February), 362: "Reddi idolis et neocoris et publicæ rationi, quæ preteritis temporibus illis sublata." See the anonymous biography of Athanasius, p. 69.

[2] Thus to Hesychius, a priest at Antioch (ep. 636): "That I am no less desirous than you priests, that the temples should be preserved in their beauty, you are aware of, more than others. Yet I should be unwilling to have that done by the destruction of houses, which might be done if they remained standing; since I prefer that what already exists should remain, and what has been prostrated should be restored, — and not that we should beautify the cities in one respect, while we deform them in another. True, it is easy to bring a complaint against the house of Theodulus; but it deserves to be spared, since it is beautiful and spacious, and makes our city more beautiful than other cities. In the next place, for this reason, — because Theodulus did not plunder the temple with arrogance and impiety, but purchased it from the sellers, paying the price for it, which was a privilege allowed to all those who could buy." In like manner he intercedes with Bacchius, one of those who had it in charge to restore the temple-worship, as he was about to re-erect a demolished temple of the Graces, and intended to collect the necessary money in ready cash from a certain Christian, named Basiliscus, who had perhaps had a hand in the destruction of the temple, or had in some way come into possession of its treasures, thus throwing the latter into great embarrassment. Libanius petitions for this individual, that he might be required to pay only half the sum at once, and permitted to discharge the remainder of the demand at a future time. He entreats Bacchius to have some regard to Æmylianus, the father or relative of this Christian, who, although the power was in his hands, yet, under the former reign, had conducted towards the Pagans with so much moderation: Οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῶν ὑβριζόντων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐνὸν, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο. This noble feeling deserved to be rewarded. "Show your care for the sanctuaries, by increasing the multitude of sacrifices, by seeing that the sacred rites are accurately performed, and by restoring the prostrate temples; for you must be devout to the gods, must *show yourself compliant to the will of the emperor* (τῷ βασιλεῖ χαρίζεσθαι), and embellish your native city." Ep. 669. Thus he intercedes with a certain Belæus, who, from a rhetorician, had become a judge at Antioch, in behalf of a certain Orion, who, in the preceding reign, had distinguished himself in a public office by his moderation, but who now was charged with having robbed the temples of their treasures, and, although he was quite poor, was called upon to pay large sums of money, and, as he found himself unable to do this, was to be compelled to it by bodily punishment. In his first letter to Belæus, ep. 673, he says: "Orion proved himself, under the preceding reign, to be a mild and generous man; he did not imitate those who made a bad use of their power, but, on the contrary, blamed them. But I have also heard from the citizens of Bostra, that he neither made war against our

It was a topic on which Julian often declaimed, that the gods regard only the disposition of their worshippers. He declared, that no godless person ought to take part in the holy sacrifices, until he had purified his soul by prayer to the gods, and his body by the prescribed lustrations.[1] Yet he was quite satisfied, if he could but induce goodly numbers to sacrifice, without troubling himself any further about their disposition; and to promote this object, he spared neither money nor places of honor; though we must admit, that the Christian emperors had done the same thing, and in a manner still less becoming, with regard to Christianity.[2] In this way, as a matter of course, many would be gained over, who, in the preceding reign, had been induced, by similar motives, to profess Christianity; men, who, as a father of this period (Asterius of Amasea, in Pontus) remarks, changed their religion as easily as their dress.[3] In a discourse preached in the reign of one of the next succeeding emperors, the same contemporaneous writer describes this class of people as follows: "How many abandoned the church, and ran to the altars? How many allowed themselves to be enticed to apostasy by the bait of honorable offices? Branded with disgrace, and despised, they wander about the cities, and are pointed at by the finger of scorn, as those who also have betrayed Christ for a few pieces of silver."[4] As Julian attached a superstitious value to sacrifices, he labored, for nine months, to prevail upon the soldiers of the army which he was preparing against

worship, nor persecuted priests; and that he saved many from misery by the mild administration of his office. This man I have now seen cast down and full of distress. And shedding a flood of tears before he could give utterance to his words, he said, 'I have but just escaped from the hands of those to whom I have shown kindness. Though I have done evil to no man, when I had the power to do so, I have notwithstanding been almost torn in pieces.' And he added to this, the flight of his brother, the breaking up and scattering of his whole family, and the plundering of his furniture; all which, as I know, is not according to the will of the emperor. But the emperor says: if he has any of the property which belongs to the temples, let him be called upon to give it up; but if he has not, then let him neither be insulted nor abused. Yet it is manifest, *that those men are coveting the goods of others, while they pretend to be desirous of helping the gods.*" In the second letter, he writes: "Although he differs from us in his religious persuasion, it redounds to his own injury, that he has deceived himself; but he ought not, in justice, to be persecuted by his acquaintance. I could wish that those very persons who now oppress him, would only recollect the cases in which he has so often assisted them, and would prefer rather to show him their gratitude, than seek to bury their benefactor alive. Having long since persecuted and plundered his relations, they seize at last upon the person of this man, as if they would thereby fulfill the wishes of the gods, while in truth they are very far from honoring the gods by any such conduct as this. But it can be no matter of surprise, that the multitude allow themselves to be hurried along without reflection, and follow their impulses, instead of that which is right. He says, he made no robbery. But granting that he did, how is it that you now hope, when the whole has been consumed, to find mines of gold in his skin?" Ep. 731.

[1] Ep. 52 ad Bostrenos.

[2] Gregor. Nazianz. orat. funeb. in Cæsar. orat. 10, fol. 167. Τοὺς μὲν χρήμασι, τοὺς δὲ ἀξιώμασι, τοὺς δὲ ὑποσχέσεσι, τοὺς δὲ παντοίαις τιμαῖς ὑφελκόμενος.

[3] Adv. Avaritiam, ed. Ruben. Antverp. 1615, p. 43. Ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον ταχέως τὴν θρησκείαν μετεμφιέσαντο.

[4] See l. c. Modestus, an officer of state, who had for a long time supported the party of the emperor Constantine in opposition to Julian, embraced Paganism, probably in order to acquire the favor of the latter, and obtained for this not only pardon, but the præfecture of Constantinople, although Libanius writes to him: Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, οὓς πάλαι θαυμάζων νῦν ὡμολόγησας. Ep. 714.

the Persians, to offer to the gods. When the arts of persuasion had been tried in vain, he employed gold and silver, for the purpose of buying over the soldiers to his views.[1]

His hatred of Christianity, and of the Christians, might of itself, it is true, have rendered Julian more favorably disposed towards Judaism and the Jews; but, as in everything he was glad to take the contrary course from that which had been pursued in the previous reign, it was agreeable, both to his inclination and his principles of government, to patronize the Jews, who had been oppressed under Constantius. Another, more especial reason, however, may be assigned for the singular favor which he showed to Judaism and the Jews, namely, his own peculiar theory of religion, which has already been explained.

The favorable view of Judaism which he thus had been led to entertain, inspired him with a wish to restore the Temple at Jerusalem, as a splendid memorial of his reign; in doing which he perhaps hoped, also, that he should be able to defeat the prophecy of Jesus, although this had already been fully accomplished. He expended vast sums upon this object; but the work which had been undertaken with so much labor, did not succeed. Volumes of fire, bursting forth from the subterranean vaults which had been opened, destroyed the unfinished labors, and frightened the workmen.[2] (A sign coming from God is here, certainly, not to be mistaken; although natural causes also co-operated.) It was a divine indication to the emperor, that no human will could rebuild what had once been destroyed by a judgment of God.[3] But he did not, on this account, as yet relinquish his plan.[4] Having relieved the Jews from the heavy impositions by which they hitherto had been oppressed, he invited them now, with minds free from anxiety, to implore their great God, who could turn everything to the advantage of his government, that after having brought the Persian war to a successful termination, he might be enabled, with

[1] This, Libanius narrates in praise of the emperor, Epitaph. in Julian. vol. I. p. 578. He says on this occasion: "By means of a small gain, the soldier obtained a greater one; by gold, the friendship of the gods, on whom depends the fortune of war." Such was the religion of these persons, who, in contrast with the Christians, assumed the air of enlightened men!

[2] The historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who was not a Christian, gives the simplest and most impartial account of this event, l. XXIII. c. 1: Metuendi globi flammorum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente cessavit inceptum. The exaggerating legend added a great deal more about fire falling from heaven, fiery shapes of the cross, on the clothes of the workmen, etc.

[3] It is noticeable how lightly he himself touches on the subject. Fragm. epist. p. 295, ed. Spanh.: Τί περὶ τοῦ νεὼ φήσουσι, τοῦ πὰρ' αὐτοῖς τρίτον ἀνατραπέντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν. He says in this place that he sought (διενοήθην), after so long a time, to restore the temple, but does not say what hindered him. Pagi places the command for the rebuilding of the temple in the year 363, in which fell the celebration of the Decennalia in honor of Julian's accession to the Cæsarean dignity; and the position which Ammianus Marcellinus gives to this event might seem to favor this view. But as the above-cited letter of Julian must have been written after the frustration of the plan for rebuilding of the temple, and that letter cannot be placed in so late a period, this circumstance would stand opposed to such a determination of the chronological date.

[4] That is, in case the letter mentioned in what follows in the text was written after the frustrated attempt to rebuild the temple, which is indeed possible, although the contrary is generally assumed to be the fact.

them, to dwell and worship the Almighty in the holy city Jerusalem, rebuilt by his labors.[1]

As it respects Julian's conduct towards the Christians, he was not inclined, by nature, to cruel and violent measures. Besides, he was fond of assuming an air of philosophical toleration, and, in this particular respect, wished to present a direct contrast to the character of Constantius, who had occasioned so much evil by his fanatical and despotic spirit of persecution. Moreover, the Christian party was already so powerful, that violent measures might easily prove dangerous to the public peace, which he sought to preserve. And Julian was wise enough to learn, from the oft-repeated trials, that persecution would but tend to increase the spread of Christianity. There were, moreover, examples, under his own reign, of individual Christians, who, after having been exposed to ill-treatment, on account of their faith, from a fanatical pagan populace or cruel governors, and exhibited constancy under all their sufferings, became objects of universal reverence among the Christian population, and obtained the greatest influence; as was remarkably shown in the case of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa in Syria.[2] When, therefore, Libanius, in a letter which we have just cited, would restrain a governor from indulging in the cruel persecution of a Christian who had been accused of robbing the temples, he warned him thus: "If he is to die, then, in his chains, look well before you, and consider what will be the result. Take heed lest you bring upon us many others like Marcus. This Marcus was hung up, scourged, plucked in the beard, and bore all with constancy. He is now honored as a god, and, wherever he appears, everybody is eager to take him by the hand. As the emperor is aware of this, *he has not allowed the man to be executed*, much as he is grieved at the destruction of the temple. Let the preservation of Marcus be a law for us."[3]

It may, indeed, be questioned, whether rational grounds, wise purposes, and humane feelings, would have availed anything against a fanaticism made up of such heterogeneous elements, — a fanaticism which is ever the most easily inclined to persecution, — whether they could have checked Julian's natural disposition, which impelled him to violence wherever he met with opposition. But deep within his soul there existed also another principle, which prompted him to bring back the erring, for their own good, to the way of truth, though at first it might be against their will. This he undesignedly illustrates in a

[1] See ep. 25, f. 397.

[2] See p. 80.

[3] See Liban. ep. 730. The same Libanius says, in his Epitaph. in Julian. p. 562, that the Christians, in the beginning of Julian's reign, expected to suffer similar persecutions as they did under the earlier pagan emperors. But Julian, he observes, censured those measures, by which, after all, they could not attain their end. "For men may indeed bind the bodily sick in order to heal them, but a false opinion respecting the gods cannot be expelled by the knife and cautery. Though the hand may offer incense, the soul is still dissatisfied with it, and there is only a seeming change. Some afterwards obtained pardon (those who, yielding to force, had offered, and were afterwards restored to the fellowship of the church). But those who died for their convictions, were honored as gods." Yet it is very evident, that these truths were rather worn for a show, than consistently carried out

rescript, issued by him, indeed, in a state of mind very much excited by opposition, where he says: "It were right, that these persons, like madmen, should be cured in spite of themselves. Yet to all who are suffering under this sort of disease, indulgence must be shown; for I am of the opinion, that we ought to instruct, and not punish, the unreasonable."[1] How easily might it happen, under some particular outward excitement, that the principle to which the voice of reason and the feelings of humanity were now still opposed, should yet finally become the ruling one!

Julian was highly delighted whenever he could catch the Christians exposing to him a weak side, which, with his quick eye to detect whatever was bad in them, he well knew how to turn to their disadvantage. Such may have been his design in a regulation which, to be sure, bears on the face of it no evidence of such a purpose, since his relation to the different parties among the Christians, and common justice, might suffice to account for his adopting it. He could only blame the persecutions directed by his predecessors against those whom they deemed heretics. It could never have been any wish of his, to interfere with the controversies going on in the church. Though it might be that certain of the Christian sects, such as had less exalted opinions of Christ than those entertained by the representatives of the standing church creed, came nearer to his own way of thinking, though their doctrine may have appeared to him to be less irrational than that of the others;[2] yet this consideration was of little weight, placed over against another, which made them alike hateful to him,[3] namely, their opposition to Paganism. It may, therefore, have been this hate alone which induced him, at the very beginning of his reign, to pass the law whereby *he recalled all the bishops and clergy who had been banished in the reign of Constantius, and granted equal freedom to all parties of the Christian church.* He desired, in this way also, to contrast the mildness of his government with the severity of Constantius. "I believed," he says in a letter to the inhabitants of Bostra,[4] "the leading men of the Galileans would feel themselves more indebted to me than to my predecessors in the government; for it happened under the latter, that many of them were banished, persecuted, deprived of their property; and, indeed, whole masses of heretics, as they are called, were swept off at a stroke; so that, in Samosata, Cyzicus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other regions, entire villages were made utterly desolate. But under my government the fact has been the very reverse; for the banished have been permitted to return, and their property is restored back by our laws to

[1] Ep. 42.

[2] Thus, for instance, he praises Photinus, because his representation of Christ's person was more rational than the prevailing doctrine of the church. See the fragment of Julian's letter to Photinus, in Facund. Hermian. defensio trium capitulor. l. IV. p. 379. Sirmond. opp. T. II. f. 376, ed. Venet. 1728. The special honor which he showed to the Arian Aëtius was owing, not so much to his doctrinal opinions, as to his earlier personal connection with the emperor. See ep. 31, Julian.

[3] Thus, in another passage, to be found in Cyrill. c. Julian. VII. f. 262, he places Photinus in one and the same class with the other Christian dogmatists, and says he did not concern himself with their doctrinal disputes, *ἀφίημι δῆτα τὴν μάχην ὑμῖν.*

[4] Ep. 52.

those whose estates had been confiscated." But Julian might have cherished the hope, — that he did so, both Christian and pagan historians are generally agreed, — that the different parties of the Christians, who persecuted each other with so much fury, would in this way each destroy the other.[1] In this hope he was doomed to be disappointed; and from the very nature of the case it could not be otherwise. Party passion among the Christians would, undoubtedly, never have risen to so high a pitch, had it not been for the interference of the state. As this disturbing and circumscribing influence of a foreign power now fell away of itself, and the church was left to follow out naturally its own development from within itself, the right relations were everywhere more easily restored. No patronage of the Christian church by the civil power could have been so advantageous to it, under the then circumstances, as this indifference of the state towards all that transpired within its pale.

The edict by which Julian recalled the bishops from their banishment, may, without doubt, have been very indistinctly expressed; so that it could be understood to refer merely to their return into their country, or also to their return to their posts. As Julian allowed to all religious parties the free exercise of their religion, it was understood, as a matter of course, that the bishops of all Christian parties could enter freely into the administration of their offices. But the emperor might have expressed himself indistinctly on purpose; or he might sometime afterwards have given the law this construction of indistinctness, in order to provide himself with liberty to act against those bishops whose influence seemed to him too powerful a counterpoise to his own designs.

Thus he allowed himself to be hurried by his religious fanaticism into an act of flagrant injustice towards the great teacher, Athanasius, who had brought down upon himself the emperor's displeasure simply on account of his zealous and influential labors for the cause of Christianity.

Athanasius, who had been banished by the emperor Constantius, induced by the above-mentioned edict of Julian, had now returned to Alexandria,[2] and already labored there eight months in the duties of his vocation. Now Julian's hostility towards him may have been embittered by reports from Alexandria of the great influence enjoyed by this man in a city which once was so important a seat of the Hellenic religion and of religious philosophy, and in which a fanatical pagan party continued still to maintain itself. He issued a rescript, directed to the Alexandrians, charging it upon Athanasius as a grievous offense,

[1] The unprejudiced pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus: Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentia, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem: nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus. L. XXII. c. 5.

[2] The edict arrived at Alexandria on the XIV. Machir (the 8th of February, according to Ideler's tables), of the year 362, and was published on the day following: "Episcopos omnes factionibus antehac circumventos et exiliatos reverti ad suas civitates et provincias." Thus it is stated in the life of Athanasius, which was composed by an anonymous contemporary writer, and of which a fragment in an ancient Latin translation has been published by Maffei, Osservazioni letterarie. Verona, 1738. T. III. p. 69.

that he should have done just what the edict above mentioned, that is to say, Julian's own edict, authorized him to do (a fact which must have been well known to Gerontius, the prefect of Egypt, who had invited Athanasius to return to his bishopric);[1] that, with his usual audacity, he had, without waiting for the emperor's permission, resumed possession of his episcopal see, though he had been banished by repeated imperial edicts, that is, by the emperors Constantine and Constantius, the injustice of whose proceedings Julian himself could not but acknowledge. "This was not a little displeasing," Julian declared, "to the god-fearing people of that city." By the god-fearing people, in his sense of the words, must be understood, of course, the pagan party, which constituted but a minority of the people of Alexandria. Athanasius, under the threat of severer punishment if he disobeyed, was directed to leave the city. Julian must have been sorely vexed, however, on finding that the whole city united in a petition in which they sought to bring it about that their bishop might be suffered to remain with them. The Christians here so greatly outnumbered the Pagans, that they might surely, with perfect right, call themselves *the city*. But Julian, who, without examining into their right, judged everything according to his own preconceived views and religious notions, looked upon it as an act of obstinacy, that the diseased portion of the city should decline to emulate the zeal of the healthy portion, and presume to call themselves "the city."[2] He believed himself warranted to consider the people who, in his own opinion, constituted the healthy portion, to be the city itself.

In a pompous, declamatory edict,[3] he not only peremptorily and angrily rejected the petition of the citizens, but in fact banished Athanasius from entire Egypt. "Tell me," he says to the Alexandrians, "what good thing have they ever done, or occasioned to your city, who have now introduced among you this new preaching? Your founder was Alexander, the Macedonian, who, indeed, ought not to be brought into comparison with any of these; nay, not even with the Hebrews, who were far superior to these." He then goes on to rebuke them severely for refusing to worship the god visible to all, the Sun, whose powerful and benign influence they must all experience; and for thinking themselves bound to receive Jesus, whom neither they nor their fathers had seen, as the God-Logos. He descends to rude and vulgar language, equally unbecoming a philosopher and an emperor, in speaking of the great man whom he ridiculed,[4] without a sense to appreciate the spirit which actuated him; and yet the anger he shows towards him, proves how much he dreaded his influence. In this letter, he assigns, it is true, political reasons as his motives for banishing Athanasius: "It was a dangerous thing for so cunning and restless a man to be at the head of the people." Yet, in his letter to

[1] See the above-cited account of his life.

[2] Ep. 51. Τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν οὐ ζηλοῦντες πόλιν· ἀλλὰ τὸ νοσοῦν μέρος ἐπιφημίζειν ἑαυτῷ τολμᾶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα.

[3] L. c.

[4] He styles him a man who deserved not to be called a man, a miserable little man,— μηδὲ ἀνὴρ ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίσκος εὐτελής, — alluding probably to his bodily stature.

the prefect of Egypt, he betrays the true cause of his displeasure against the man, expressing his vexation, that, through the influence of Athanasius, all the *gods* should be despised; and declaring that nothing would give him greater joy than to hear that Athanasius, the godless wretch who had dared *under his reign to baptize noble Grecian women*, was banished from every district of Egypt.[1]

Julian descended to many an unworthy trick, for the purpose of bringing men, without a resort to forcible measures, to join against their will in the ceremonies of the pagan religion. He caused his statues, which were set up in the public places, to be surrounded with emblems taken from the pagan religion. A Jupiter over his head reached down to him the purple mantle and the crown; while Mercury and Mars looked on with an approving smile. Whoever now paid obeisance, as was customary at that time, to the emperor's image, must at the same time testify respect to the gods; and whoever declined to do so, was liable to be accused as a violator of the imperial authority.[2] It might here be said that Julian, according to his own religious principles, was compelled to regard all the affairs of state as standing in this connection with religion; and was without any design, in this case, of injuring the conscience of the Christians. But, judging from the spirit which he evinces on other occasions, we may well believe him capable of such banter; and, at all events, if he understood the rights of conscience, he ought to have been more indulgent to the religious convictions of a majority of his subjects. In like manner, when he distributed from the imperial throne a donative among the soldiers, he had a censer, with a dish of incense, placed beside him. He who would receive the donative from his hands, must first cast some of the incense into the censer. This was to signify, that he offered incense to the gods, whose images, perhaps, were standing somewhere near by. If Julian looked upon it as so important a thing,[3] when, by the distribution of money, he could prevail upon his soldiers to sacrifice, it would doubtless gratify him, even when he could do no more than bring them to the mechanical act of scattering incense; and he might hope, by accustoming them to such a mechanism, and by the golden bait, to carry them a step farther. When they had once become aware that by such conduct they had violated the obligations of the Christian faith, and when the love of earthly gain had overpowered the voice of conscience, one step in sin would easily lead them to another. But many were really not aware of what they had done; and when they afterwards learned that they had been betrayed into an act of idolatrous worship, they became despondent, publicly declared before the emperor that they were Christians, and begged him to take back the money, if it was to be the price of their denial of the faith. A particular case of this sort is related, in which a number of soldiers were first made aware of what they had done, at a festival which followed the distribution of the donative, when, drinking to their comrades, as was customary on such occasions, in the name of Christ, they

[1] Ep. 6. [2] Sozom. V. 17. [3] See p. 68.

were reminded, that they had just denied him whose name they now invoked.[1]

In our more minute examination of the coherence of thought in Julian's religious system, we saw that the literature and art of the Greeks appeared to him to stand in close connection with their religion; a fact which he might insist upon with perfect justice, so far as the origin, and the peculiar native genius and character of this literature and art were concerned. But he was wrong in his conclusion, that whatever was true of this literature as a phenomenon in history, might be applied to its productions in relation to all future time; as though all love for Grecian art and learning were inseparable from a love of the religion. He was wrong, again, in making his own personal views of religion a law for all others, and in governing himself by them in his capacity as emperor. It was on the ground of these assumptions, that he construed it as a crime for Christians to explain in their schools the works of the ancient authors whose religion they condemned. And certainly he must have welcomed any opportunity of which he could avail himself to break up the league into which Christianity had entered with Grecian culture, and which secured so important an advantage to the great church teachers of the East. Thus, in forbidding the Christians to explain the ancient authors in their schools, so making his own personal religious convictions a rule of conduct for his subjects, he descended to a kind of despotism, which could not escape censure even from unprejudiced Pagans.[2] "He who thinks in one way," he says in his declamatory edict,[3] "while he teaches those who come to him for instruction in another way, is not a cultivated, any more than he is an honorable man; especially if this contradiction between that which is taught and that which is thought pertains to matters of the highest concern. It is only they who would turn the highest interests into means of gain, — it is only the worst of men, — who would condescend to such a practice, of teaching to others what they themselves hold to be infamous; *in the mean time, deceiving and enticing, with flattering speeches, those into whose minds they would insinuate their own bad opinions.*"[4] These last words deserve to be noticed, inasmuch as we learn from them, that Christian teachers, who in their schools explained the ancient authors, sought to gain access in this way to the youth who were still fettered to Paganism, and by insensible degrees to win them over to Christianity. But precisely this, that a literature consecrated to the gods should be employed as a means to convert men to Christianity, was a special vexation to Julian. The charge, however, which, on this account, he brought against the Christians was entirely without foundation; for the truth was, that they

[1] See Sozom. V. 17. Gregor. Naz. orat. III. steliteut. I. f. 85. According to the latter's description, it took place when, at the conclusion of the meal, the cup of cold water was handed round, and each, before he drank, made over it the sign of the cross in the name of Christ.

[2] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXV. c. 4; inclemens illud.

[3] Ep. 42. The "lingua fusior," which Ammian ascribes to him, is frequently to be recognized in his edicts and rescripts, certainly sketched out by himself.

[4] Ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ δελεάζοντες τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, εἰς οὓς μετατιθέναι τὰ σφέτερα ἐθέλουσιν, οἶμαι, κακά.

never resorted to underhanded measures, — to any artful accommodation to the pagan religion, — for the purpose of attracting and of imperceptibly exerting an influence on the religious opinions of the youth who were still given to Paganism. They openly avowed themselves to be Christians; and pagan parents, who feared the influence of such teachers on their children, were at perfect liberty to keep them away from their schools. It was unjust in him, therefore, to address them in such language as the following: "That, as teachers, aiming to exert an influence on the culture of the youth, it behooved them, first of all, to be themselves honorable men, neither cherishing in their own hearts, nor seeking to propagate opinions at variance with those publicly recognized."[1] Two years before, when the religion of the reigning emperor was Christianity, the same complaint might have been brought against those who sought to propagate Paganism. "If they think," he says, "that those pagan authors were mistaken, as to the weightiest concerns, then let them go to the churches of the Galileans, and explain Matthew and Luke." "It were to be wished," he says ironically, with allusion to the Christian doctrine of regeneration, "that, from the religious elements of this literature, their ears and tongues might experience a new birth."[2]

It was by no means Julian's desire, however, that Christian youth should be debarred the privilege of attending schools where the ancient authors were explained by pagan teachers. Quite the contrary: for if such schools could only be placed under the *exclusive* management of Pagans, so that the Christian youth, who were desirous of a learned education would be obliged to resort to them, he undoubtedly expected that many of them would thus be won back to Paganism. And perhaps he would not have scrupled to take the part of the children against their parents, had the latter attempted to keep them away; for he says: "It is not right that children should be turned aside from the best ways, before they know how to choose for themselves; nor to train them by fear and against their will, in the religion of their parents;" words which could only be meant for such parents as sought to keep their children away from Paganism.[3]

Two celebrated men of that age are known to us, who relinquished their stations as rhetorical teachers for the sake of their faith: Proæresius,[4] a distinguished rhetorician at Athens, and Fabius Marius Victorinus, at Rome.[5] The latter had shortly before embraced Christianity in his old age. He had been a diligent student of the Greek phi-

[1] Μὴ μαχόμενα τοῖς δημοσίᾳ μεταχαρακτηρίζοντας τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέρειν δοξάσματα.

[2] Βούλομαι ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς, ὡς ἂν ὑμεῖς εἰποιτε, καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐξαναγεννηθῆναι τούτων.

[3] Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ εὔλογον, ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι τοὺς παῖδας, ἐφ' ὅ, τι τρέπωνται, τῆς βελτίστης ἀποκλείειν ὁδοῦ, φόβῳ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια. The words must be understood according to the interpretation given in the text, to which the following καὶ τοι is not opposed, if this reading is the correct one,—if the reading should not be οὐδὲ φόβῳ καὶ,—which would mean: They should not be deprived, to be sure, of the opportunity to be won over to Paganism; but neither should it be attempted to conduct them back thither by fear and against their own will. This *latter* interpretation is favored only by the circumstance that Julian was wont to employ the word πάτρια to denote the religious rites (the sacra) of Paganism.

[4] See Eunap. vit. Proæres. T. I. p. 92.

[5] Τὸν γενναῖον Βικτωρῖνον. Liban. ep. 1522.

losophy, and had translated several of the works of Plato into Latin, thus furnishing the West with a means of acquaintance with Platonism in the following centuries. He was probably attached to the Neo-Platonic Hellenism, and was esteemed one of the most important pillars of the old religion. But in his old age, he became conscious of a craving after some more certain and stable ground of faith. He turned to the study of the Bible, and examined the latter carefully. He was convinced of the truth of the divine doctrine; and in confidence informed the presbyter, Simplicianus of Milan, that he was at heart a Christian. The latter replied to him, that he would not believe it until he saw him within a Christian church. "What! then," rejoined Victorinus, "do walls make Christians?" The truth was, however, that his heart still clung too strongly to the world,—he was not willing to sacrifice everything to the Lord; and it was this which prevented him from making a public profession. He was afraid of those zealous Pagans, the noble Romans who were his disciples, and with whom he stood in the highest consideration. But as the word entered more deeply into his heart, his own conscience forced him to a public profession; and he demanded that it should be made in the most public manner, when, to spare his feelings, the presbyters of the church proposed to omit some part of the usual ceremony. After this, it cost him no struggle to lay aside his rhetorical office.[1]

The two learned Christians from Syria, Apollinaris, father and son, as a compensation to the Christian youth for that which they had been deprived of, were in the habit of writing historical and doctrinal portions of Scripture in all the forms of Greek verse. This, however, would prove but a sorry substitute for that which the study of classical antiquity was designed to furnish, in order to that natural development of the human mind which Christianity presupposes. As the church historian, Socrates, very justly remarks in stating this fact: "Divine Providence was mightier than the pains-taking of these two men, and than the will of the emperor."[2]

As Julian, in looking upon the matter from his position, which has been explained, believed that he saw, in the union of Christianity with Hellenic culture, something utterly contrary to right, so he hated especially the great church teachers, who had, to a very great extent, appropriated this culture, and applied it in the service of Christianity against Paganism. Among these church teachers were some whom he himself had known at Athens in his youth, while pursuing with them, in that city, the study of the ancient Hellenic literature. Such were the two friends, Basil of Cæsarea and Gregory Nazianzen, men who under his reign boldly stood forth as apologists for Christianity, and as antagonists to the Hellenic religion. Such also, were Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, and Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia. In a letter concerning the latter bishop, he expressed himself with

[1] Augustin. Confession. l. VIII. c. 2, *et seq.*

[2] Very correct are the remarks of Socrates on this occasion, respecting the necessity of the study of the ancient literature to the progress of the church. L. III. c. 16.

great virulence and bitterness of passion. It is quite characteristic of the man when we find him reproaching this bishop, as one who had once attended the school at Athens, and there, by the study of philosophy, music, and rhetoric, armed his tongue against the gods. Thus had he forced the gods themselves to supply the weapons with which he attacked them. Julian now beholds, in the sickly constitution, which Diodorus had brought upon himself by his rigid asceticism, — in those bodily infirmities, in which the after consequences of that asceticism were manifested, and which therefore procured for him so much the greater reverence, — he beholds in all this but a punishment from the offended gods. "The gods have punished him with consumption; for his shrunken brow, full of wrinkles, and his emaciated frame, are not tokens, as he would have those whom he has deceived to regard them, of his philosophical (ascetic) life, but a just punishment of the gods."[1]

In general, whenever his fanaticism got the better of his feelings of humanity and principles of civil prudence, Julian permitted himself to be hurried, on the slightest occasions, into the persecution of influential bishops; as we have seen in the example of Athanasius. He easily showed them injustice. He welcomed any opportunity to separate the bishops from their communities, so as to have the former more completely under his power.

This showed itself in his very unworthy conduct towards Titus, bishop of Bostra, in Arabia. When he had made the latter responsible for the preservation of the public peace and order in that city, where, on account of the excited state of feeling between Pagans and Christians, the slightest cause might lead to scenes of violence, the bishop, in a memorial, drawn up in the name of the whole body of the clergy, and intended for their defense, declared to him: "Although the Christians, on account of their numbers, might bid defiance to the Pagans, yet they were restrained from disorders by the admonitions of the clergy." Upon this, Julian despatched a letter to the inhabitants of Bostra, in which he exhorted both parties, Christians and Pagans, to maintain quiet and use forbearance towards each other; and then proceeds to describe the clergy (whose conduct, indeed, in many countries, had, under former reigns, well deserved this reproach) as being the authors of all the disturbances. "It is," says he, "because they look back with longing to their former authority, because they are not permitted to hold tribunals, to dictate wills,[2] to seize upon the possessions of others, and appropriate the whole to their own uses, that they throw everything into confusion." He next quotes to the Christian communities, the above-cited declaration from the bishop's letter, wrested out of its proper connection, for the purpose of representing

[1] So he expresses himself in the letter already cited, to Photinus, of which a fragment, in a wretched Latin translation, is preserved in Facundus Hermian. Defensio trium capitulorum, l. IV. p. 380: Quod non est philosophicæ conversationis vindicio. Sicut videri vult a se deceptis, sed justitiæ pro certo deorumque pœnæ, qua percutitur competenti ratione usque ad novissimum vitæ suæ finem asperam et amaram vitam vivens et faciem pallore confectam.

[2] See below, in the section concerning the constitution of the church.

him as their accuser, and of holding him up to their detestation. "They ought," he said, "to rise of their own accord against such an accusing bishop and drive him from the city; and the masses should be united together." This latter hint, certainly, did not agree well with his general exhortation to quiet; but it is easy to see that Julian hoped, if he could get them into a quarrel with their bishop, to make them unite more easily with the Pagans.[1]

Sometimes the bishops forgot the duties which, according to the Christian doctrine, they owed to the supreme magistrate, even though a Pagan, and gave the emperor just cause for persecuting them; yet, in such cases, he did not do everything which in strict justice he might have done. In general, he was more apt to be excited where anything was attempted, in his reign, against the gods and their worship, than where the honor due to his person was attacked. Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus, the old father of the celebrated Gregory, had allowed public prayers to be offered in the church against the emperor, as a godless man. The occasion of this, without much doubt, was, that the governor of the province had sent soldiers to tear down the church; but opposed by the firmness of the old man, who failed, indeed, to unite to this quality the gentleness becoming the Christian and his own spiritual office, they did not venture to make the attempt.[2] The bishop Maris of Chalcedon, an old man almost blind, who had to be led about by the hand, seeing the emperor offering a sacrifice in the temple of Fortune at Constantinople, went in, and, hurried on by his over-passionate zeal, publicly called him a renegade and an infidel. Julian forebore, it is true, from punishing such a violation of the duty of a subject, as he might justly have done: but he forgot, too, his own dignity, by indulging in vulgar sarcasms after his usual way; and, bantering the old man on his blindness, said: "Will not thy Galilean God, then, heal thee too?"[3]

It could not fail to be the case, however, that, even without any instigation from Julian, in those cities where there still existed a considerable pagan party, and this party had not, till now, given loose to its pent-up fury, and where they had been exasperated by the violent proceedings of the bishops under the previous government, sanguinary tumults would sometimes arise. Thus it happened at Alexandria, soon after Julian's accession to the throne. The bishop Georgius, a worldly man, of a violent and headstrong temper, who had been thrust by an armed force upon the community devoted to the bishop Athanasius, had administered his office in a manner corresponding to the way in which he had attained to it; and, by his persecuting spirit towards all who thought differently from himself, by acting as a spy and an informer to the emperor Constantius, by misusing his influence at court for the gratification of his own passions, had made himself hateful to

[1] Julian, ep. 52. It should be remarked, however, that Julian wrote this letter to Antioch in an excited state of mind.

[2] Gregor. Nazianz. orat. XIX. f. 308.

[3] This Sozomen (V. 4) cites as a flying story; but many a bishop at that time might venture to do this, and Julian's conduct on the occasion is not unlike him; so that the story may perhaps be true.

all parties except his own.[1] He had drawn upon himself the anger of the Pagans, by destroying splendid temples, by exposing the sanctuary of the Mithras worship to universal derision, and finally, because he had been heard to say to his attendants, when passing by a temple at Tychæ: "How much longer shall this tomb stand?" Scarcely had Julian's accession to the throne become known at Alexandria, when the pagan populace seized upon Georgius; upon the knight Dracontius, director of the mint; and upon a third, who had also rendered himself hateful to the Pagans; and threw them into prison. After they had been kept in prison twenty-four days, the multitude poured together again. All three were murdered; the body of Georgius was carried through the city upon a camel, and, after being exposed to every indignity, was towards evening burnt.[2] Probably it was not Pagans alone who engaged in this riot: at all events, the affair could never have been carried to such an extreme, if Georgius had not made himself so universally hated. In consequence of these riotous proceedings, Julian addressed to the Alexandrians one of his declamatory rescripts, censuring their conduct in most emphatic language; but he punished no one. So, too, in other similar cases, the emperor went no farther than words, which, however, were of little use, especially as men were aware how much the emperor was pleased by any manifestation of zeal for the gods. He seems, in fact, in many cases, to have approved rather than rebuked the outbreaks of popular fury against those who had been guilty of destroying the temples, or who were unwilling to rebuild the temples which had been destroyed.

Marcus, a bishop of Arethusa, on Mount Lebanon, had, in the preceding reign, drawn upon himself the hatred of the pagan inhabitants, by causing the destruction of a magnificent temple, and by resorting to forcible measures to make converts. According to the law which Julian everywhere published,[3] he was, under these circumstances, bound to make good the value of the temple in money, or else to cause it to be rebuilt. Being in no condition to do the former, and thinking he could not conscientiously do the latter; fearing, at the same time, for his life, amidst a ferocious populace, he betook himself to flight. As others, however, were involved in danger on his account, he returned back, and voluntarily offered himself to his enemies. The fanatical multitude now fell upon him; he was dragged through the streets, treated with every sort of abuse, and at last given up to be made cruel sport of by ungoverned school-boys. When the old man had almost done breathing, they besmeared him with honey and other liquids, laid him in a basket, in which he was swung up in the air, and left to be preyed upon by bees and wasps. Marcus shamed his cruel enemies by the cool indifference which he exhibited under all his sufferings; an indifference, however, which seemed more that of the

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus says of him (l. XXII. c. 11): Professionis suæ oblitus, quæ nihil nisi justum suadet et lene, ad delatorum ausa feralia desciscebat.

[2] Sozom. V. 7. Ammian. Marcellinus, XXII. 11, and the most accurate account in the above-cited anonymous life of Athanasius, p. 68.

[3] See above, p. 67.

cynic than of the Christian. The governor, himself a Pagan, is said to have represented to Julian what scandal it must occasion, if they allowed themselves to be outdone by the constancy of a weak old man, — and the emperor finally commanded him to be set free; for it was not his wish to give the Christians any martyrs.[1]

As Julian was in the habit of appointing zealous Pagans to the high sacerdotal and civil offices, and as the latter were aware that nothing would serve better to ingratiate them with the emperor than zeal for the spread of Paganism; as they were incited by the double stimulus of their own fanaticism, and of their wish to please the emperor; so it was a matter of course that individual instances of the oppression and persecution of Christians would easily happen, which might proceed even to cruelty.

Julian became still more embittered against the Christians, in the summer of 362, during his stay at Antioch. In this city, Christianity had for a long time been the prevailing religion; insomuch that Libanius remarked on the spot, that only a few old men remained who were still familiar with the ancient pagan festivals, when Julian came to the government.[2] In this great capital of Asia, which, while maintaining the form of Christianity, had become the seat of mingled oriental and Roman splendor, licentiousness, and corruption of manners, Julian, the emperor, was resolved to affect the ancient simplicity, which was wholly abhorrent to the prevailing manners, and, in such a place, could only expose him to the jeers and sarcasms of the disaffected. His zeal in the pagan worship, in which he would fain set an example to his subjects, only made him ridiculous to the higher classes, and hated by the people, in this ancient Christian city. Frugal in his expenses for the maintenance of his court, he spared no cost in offering sacrifices of all kinds. He often slaughtered a hecatomb of cattle; and it was his delight to bring the victims to the priests with his own hands, followed by a train of old women, who still clung to Paganism. Wherever an ancient temple was to be found on the mountains around Antioch, Julian clambered to the spot, however steep and rugged the path, for the purpose of presenting an offering.[3]

He was seen standing at the altar, under an open sky, though the rain poured down in torrents, and all the others present sought protection under the roof of the temple, and although his attendants besought him to pay some regard to his health.[4] The greater his zeal for the pagan worship; the more confidently he had hoped that when the heathen sanctuaries — which had so long been closed — were reopened, he should witness the same enthusiasm among the people at

[1] See above, p. 70, the letter of Libanius, who confirms the asseverations of the Christian authors, Sozomen, Socrates, Theodoret, and Gregory of Nazianzen.

[2] Liban. de vita sua, vol. I. p. 81. Libanius plays the rhetorician, here, perhaps only in this respect, that he represents what might be said of Antioch, as universally the case.

[3] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXII. c. 12, ff. Augebantur cærimoniarum ritus immodice, cum impensarum amplitudine antehac inusitata et gravi. The same writer relates, that, owing to the vast multitude of sacrificial banquets, rioting and drunkenness were spread among the soldiers. Οὐδὲν σῦτω χαλεπὸν· οὐδὲ δύσβατον, ὃ μὴ λεῖον ἐδόκει νεῶν ἔχον ἢ πρωτερόν γε ἐσχηκός. Liban. Monodia in Julian. vol. I. p. 513.

[4] Liban. presbeut. Julian. vol. I. p. 476.

Antioch, by which he was inspired himself, — the more painful it must have been to him to find his expectations so completely disappointed. True, multitudes of the people and of the higher classes assembled in the temples and groves which he visited; not, however, for the sake of the gods, but for the purpose of seeing the emperor, and being seen by him, as he himself must have known. He was saluted on these occasions with the loud shout of "Long live the emperor!" just as if he had made his appearance in the theatre. Hence he was led to address to the people of Antioch an admonitory discourse, complaining that they converted the temple into a theatre, to which they resorted rather for his own sake than on account of the gods.[1] Yet soon even the voice of praise, with which *he* had been received out of *respect for his person*, was exchanged for that of mockery and disdain; for an injudicious regulation, the object of which was to force a reduction of the price of provisions to a degree disproportionate to the produce of the year, and the result of which was directly the reverse of what had been intended, made him hated both among the higher classes and the populace, and his attempts to injure Christian sanctuaries alienated the popular feeling; and he was obliged to hear men express their longing for the return of the Kappa and the Chi, that is, of the reign of Constantius and Christianity.[2]

One incident which made him extremely unpopular with the zealous Christians, was this: In the grove of Daphne, about five miles from Antioch, but still reckoned as belonging to the suburbs of the city, stood a famous temple of Apollo; and the fountain which flowed near by was said to possess virtues which communicated the gift of divination.[3] Hence an oracle of Apollo had sprung up on this spot. But, ever since the times of the emperor Hadrian, this fountain had been neglected and had gone to decay. With a view to suppress the old pagan cultus, as well as to check the dissipation which the amenity of this spot, famous as the seat of vicious pleasures, invited, Gallus, when governor of the province, had caused to be buried here the bones of the martyr Babylas, and had erected a church for the use of those who wished to perform their devotions at the tomb of the martyr. Julian caused the long-closed temple of Apollo to be reopened, and surrounded it with a new and magnificent peristyle. Setting great value upon soothsaying of all kinds, he wished to restore also the ancient oracle, and directed the fountain to be cleared out. The priests now declared that the oracle could not go into operation. The god would give no response, on account of the vicinity of the dead; besides, according to the pagan notions, no dead body could be suffered to remain in contact with the holy place. Julian construed this as referring particularly to the neighboring bones of Babylas; for the Christian worship among the tombs, as he called it, was his special abomination, and above all, in the present case, so near to the shrine of

[1] Julian in Misopogon. p. 344. Liban. de vita sua, p. 82.

[2] Misopogon. p. 357.

[3] To which legend, perhaps, in this and in similar cases, the exhilarating and intoxicating influence of the exhalations of some mineral spring had given occasion.

his own Apollo. He caused the bones to be exhumed. Multitudes of Christians, young and old, men and women, now assembled to bear away the bones of the martyr, in solemn procession, to a place about forty stadia (five miles) distant; and, through the whole of the way, they chanted choral psalms, which alluded to the vanity of idolatry. The whole throng joined with one voice in the words: "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, and boast themselves in idols!"[1] Julian, who saw himself and his gods insulted at the same time, did not manifest on this occasion the philosophical calmness which he was so fond of exhibiting in other cases of a like nature. He commanded the prefect Salustius to search out the guiltiest of those engaged in the tumult, and punish them severely. Salust, although a Pagan, yet from motives of humanity and prudence, reluctantly executed the command. He caused a number of individuals to be seized, but subjected only one, Theodorus, a young man, to torture. The latter continued firm and unmoved, and in the midst of his sufferings sung the psalms which, the day before, he had sung with the others in the procession.[2] Salust now reminded the emperor how much the cause of the Christians gained by such constancy in their suffering companions. This led to the release of the young man and of all the rest.[3]

When Julian, for the first time after so long a period, restored the ancient feast of Apollo Daphneus, he hoped that it would be celebrated by the inhabitants of Antioch with great display. But, as he says, in a sarcastic defense of himself against the reproaches of the people of Antioch:[4] "Not an individual brought oil to kindle a lamp to the god; not one brought incense; not one, a libation or a sacrifice."[5] But one solitary priest appeared, bringing a goose for an offering. The emperor was greatly astonished and excited at this result; he severely reprimanded the noble inhabitants of Antioch, who knew no better how to appreciate the restoration of an ancient national festival; just as if his religion must necessarily be theirs. He complains of them in this writing, that they allowed their wives to carry away everything from the house for the support of the Galileans, or to bestow it upon the poor; while they themselves were unwilling to expend the smallest trifle to sustain the worship of the gods.[6]

It happened afterwards, that a fire broke out in this temple; as it was said, through the carelessness of Asclepiades, a pagan philosopher, who had come on a visit to the pious, philosophical emperor. Asclepiades had left standing, with lighted tapers, before the statue

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXII. c. 12, 13. Sozom. V. 19. (Ps. 97: 7.)

[2] The presbyter Rufinus, who knew him when an old man at Antioch, relates that he told him, that during all his sufferings he imagined he saw a young man standing by him, who wiped away his sweat, and poured over him cold water. Rufin. vers. Euseb. X. 36.

[3] Sozom. V. 20.

[4] The Misopogon, in allusion to the jokes on the long beard of the emperor.

[5] Misopogon. p. 363.

[6] Misopogon. p. 363. This passage deserves notice, inasmuch as we may see from it, that Julian was well aware of the indifference entertained by many of the higher class of the Antiochians towards the affairs of religion; and that he considered the females as the chief supporters of Christianity in the families of such persons. See, below, a like assertion of Libanius.

of Apollo, a small silver image of the Dea cœlestis (Venus Urania), which he carried about with him to perform his devotions by, wherever he travelled. But Julian attributed it to the revengeful spirit of the Christians; and they were accused as the authors of the conflagration. He directed torture to be employed, for the purpose of finding out the guilty, and ordered the great church of Antioch to be closed, to show his displeasure against the whole body of Christians.[1] Although judicial investigation could elicit no evidence against the Christians, yet Julian did not give up his suspicions. He complained, that the senate of Antioch had not done all in their power to detect the guilty.[2] The people of Antioch feared the worst; — as we see from the discourses delivered or written in their defense by Libanius. Julian exhibited, on several occasions, his excited state of feeling against the Christians. He says himself, that, at a signal given by his own hand, the tombs of the martyrs in the neighboring towns, together with the churches erected over them, were destroyed; and that the people had even gone farther against the enemies of the gods, than he himself designed.[3] Before leaving Antioch, he placed at the head of the judicial department in Syria, a man of a passionate and naturally cruel disposition, named Alexander. He is reported to have said, that Alexander was not worthy of the office; but that the covetous and slanderous Antiochians deserved no better judge.[4] It is evident from particular instances of his conduct, that the administration of justice by this Alexander corresponded entirely with the natural character of the man. He took great pains to prevail on Christians to deny their faith. Many, indeed, suffered themselves to be induced by promises, persuasions, and threats, to sacrifice; but the reproaches and tears of their wives, — among whom, at Antioch, there seems to have been more true piety than among the men, — and the silence of night, suited to lead men to the recesses of their own hearts, roused their conscience, and they returned again to Christianity. This excited Alexander even to fury: he not only persecuted these individuals, but asserted that they could not have gone so far of themselves. He thought he could trace the frustration of all his efforts to propagate the worship of the gods, to the secret plots of a Christian. He was persuaded, by the enemies of a certain Eusebius, to believe that the whole mischief proceeded from him. This man was about to be thrown into prison and confined in chains; but he succeeded in effecting his escape, and took refuge with the pagan rhetorician Libanius, whose friendship he had gained by the moderation and mildness of his conduct towards the Pagans under the preceding reign. Libanius behaved in the same noble manner as he was ever accustomed to do in like cases.[5] He boldly rebuked Alexander for his conduct, and assured him that he would not give up Eusebius.[6]

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXII. c. 13.
[2] See Misopogon. p. 361.
[3] Misopogon. p. 361.
[4] Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXIII. c. 2.
[5] See p. 67.
[6] In his letter to Alexander (ep. 1057), he thus expresses himself: "It was my wish that you might be zealous indeed for the gods, and gain over many to their law; but that you should not be surprised, however, if many a one of those who have just offered, should consider what he has done

But though Libanius did not wish to see men persecuted on account of their religion, and showed mercy to such as were persecuted, still he looked on with complacency, when men could be induced, even though it were by extraneous considerations at first, to return to the worship of the gods. Accordingly he was willing to try the experiment whether fear of the irritated emperor might not be used as a motive to persuade Antiochians of the higher class, among whom there was not a little pretentious refinement, and in whose worldly minds the religious interest may have held but a very subordinate place, to give up their Christianity; though he had very small hope of success.[1] He says to them: "Whatever you may offer to appease the anger of the emperor will avail you nothing. Only one thing remains; and that is, to give up these tricks,[2] and surrender your city to Zeus and to the other gods, — a thing which, long before the emperor, even from your childhood, Hesiod and Homer have instructed you to do. You claim the honor of being men of culture; and you consider the knowledge of the poets to be a part of good culture.[3] But in the weightiest concerns you follow other teachers; avoiding the temples now once more thrown open, when you ought to sigh that they should ever have been closed. Then, if anybody speaks of Plato or Pythagoras,[4] you hold out on the other side the authority of your mothers and wives, of your butlers and cooks[5] (he means, they could not abandon Christianity in the face of such opposition). You plead your convictions of so long standing; and you are not ashamed that you can feel ashamed to abandon them; and you let yourselves be led by those whom you should lead. But what need of longer speech? It is now put to your own choice, whether you will continue to be hated, or will gain two things at once, the favor of the emperor, and the knowledge of the true gods of heaven. But well do I know," he says, "that talking and reasoning will never change your minds."

Libanius was undoubtedly right in saying that the Antiochians could

as a very wicked thing, and praise again the refusing to offer. For, away from home, they follow you when you advise them what is best, and go to the altars. At home they are turned about, and withdrawn from the altars by the wife, by tears, and by the night. But as to Eusebius, who is accused of having undone again what was accomplished by your pains, he is manifestly calumniated, and far from that which has been laid to his charge; for he well understands the times, and acts uniformly with reflection rather than with foolhardiness: and, as he knows your wrath, he would not, were he ever so foolish, thus throw himself upon a sheaf of swords. But he is not one of those ordinary men who easily change with the changes of the times; but, as one who has busied himself with science, and cultivated his mind, he was, even in the time when he had the power, oppressive to no one, and arrogant to no one. One might say he foresaw the future, so moderate was he. It was this, indeed, which made the man dear to me and to Nicocles (see above; I suppose that, instead of ᾧ καὶ φίλον ἐποιήσας, we should read ὃ καὶ φίλον εποίησεν); for, while he honored *his own* religion, he yet did not annoy those who swore by the name of Jupiter." In like manner, Libanius warned this Alexander, in ep. 1375, to take care lest, by the way in which he proposed to help the insulted gods, he might rather do them injury. Probably letter 1346, also, has a similar reference.

[1] See the discourse — perhaps merely written, and never delivered, περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς. Vol. I. p. 502.

[2] He speaks in this contemptuous way of Christianity: Παυσάμενοι τῶν ὑθλων τούτων.

[3] Ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ πεπαιδεῦσθαι μὲν ἀξιοῦτε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ παίδευσιν καλεῖτε τὰ ἔπη.

[4] Appeals to such representatives of the ancient religion.

[5] Τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τὸν μάγειρον προτείνεσθε.

never wholly appease the emperor's anger except by returning to Paganism. This was confirmed by several examples of the method pursued with other cities. When the town of Pessinus in Galatia, celebrated in earlier times on account of the worship of Cybele, petitioned the emperor for assistance, on some occasion or other, he replied that, if they wished to *enjoy his favor*, they must first, by a general procession of penitence, propitiate the mother of the gods, from whose worship they had fallen.[1]

Wherever, in his march against the Persians, Julian passed through any of the Christian cities of Syria, he took this opportunity of exhorting the senators who welcomed him, to restore the worship of the gods. Thus it was, for example, when, after two days' journey, he came to Berœa in Syria. But he complained, that the senators all applauded his speeches, though only a few followed his advice; indeed, none but those who seemed *already* to have cherished sound views in religion, but, until now, had been ashamed to express their convictions openly. His pleasure was the greater, when, on the third day's journey, he came to a place[2] where the odor of incense breathed upon him from all sides, and he everywhere beheld sacrifices publicly offered; although he could not avoid suspecting that these public exhibitions were intended more for himself than for the gods.[3]

As the feelings of Julian against the Christians and against Christianity were continually more and more exasperated by the opposition which he experienced, it may be readily conjectured that, if he had returned back successfully from his Persian campaign, he would have become a violent persecutor of the church. But in this war he perished, in the year 363; and, at a single blow, the frail fabric erected by mere human will, was dissolved; although Julian, deceived by his apparent success in making proselytes, had boasted of having produced, in a short time, a wonderful change: for in a letter, in which, indeed, he complained that the cause of Hellenism, through the fault of its professors, did not yet progress according to his wishes, he had asserted that the friends of the gods ought to be satisfied; "for who, a short time before, would have ventured to predict that so great and so important a change could be produced in so brief a period?"[4]

This brief ascendency of Paganism was a time of sifting for the

[1] Julian. ep. 49.

[2] Βάτναι.

[3] See Julian's letter to Libanius, describing his journey (ep. 27). Sozomen (VI. 1) reports, that Julian, in a menacing letter, summoned Arsaces, king of Armenia, who was a Christian, to arm himself for the war against the Persians; that he announced to him, the God whom he worshipped would not be able to help him; that this letter contained blasphemies against Christ. Muratori has published this letter in the anecdot. Græc. Patav. (see above, p. 65), p. 334. All the boastful language, perhaps in imitation of the oriental taste, which Sozomen refers to, is found in it; nothing, however, which would seem expressly pointed against Christ. Yet, when Julian says to the king, "You seek to keep concealed with you an enemy of the public weal," Sozomen, perhaps with reason, may have supposed this referred to Christ. At all events, in the threat expressed against the city Nisibis, which should share that misfortune of king Arsaces the gods had long since predicted against him, we perceive the hatred he entertained against this city, which for many years had been zealously Christian.

[4] Ep. 49. Τίς γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοσαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην μεταβολὴν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐτόλμα;

Christians, serving to separate those who had become through honest conviction, that which they professed to be, from those who had been decided only by outward considerations. When the Christians searched into the causes of this reaction, which was brought about through their own fault, they derived from it many important lessons for the future. Among these lessons belongs the great truth which the wise Gregory Nazianzen, contemplating the evils within the church, had expressed, in the beginning of Julian's reign, *that the Christian church had still more to fear from its enemies within than from those without.*[1] The same father exhorted the Christians, *after the death of Julian*, now to show, by their actions, that they had profited by the divine discipline; to show that God had not given them up as evil-doers into the hands of the Pagans, but that he had chastised them as his children; to be careful that they did not forget the storm in the time of calm,—Egypt, after the deliverance from Egypt. "It ought not to appear," he said, "as if the time of suffering was better for them than the time of rest; for so it would appear, if then they were humble and moderate, and pointed all their hopes to heaven; but now proud and haughty, ready to fall back again into the same sins which brought them into all their misfortunes." He then gave the Christians *the advice* to which he was conscious that he should find the most difficulty in making them listen. He advised them to take no advantage of the power which *they obtained through the change of the times*, in *retaliating upon the Pagans the injuries which they had received.* "Let us show," says he, "what a difference there is between what these men learn from their gods, and the lessons which Christ teaches us,—Christ, who, glorified through sufferings, obtained the victory by forbearing to use his power. Let us pay God our united thanks; let us, by long suffering, promote the spread of the gospel; for this, let us take advantage of the times. (Let us by gentleness subdue our) oppressors."[2]

The Pagans now saw all their brilliant hopes destroyed; and in *their faith* they found nothing to console them. Libanius says he supposed that the emperor, who had rebuilt the temples and altars; who had forgotten no god and no goddess, and sacrificed upon the altars whole herds of oxen and lambs; who had called forth troops of priests from their hiding places, would need no mighty armed force, but must conquer through the power of the gods.[3] Now he quarreled with his gods, because they had permitted Constantius to reign forty years, but Julian only for so short a period, and then, with him, suffered his whole work to fall to the ground.[4]

Julian was immediately succeeded by Jovianus, an emperor who

[1] Gregor. Nazianz. orat. I. p. 35.

[2] Gregor. Nazianz. Λογ. στηλιτευτ. II. orat. IV. f. 130, 131.

[3] Monod in Julian. T. I. 508. He had actually prophesied that the gods themselves would smite the Persians. Ep. 649.

[4] L. c. p. 510. How strongly contrasted with this is the spirit of Augustine, when he says, "that no emperor should be a Christian in order to procure for himself the fortune of Constantine,—as each should be a Christian *for the sake of eternal life.* God took away Jovian sooner than he did Julian." De civitate Dei, l. V. c. 25.

professed Christianity. He had learned from the preceding times the lesson, that religion could not be helped by outward force. Hence, although for his own part a zealous Christian, yet he left to all his subjects the liberty of exercising *the religion which they preferred*, — a principle which he expressed in one of the laws published on his accession to the throne. He permitted the temple-worship and the sacrifices to go on unmolested; and expressly prohibited nothing, except employing the pagan rites for the purposes of magic.[1]

Golden words were those which the moderate Pagan Themistius

[1] That Jovian enacted a law of this import can hardly be doubted, — judging from what Themistius said to him at the consular celebration. We must admit that the accounts of persecutions against the Pagans, and of measures for the suppression of Paganism, under the reign of this emperor, seem to conflict with this supposition; as, for example, when Libanius, in his Epitaph. in Julian, p. 619, says, that after Julian's death, those who spoke openly against the gods, once more stood in authority, but the priests were unjustifiably called to an account. An indemnification was demanded for the money expended in sacrifices. The rich anticipated a judicial investigation, and paid the money down; the poor were thrown in chains. (We may conjecture that the writer is here speaking of those who were accused of having expended money which did not belong to them, — whether taken from the public coffer or from elsewhere, — for the offering of sacrifices.) The temples, he continues, were in part demolished, and in part stood unfinished, — objects of mockery and sport to the Christians. The philosophers (i. e. all those who, in the time of Julian, had appeared in the philosopher's cloak, and thereby acquired specially great influence with him) were abused. All who had received presents from the emperor Julian, were accused of theft, and subjected to every sort of torment, in order to extort from them the money they were supposed to have received. In respect to this report of Libanius, what he says as a passionate opponent of the emperor, and with rhetorical exaggeration, cannot be received as altogether credible. It may have been the case that many Pagans, believing that the end sanctioned the means, stimulated by zeal for their religion, or making this a mere pretense, and out of sheer cupidity, had allowed themselves, under the preceding reign, in practices which might in some measure give just occasion for judicial investigations against the heathens. But it also may have been the case, that indemnification was *unjustly* required for that which had been done in a perfectly legal manner, and in compliance with supreme imperial authority, — just as Julian had proceeded in respect to what had been done under his predecessor. And finally, it would be wrong to suppose that everything which Christian governors, or those that used Christianity as a pretext, under an emperor who appeared zealous for Christianity, thought themselves entitled to do, without being authorized by his laws, ought to be laid to his charge. Jovian himself showed respect to Maximus and Priscus, — the two philosophers who possessed the highest influence under the emperor Julian, and the former of whom had labored earnestly for the support of Paganism. See Eunap. vita Maximi, p. 58. But yet it might happen, without any occasion given by the emperor, that pagan philosophers would be persecuted, as Themistius intimates was the case, although he absolves the emperor from the charge of having been himself the cause of any such thing, ad Valentem de bello Victis, ed. Harduin, f. 99, c. — ed. Dindorf, p. 118, where, evidently referring to Jovian, he says of his treatment of philosophy: Ὅστις ἔδοξεν οὐ πρὸ πόλλου περιορᾶν ἀδικουμένην, οὐκ αὐτός τι κακὸν ἐργασάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι προῆκατο μόνον καὶ περιεῖδεν, ὅμως οὐκ ανταναφέρει τῇ λοιπῇ δόξῃ πρὸς ταύτην μόνην τὴν δυσφημίαν. Socrates (l. III. c. 24) says that, under Jovian, all the temples were immediately closed; that the Pagans concealed themselves; that the philosophers laid aside their cloaks; that the public sacrifices ceased. All this, although not taken in so general a sense, may have been true, — as a natural consequence of the fears entertained by the Pagans, or of their lukewarmness entering of its own accord, when the atmosphere of the court ceased to be favorable to Paganism. Socrates himself seems to be aware that Jovian was not disposed to oppress any party. L. III. c. 25, etc. What Sozomen says (l. VI. c. 3), respecting a letter of the emperor addressed to all the governors, may be understood — supposing it to be correct — as only meaning that Jovian expressed a wish to have all his subjects come to the knowledge of the truth in Christianity, and distinguished the Christian church once more by peculiar privileges. Libanius himself (orat. pro templis, vol. II. p. 163) says that, after Julian's death down to the time of Valens, μένει τινὰ τὸ θύειν ἱερεῖα χρόνον,

addressed to Jovian, on his entrance upon the consular office, with a view to confirm him in those principles recognizing man's universal rights, and the toleration in matters of religion connected therewith, which he had expressed immediately after coming to the throne. Having congratulated the emperor, that the first law of his reign related to religion, he says: "You alone seem to be aware, that the monarch cannot force everything from his subjects; that there are things which are superior to all constraint, threatenings, and laws; as, for instance, virtue generally, and, in particular, piety towards God. And you have very wisely considered, that in all these matters, unless there is hypocrisy, the unconstrained and absolutely free will of the soul must move first. For if it is not possible, emperor, by any *new edicts* to make a man well disposed towards *you*, if he is not so at heart; how much less is it possible, by the fear of human edicts, by transient constraint, and those weak images of terror which the times have often produced, and as often annihilated, to make men truly pious, and lovers of God? We play, in such cases often, the ridiculous part of serving, not God, but the purple; and change our religion more easily than the sea is moved by the storm. There used to be but one Theramenes; but now all are fickle-minded.[1] He who but yesterday was one of the ten (deputies of the Athenians to the Lacedemonians) is to-day one of the thirty (tyrants). The man who yesterday stood by the altars, the sacrifices, and the images, stands to-day by the holy tables of the Christians. Yet this, O emperor! is *not* what *you* desire. While you would now and ever be sovereign as to everything else, you command that religion should be left to the free choice of each individual. And in this, you follow the example of the Deity, who has implanted the *capacity for religion* in the whole human nature, but has left the particular kind of worship to the will of each man. But whoever employs force here, takes away the freedom which God has bestowed on every man. For this reason, the laws of a Cheops and of a Cambyses hardly lasted as long as their authors' lives. But the law of God, and your law, remains forever unchangeable, — the law, that every man's soul is free in reference to its own peculiar mode of worship. This law, no pillage of goods, no death on the cross or at the stake, has ever been able to extinguish. You may, indeed, constrain and kill the body; but, though the tongue may be forced to silence, the soul will rise and carry with it its own free will, free from the compulsion of mere authority."

Themistius, moreover, praises the emperor as one who knew how to distinguish the true from the false use of sacrifices. He approves of the law which had been made against using sacrifices for the purposes of magic.[2]

[1] Νῦν ἅπαντες κόθορνοι. Ed. Dindorf. p. 80.

[2] He praises the emperor on this account, μάλιστα δὲ οἷς οὐκ ἐφίησι μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀλλα καὶ τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἐξηγεῖται οὐ φαυλότερον Εμπεδοκλέους, οὐ μὰ Δία, ἐκείνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ (that is, οὐ φαυλοτέρον ἐκείνου, etc., he is truly not inferior to that old Empedocles). And afterwards he says: The emperor well knows how deception and falsehood are mixed in with everything good, well knows that ὑποδύεται μεγαλοπρέπειαν μαγγανεία καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἀγυρτεία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν προάγει τὰς δὲ κωλύει καὶ

The same principles, in regard to matters of religion, were followed by Valentinian, who succeeded Jovian in the year 364. As Valentinian, by his steadfast profession of Christianity, had incurred the displeasure of the emperor Julian;[1] as he hated Julian and his friends; as he was, in other respects, inclined to despotism; it is the more remarkable that he still recognized on this point the limits of human power, and perceived the folly and ruinous consequences of attempting to overstep them.[2] By laws which he issued at the very commencement of his reign, he allowed *each of his subjects unlimited freedom of exercising the religion which he conceived to be true*.[3] By another law of the year of 371, he expressly declares that neither the practice of the haruspices, nor any other form of worship permitted by the fathers, should be forbidden.[4]

This toleration of Valentinian was rather helpful, than injurious, to the spread of Christianity. This appears from the fact, that under the reign of this emperor, heathenism began first to be called by the name of the peasants' religion (Paganismus);[5] because the old worship of the gods was maintained the longest among the neglected, rude, and ignorant people of the country.

It was owing, in part, to the indifference or selfishness of Christian landlords, that Paganism held out longest among the peasantry; for either they took no interest in the religious condition of their tenants, — they avoided the expense of building a church and of maintaining clergymen to look after the instruction of the people; or else were so given to covetousness and so lost to the sense of all higher interests, as to prefer that the pagan temples should stand, so long as they could add something to their income by the taxes that must be paid on them. So says the bishop Zeno of Verona, in a sermon where he is speaking of the spiritual sacrifices of Christians: "Ask here, ye Christians, whether *your* sacrifice can be acceptable to God, you who know every patch of soil, every little rock and tree on the estates near you, but

ἱερὰ ἀνοίγων ἀποκλείει μαγγανευτήρια καὶ θυσίας ἐννόμους ἀφιεὶς οὐ δίδωσιν ἄδειαν τοῖς γοητεύουσιν. Ed. Dindorf. p. 83.

[1] The thing itself admits of no doubt, since Pagan and Christian historians here agree. The only question relates to the particulars, which are stated in many various ways.

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, who frankly describes the despotic acts of this emperor, says of him, l. XXX. c. 9: "Postremo hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit aut illud, nec interdictis minacibus subjectorum cervicem ad id quod ipse coluit inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit."

[3] Unicuique, quod animo imbibisset, colendi libera facultas. This law is cited in a law of the emperor belonging to the year 371. Cod. Theod. l. IX. Tit. 16, l. 9.

[4] He gave this direction, perhaps, expressly because a law which he had enacted against the nocturna sacrificia and pagan magic, might be misinterpreted; and even that first law, in consequence of the remonstrances of an influential pagan statesman, did not go into general execution, — if Zosimus (IV. 3) speaks the truth.

[5] The name religio Paganorum, applied to heathenism, first occurs in a law of the emperor Valentinian, of the year 368. Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. II. l. 18. The above derivation of the name is, however, the only tenable one, and is moreover confirmed by the testimony of Paulus Orosius. This writer, in the preface to his short history of the world, says, — Qui ex locorum agrestium compitis et pagis Pagani vocantur. To this derivation the Christian poet Prudentius also alludes, when (contra Symmachum, l. I. v. 620) he calls the heathens "pago implicitos."

know nothing at all of the temples smoking with incense all about your own territory, and which (to be plain) you have some crafty way of preserving, though you seem to be ignorant of their existence. The proof is not far off. You are every day involved in lawsuits, lest some one should deprive you of your right to collect taxes from the temples."[1] And bishop Gaudentius of Brescia says to his community: "Think you that the lukewarm and slothful Christian loves God, — a man who suffers idols to be worshipped on his own lands; who allows idol temples and altars of devils to stand there to God's dishonor?"[2]

Though Paganism was so called out of contempt for the religion of the ignorant peasantry, yet we are not thence to conclude that it had lost *all* adherents among the educated and noble. In the East, the political suspicions of the emperor Valens, directed against those who practised divination and sorcery, brought many a persecution upon the Pagans,[3] although the same tolerant laws were recognized in the East, also. The pagan rhetorician, Themistius, addressed the emperor Valens in terms very similar to those which he had used before Jovian, extolling these principles of toleration.[4] According to the testimony of Libanius, Valentinian and Valens were finally moved, by the political jealousies growing out of the frequent conspiracies, *to forbid entirely all bloody sacrifices;* though the other kinds of heathen worship continued to be permitted;[5] yet no such law of these emperors has come down to us.[6]

The emperor Gratian, who succeeded his father in the year 375, had not, like the latter, adopted it as an absolute principle, to alter nothing pertaining to the religious condition of his empire; but still he adhered to the rule of allowing a free exercise of the pagan rites. So accustomed were men to consider the pagan religion as the religion of the state, and the emperors as its chiefs, that even the Christian empe-

[1] Lib. I. Tract. X. c. 6. Hic quærite, Christiani, sacrificium vestrum an esse possit acceptum, qui vicinarum possessionium omnes glebulas, lapillos et surculos nostis, in prædiis autem vestris fumantia undique sola fana non nostis, quæ (si vera dicenda sunt) dissimulando subtiliter custoditis. Probatio longe non est. Jus templorum ne quis vobis eripiat, quotidie litigatis. Ed. Ballerin. Augustæ, 1758, p. 120.

[2] Sermo XIII. in veterum Brixiæ episcoporum, opp. Brixiæ, 1738, f. 319.

[3] Liban. de vita sua, vol. I. p. 113. Chrysostom. Hom. 38, in act. apost. fin.

[4] Orat. VI. de religionibus, which hitherto has been known to us only in a Latin translation. Socrates (IV. 32) and Sozomen (VI. 36) cite a discourse of similar import, which Themistius is said to have delivered before Valens, dissuading him from the persecution of *Christians entertaining other opinions* in the time of the Arian controversies. If we must suppose that this refers to the discourse above cited, it could not be correct; for that discourse manifestly treats of *toleration only to Paganism*. But both those authors, however, quote distinct expressions of Themistius, which are not to be found in that discourse. Although they quote many other thoughts which do actually occur in it, yet this is no proof that they have in view the same performance; since, in the discourse which was delivered before Jovian, a good deal is expressed in precisely the same way as in the oration before Valens. It is therefore more probable that Themistius actually delivered a discourse of this sort, of which, however, nothing has come down to our times.

[5] Orat. pro templis, p. 163.

[6] It may be possible that Libanius did not in this case duly separate the affairs of the East and of the West; yet he was doubtless interested in that discourse to bring together everything which could be found, in the ordinances of the earlier emperors, *favorable* to Paganism.

rors still retained the title of supreme pontiffs, and, on ascending the throne, received along with the other badges of the imperial dignity, the robe of the supreme pontiff; but it had now become a mere formality.

Gratian is said to have been the first who declined to receive this robe, because he could not conscientiously do it as a Christian;[1] yet he still retained the title.[2] Moreover, in the place where the Roman senate met, there stood an altar dedicated to Victory, at which the pagan senators were accustomed to take their oaths, and upon which they scattered incense and made offerings. It had been first removed by Constantius, and afterwards replaced by Julian. Jovian and Valentinian had made no alteration, allowing things to remain as they were; but Gratian caused the altar to be removed again. He confiscated estates belonging to the temples. He deprived the priests and vestals of the support they had received from the public treasury, and of all their other privileges.[3] He took away also from the college of priests the right of receiving legacies of real estate. All this took place in the year 382. As a considerable number of Pagans were then still to be found in the Roman senate, it being generally the case that the first and oldest families in Rome adhered to the old Roman religion, along with all the other old Roman customs; they chose a man out of their number, distinguished for his personal merits, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, as their delegate, to procure from the emperor, in the name of the senate, the abrogation of these laws. But the Christian party of the senate, who claimed to be the majority,[4] transmitted, through the Roman bishop Damasus, a memorial to the emperor, complaining of this proceeding on the part of the heathens. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who possessed great influence with Gratian, presented him with this petition; and Gratian was so indignant at the demands of the pagan party, as to refuse even to grant an audience to their delegate.[5] As Rome was visited, in the following year, 383, by a great famine, the zealous Pagans looked upon this as a punishment sent by the gods, on account of the wrong done to their religion.[6]

[1] Zosim. l. IV. c. 36.

[2] Thus, for example, Ausonius gives it to him, in his gratiarum actio pro consulatu, where he styles him "pontifex religione;" and he bears it in inscriptions. See Inscriptionum latinarum amplissima collectio, ed. Orelli, vol. I. p. 245.

[3] See the reports of Symmachus and Ambrosius to Valentinian II. directly to be quoted, and the edict of Honorius, of the year 415. Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. X. l. 20. Omnia loca, quæ sacris error veterum deputavit, secundum *D. Gratiani constituta* nostræ rei jubemus sociari.

[4] Having here nothing but the reports of parties, we cannot determine with certainty as to that which was formally right in the case.

[5] Evil-minded men, says Symmachus, in his memorial to the successors of this emperor, had brought this about; because they well knew that, if the emperor heard the deputies, he would not refuse them justice. Denegata est *ab improbis* audientia, quia non erat justitia defutura.

[6] Symmachus writes, in his great extremity, to his brother, with a certain simple piety, which, with all his superstition, yet renders him far more worthy of respect, than those were who embraced Christianity to honor the emperor: Dii patrii! facite gratiam neglectorum sacrorum! Miseram famem pellite. Quamprimum revocet urbs nostra, quos invita dimisit (this is ambiguous, and may refer either to the strangers banished from Rome, with a view to spare the means of subsistence, or to the gods). Quicquid humana ope majus est, Diis permitte curandum. Symmach. epistolæ, l. II. ep. 7.

When the young Valentinian II. succeeded his brother Gratian in the government, the pagan party of the senate attempted once more, (in the year 384,) through the instrumentality of Symmachus, at that time prefect of the city, to obtain from the emperor a compliance with their demands. He asks of the emperor, that he would distinguish his own *private religion* from the religio urbis. Taking his stand at the position of Paganism, he explains that men would do better, inasmuch as they are excluded from the knowledge of divine things,[1] to abide by, and to follow, the authority of antiquity; in doing which, their fathers, for so many centuries, had experienced so much prosperity. Rome is personified, and made to address the emperor in the following language: "I wish, as I am free, to live after my own manner. These rites of worship have subjected the whole world to my laws." The famine of the preceding year, he represented as following in consequence of the wrong done to the pagan rites. "What was there," he says, "like this, which our fathers were ever compelled to suffer, when the ministers of religion enjoyed the honor of a public maintenance?" As Symmachus was well aware that the Christians would have the emperor make it a matter of conscience to refuse all support to the idolatrous worship, he endeavored to quiet his scruples on this point, by the distinction, already alluded to, between the religio urbis and the religio imperatoris. If he did but suffer that to remain which the city (urbs) could demand by ancient right, he would, by so doing, concede no privilege to a religion which was not his own.[2]

But Ambrose, bishop of Milan, on hearing of this, sent to the young emperor Valentinian, a letter written with dignified earnestness. He represented, that this compliance on the part of the emperor would be a sanction of Paganism, and a tacit denial of his own Christian convictions. The emperor ought to allow liberty of conscience to every one of his subjects; but he must also maintain the freedom of his own conscience. "Wrong is done no man," he writes, "when the Almighty God is preferred before him. To him belong your convictions. You force no one yourself to worship God against his own will; let the same right be conceded also to yourself. But if some nominal Christians advise you to such a decision, do not suffer yourself to be deceived by mere names.[3] He who advises this, and he who decrees this, sacrifices. We, bishops, could not quietly tolerate this. You might come to the church, but you would find there no priest; or a priest who would forbid your approach. What would you have to reply to the priest, when he says, the church wants not your gifts, since you have honored with presents the temples of the heathen? The altar of Christ disdains your offerings, since you have erected an altar to idols; for your word, your hand, your signature, are your works. The Lord wishes not for your service, since you have become the servant of idols;

[1] Cum ratio omnis in operto sit.

[2] Symmach. l. X. ep. 61.

[3] Ambrosius was afraid, as it seems, of several of the members of the emperor's privy council, of the consistory, to whom the political interest might be of greater account than the religious. There were several members of the emperor's privy council, also, who were Pagans. See Ambros. ep. 57, ad Eugen. § 3.

for he has said to you: 'Ye cannot serve two masters.'"[1] The strong representations of Ambrose had their effect, and Valentinian rejected the petition.

In the beginning of the reign of the emperor Theodosius, Chrysostom composed, at Antioch, his noble discourse on the martyr Babylas,[2] in which he described the divine power wherewith Christianity had penetrated into the life of humanity, and obtained the victory over heathenism. He rightly maintained, that Christianity disdained in this warfare all weapons which were not her own; and he predicted the entire destruction of Paganism, which was crumbling in ruins through its own nothingness. He says: "*It is not permitted the Christians to destroy error by violence and constraint: they are allowed to labor for the salvation of men only by persuasion, by rational instruction, and by acts of love.*[3]" He affirms that zeal for Paganism was still to be seen only in a few cities; and that in these the pagan worship was promoted by the respectable and wealthy citizens, who allowed the poor to join them in their heathen and sensual festivities, and thus chained them to their interests. Chrysostom was assuredly right in this, that men might rely upon the divine power of the gospel, which would carry the work, hitherto so successful, completely to its end: but so thought not the emperors.

Theodosius, the reigning emperor in the East, but whose influence extended also to the West, went, in his proceedings against Paganism, gradually farther in the way struck out by Gratian. At first he was content to abide by those measures against the sacrifices which had already been adopted by him in common with Gratian. Properly speaking, indeed, the employment of sacrifices for the purposes of magic and soothsaying, alone had been forbidden; and even by the new law which Theodosius gave, in the year 385, to the prætorian prefect Cynegius, a man extremely zealous for the extinction of Paganism, *soothsaying from the sacrifices only was prohibited;* yet these laws were, in their execution, certainly applied, for the most part, to *all the forms of sacrificial worship;* as appears from the plea of Libanius in defence of the temples — a discourse shortly after to be more particularly noticed, in which the writer, however, drew arguments from every quarter, to limit, as far as possible, the meaning of the existing laws against Paganism. Undoubtedly an exception was made in favor of those capital towns where Paganism still had a considerable party, and in favor of the more noble families; since Libanius could appeal to the fact, before the emperor Theodosius, that the sacrificial worship still existed at Rome and Alexandria.[4]

[1] For the rest, the question whether the emperor was obligated to grant this, and whether he could grant it with a good conscience, admits not of being answered from the purely religious point of view: the consideration of civil rights also enters in here, which Symmachus doubtless alluded to, but at the same time confounded too much with the religious question, and which, as the matter then stood, would certainly make the decision more favorable to Ambrosius than to Symmachus.

[2] Εἰς τὸν μάρτυρα Βαβύλαν λόγος δεύτερος.

[3] Οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις χριστιανοῖς ἀνάγκῃ καὶ βίᾳ καταστρέφειν τὴν πλάνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ προσηνείᾳ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεσθαι σωτηρίαν.

[4] Oratio pro templis, vol. II. p. 180 et seq.

Now, these laws might easily furnish a pretext for the destruction of the temples. The Pagans were found assembled in the temples, for the purpose of sacrificing, or they were accused of having sacrificed. Blind zealots, or those whose avarice prompted them to wish for the plunder of the temples, immediately seized upon this circumstance as a lawful reason for destroying them, pretending that they had caused the imperial laws to be broken. The wild troops of monks, to whom any object which, under the name of religion, excited their passions, was welcome, undertook, especially in the country, these campaigns for the destruction of temples in which sacrifices were alleged to have been performed.[1] As the synagogues of the Jews, whose worship was protected by the laws of the state,[2] were not secure against the fanatical fury of blind zealots and the avarice of men who used religion as a pretext; so the temples of the Pagans, against which they might act under some show of legal authority, must have been much more exposed to danger. In countries where the Pagans still constituted the majority, they returned the Christians like for like, and burnt the churches, as at Gaza and Askelon in Palestine, and at Berytus in Phœnicia.[3] The emperor himself declared at first against those who were for turning the laws which forbade sacrificial worship into a means for wholly suppressing the worship of the temples.[4]

When the temple-destroying fury was now increasing and spreading on all sides, and the Pagans could not but fear that the emperor would gradually go further, Libanius addressed to him his remarkable plea in defence of the *temples*. The immediate occasion of it seems to have been the destruction of a very magnificent ancient temple, on the borders of the Roman empire, towards Persia.[5] In this discourse he

[1] What Libanius (p. 164) says of this destruction of the temples by the monks (the *μελαναμονοῦντες*) may, compared with what we otherwise know respecting the way of a part of these people, doubtless be received as true. Godofredus, meanwhile, has assuredly misconceived this passage, (p. 170,) when, by *σωφρονισταῖς*, he understands here those whose duty it was to see to the execution of the imperial laws on this point. Libanius evidently means to say that the monks had, upon their own authority, thrust themselves in as *σωφρονισταῖς*.

[2] Secta nulla lege prohibita; see the law of the emperor Theodosius, in the year 393, cited below.

[3] See Ambros. ep. ad Theodos l. V. ep. 29.

[4] By a law of the year 382, he ordered that the temple at Edessa, in which statues were to be found, deserving of estimation more on account of their artistic than of their religious worth, (artis pretio quam divinitate metienda,) should always stand open. The emperor was no doubt inclined, in cases where such violences were committed, to exercise justice, when his purpose was not counteracted by the powerful influence of the bishops. Thus, upon the report of the Comes orientis, in the year 388, he was in fact on the point of punishing the monks, who had destroyed a temple of the Valentinians near the castle of Callinicum in Mesopotamia, and to oblige the bishop, who by his discourses had stirred up the people there to demolish a Jewish synagogue, to cause it to be rebuilt; but the declamations of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, led him to change his mind. See Ambros. ep. 40 ad Theodos. ep. 42 ad sororem. Paulin. vit. Ambros. Still, in the year 393, he issued to this part of Asia a law, that those, qui sub Christianæ religionis nomine illicita quæque præsumunt, et destruere synagogas atque exspoliare conantur, should be punished congrua severitate. Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. VIII. l. 9.

[5] Comparing the above-cited law of Theodosius with the description which Libanius gives of the magnificence of this temple, we might suppose that the temple at Edessa was here meant. The connection of events may be conceived to be as follows: — that Theodosius at some earlier period had been persuaded to approve of the shutting-up of the temple, but had been afterwards induced by the representations of the heathen party to pass the ordinances already cited in favor

calls to his aid all the political and all the religious reasons which he could possibly find, in defense of the temples. Together with much that is sophistical and declamatory, he made also many excellent remarks. Among these belongs what he says to refute the argument for the destruction of the temples, that Paganism, by being deprived of these, would lose the chief means of its support among the people; that the people would now visit the churches instead of the temples, and thus by degrees be led to embrace Christianity. "That is," says he, "they would not embrace another kind of worship, but hypocritically pretend to embrace it. They would join, it is true, in the assemblies with the rest, and do everything like the others; but when they assumed the posture of prayer, it would be either to invoke no one, or else the gods." In the next place, he very justly appeals to the Christian doctrine itself:[1] "Force is said not to be permitted, even according to the laws of your own religion; persuasion is said to be praised, but force condemned by them. Why, then, do you wreak your fury against the temples, when this surely is not to persuade,[2] but to use force? Thus, then, it is plain you would transgress even the laws of your own religion."[3]

Many Pagans being still to be found in high civil offices, a fact which Libanius refers to in the above-mentioned discourse as showing the favorable disposition of the emperor towards this party;[4] the imperial commands, of course, were still very far from being carried into rigid execution; and this experience led again to new authoritative measures.

We are by no means to suppose, however, that in these matters Theodosius always acted after the same consistent plan. On the contrary, he might at one and the same time publish ordinances of an opposite character, according as he allowed himself to be influenced, either by those members of his privy council, (the consistorium imperatoris,) who, if they were not themselves Pagans, yet were governed far more by the political than the religious interest, or by the exhortations of the bishops. In the year 384 or 386,[5] he directed the prætorian

of the temple. But, it having been reported to him by a governor in these districts, — (the Dux Osrhoënæ,) who (if Libanius does not misrepresent) was led on by his wife, as she was by the monks, — that the devotional exercises in the neighboring cloisters were disturbed by the fumes of the sacrifices diffused abroad from the temple, the emperor finally was prevailed upon to allow it to be destroyed. (The supposition, however, that this governor was the Præfectus Prætorio Cynegius, as well as the fixing of the chronological date by Godofredus on the assumption of this fact, is one which has not been duly proved.) Meanwhile this hypothesis is still not altogether certain; for there may have been many magnificent temples on the borders of Syria, as, for example, at Palmyra.

[1] Orat. pro temp. II. p. 179.

[2] Instead of εἰ τὸ, the reading, as it seems to me, should be εἰ τοῦτο.

[3] What Libanius elsewhere says in this discourse, so recklessly to the advantage of Paganism and in praise of Julian, is of a sort which he could hardly have ventured to utter before the emperor. We may conjecture that this discourse was delivered or *written* only as a specimen of rhetorical art.

[4] L. c. p. 203.

[5] The question comes up, whether Cynegius received this commission when he was appointed Præfectus Prætorio, or not till afterwards. The accurate determination of the chronological date is attended in this case with many difficulties. See Tillemont, hist. des empereurs Romains, Theodose, N. 15. We must either suppose that the historians have given too wide an extension to the commission intrusted to Cynegius,

prefect Cynegius, well known on account of his zeal for the spread of Christianity, to shut up all the temples, and make an end of the entire temple worship in the East (that is, in the eastern part of Roman Asia) and in Egypt.[1] And yet a law of the emperor, published about the middle of June, 386, presupposes the toleration of the temple worship, and the recognizance of the college of priests.[2]

After the suppression of the public pagan worship, by the commission given to Cynegius, had been effected, so far as that was possible, *certain events* occurred, which led to the adoption of still more decisive measures. The first occasion was given to these events by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, a man of an altogether worldly spirit, who had little or no hearty interest in the cause of Christ, and whose manner of administering the episcopal office was least of all calculated to exert a good influence in building up the temple of the Lord in the hearts of men. This bishop, who was much more interested in erecting large and splendid edifices than in the spiritual welfare of his flock, had, in the year 389, obtained from the emperor the gift of a temple of Bacchus, and was busily employed in converting it into a Christian church. The symbols of the worship of Bacchus which were found here, and many of which were offensive to the sense of decency and good morals,[3] he ordered to be carried in a procession through the streets, and publicly exposed, so as to bring the Grecian mysteries into universal contempt. Since Alexandria was considered as a central point of the Hellenic religion, a principal seat of the mystical Neo-Platonic heathenism, where its votaries poured together from all countries of the Roman empire;[4] and since the Alexandrian Pagans were from the most ancient times extremely fanatical, such a transaction could not fail to occasion the most violent excitement. The exasperated Pagans assembled in crowds; they made a furious onset upon the Christians, wounded and killed many of them, and then retired to the colossal and splendid *temple of Serapis*, situated upon a hill, which was ranked among the greatest pagan sanctuaries in these times.[5] A certain Pagan, Olympius, who went clad in the philosopher's cloak, placed himself at their head, and he exhorted them to sacrifice even their lives for the sanctuaries of their fathers. Under his direction they formed a regular camp, and thence they sallied out upon the Christians: those who were dragged away by them as prisoners, they endeavored

and that it concerned only Egypt, where the influence of a certain Theophilus had occasioned it; or that Theodosius, in the same period of time, acted in absolute contradiction to himself, or that this commission was first given to Cynegius after the passage of the above-cited law of June, 386.

[1] See Zosimus, l. IV. c. 37, and Idatii Chronicon, at the death of Cynegius in 388.

[2] In consequenda achierosyna ille sit potior, qui patriæ plura præstiterit, nec tamen a *templorum cultu* observatione Christianitatis abscesserit. Cod. Theodos. l. XII. Tit. I. l. 112.

[3] As the Phallus, Lingam, the symbol of the productive power of life in nature.

[4] Eunap. vita Ædesii, p. 43. Ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεία διὰ τὸ τοῦ Σαραπίδου ἱερὸν ἱερὰ τῆς ἦν οἰκουμένη, οἱ πανταχόθεν φοιτῶντες ἐς αὐτὴν πλῆθος ἦσαν τῷ ὄντι παρισούμενοι.

[5] In what high veneration this temple stood among the Heathens, we may gather from the words of Libanius, who already expressed his alarm for its fate, when, in speaking of the temple at Edessa, (orat pro templ. 194,) he said: Ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐριζόντων τινῶν ἐν ὁποτέρῳ τὸ θαῦμα μεῖζον, ἱερῷ τῷ μηκέτ' ὄντι τούτῳ, ἢ ὅ μήποτε πάθοι ταυτὸν, ἐν ᾧπερ ὁ Σάραπις.

to force by tortures to sacrifice; and such as remained steadfast were often put to death in the most cruel manner. After these acts of violence, having the worst to fear, desperation united with fanaticism drove them onward, and all the efforts of the civil and military authorities to restore order were to no purpose. The emperor Theodosius endeavored to profit by this favorable conjuncture, to effect the suppression of Paganism in Egypt. Upon the report of these disturbances, there appeared from Constantinople, probably in the year 391, a rescript ordering that all the Pagans who had shared in this tumult should be pardoned; and that, as an acknowledgment of the mercy which they had experienced, they might the more easily be converted to Christianity, all the heathen temples at Alexandria should, as the cause of this tumult, be destroyed.

Whilst the heathen were rejoicing at the prospect of saving their lives, and had but just recovered from their alarm, it was a favorable juncture for carrying into execution a stroke of policy, which, under the state of feeling that existed at Alexandria, might at all times be attended with great hazard. Large bodies of men assembled around the temple of Serapis, upon which the imperial command was now about to be executed.[1] But there prevailed among the heathen a reverential awe before the colossal statue of Serapis; and from ancient times the report had been propagated, that, when this statue was demolished, heaven and earth would fall in one common ruin. This report had some influence even upon the multitude of nominal Christians, who were still inclined to the ancient superstition. No one ventured to attack the image; until at last a believing soldier seized an axe, and, exerting all his strength, clove asunder the vast jaw-bone of the image, amidst the universal shouts of the pagan and Christian multitude. After the first stroke had confuted the superstition, the whole image was easily demolished and consumed to ashes. And, upon this, all the temples at Alexandria, and in the neighboring district, taking its name from the Canopian branch of the Nile, (ὁ Κάνωβος,) which particularly abounded in Egyptian sanctuaries, were in part levelled with the ground, and in part converted into churches and cloisters.[2]

The same course was followed in other countries; sometimes not without bloody conflicts, which might have been avoided if the bishops had been more governed by the spirit of love and of wisdom. Marcellus, bishop of Apamea in Syria, proceeded with great zeal to destroy all the temples in the city and in the country, because he supposed that by these ancient monuments of their worship, so venerated by the people, Paganism would always continue to preserve itself alive. With a train of followers little becoming the Christian bishop, an armed force of soldiers and gladiators, he advanced to destroy the largest temple. It was necessary, that the temple should be forcibly wrested out of the hands of its pagan defenders. While the conflict was going

[1] The case was somewhat similar here, as it was in later times with the thunder-oak of Boniface.

[2] Eunapii vit. Ædes. Rufin. hist. eccles. c. 23. Sozom. VII. 15. Socrates, V. 16. Marcellini Comitis Chronicon ad A. 389, ff. in Sirmond. opp. T. II.

on, some Pagans seized upon the old bishop, who had been left behind alone, and hurried him to the stake. The sons of the bishop were desirous of punishing his murderers; but the provincial synod dissuaded them from this, calling upon them rather to thank God that their father had been deemed worthy of martyrdom.[1] From the present year, 391, and onward, followed many laws, forbidding every description of pagan worship, under penalty of a pecuniary mulct, and still severer punishments. As the pagan magistrates themselves encouraged the violation of these imperial laws, pecuniary fines were established against these, and against all their attendants in such cases. By a law of the year 392, the offering of sacrifice was in fact placed upon the same level with the crime of high treason, (crimen majestatis;) and accordingly the offerer incurred the penalty of death.[2]

Whilst these events were transpiring in the East, everything in the western part of the empire continued to remain as it was; and men belonging to ancient and noble families in Rome, still ventured to raise their voice in behalf of the religion of the eternal city. When Theodosius, after the defeat of the usurper Maximus, was, in the year 388, holding his residence in the West, the heathen party of the Roman senate proposed to him once more, perhaps through Symmachus, their former agent, that the revenues and privileges should be restored to the temples and colleges of priests, of which they had been deprived. Theodosius seems to have been very near granting them their petition; but the pointed representations which Ambrosius, bishop of Milan, made against this measure, restrained him.[3] The heathen party succeeded, on the other hand, under more favorable circumstances, in obtaining from the emperor Eugenius, who, after the murder of the young Valentinian II., had, in the year 392, been raised to the imperial throne by the pagan commander Arbogast, everything which had been refused them by Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius. The voice of those influential Pagans, upon whom Eugenius felt himself to be dependent, availed more with him than what Ambrosius, with inconsiderate boldness, wrote to him in the name of religion.[4]

But when Theodosius marched into Rome, after the defeat of Eugenius, in the year 394, he made a speech before the assembled senate, in which he called upon the Pagans, who, under the short reign of Eugenius, had once more enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, to desist from their idolatry, and to embrace the religion in which alone they could find forgiveness of all their sins. In spite of all their representations, he took back from the Pagans what Eugenius had accorded to them.[5]

[1] See Sozom. VII. 15.

[2] Cod. Theodos. l. 16. Tit. X. l. 12. Quodsi quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit, ad exemplum majestatis reus accipiat sententiam competentem.

[3] Insinuationi meæ *tandem* adsensionem detulit, says Ambrosius, ep. 57 ad Eugen. § 4. What the pretended Prosper (de Promiss. et Prædict. Dei, pars III. Promiss. 38) says about the disgraceful banishment of Symmachus, may perhaps be a fable.

[4] See Ambros. ep. 57.

[5] Zosimus, a zealous Pagan, is in this case a suspicious witness. It cannot therefore be certainly determined how far what he reports, l. IV. c. 59, respecting the constancy and boldness of the pagan senators is true or false.

The successors of the emperor Theodosius, Arcadius in the East, and Honorius in the West, from the year 395 and onwards, confirmed, it is true, soon after their accession to the throne, the laws of their father against the pagan worship, with new sanctions; but the weakness of their government, the various political disturbances, especially in the West, the corruption or pagan views of individual governors, would all favor the preservation of Paganism in many districts; and hence it was necessary that those laws should be continually re-enacted.

Whilst in Rome the public monuments of the pagan worship had already vanished, the images of the old Tyrian Hercules could still be worshipped and decorated by the Pagans in Carthage. As in earlier times the popular cry in that city had demanded the destruction of the Christian churches, so now resounded there the cry of the Christian populace, demanding that all idols should be destroyed at Carthage, as they had been at Rome. The people were excited by the folly of a heathen magistrate, who had ventured to order the beard of Hercules to be gilded.[1] The prudent bishops were obliged to take special measures for moderating the ferocious zeal, so as to prevent acts of violence.[2]

Pagan landlords endeavored to maintain the heathen worship on their estates, and, by means of sacrificial feasts and other means which their power over the peasants gave them in spite of the existing laws, to bind them to heathenism. Pious and prudent bishops like Augustin were obliged, in such cases, to exhort the Christian country people to obey God rather than men;[3] but they were also obliged to restrain the blind zeal of the Christian populace, which was for destroying, in an illegal manner, the idols upon the estates of other men. On this point, Augustin speaks thus: "Many of the heathen have those abominations upon their estates. Shall we go about to destroy them? No; let us make it our first business to extirpate the idols in their hearts. When they shall have become Christians, they will either invite us to so good a work, or they will anticipate us in it. At present, we must pray for them, not exasperate them."[4]

We have already noticed the indifference manifested by Christian landlords for the spiritual interests of their tenants. This neglect is severely reprimanded by Chrysostom in an eloquent discourse pronounced by him at Constantinople in the year 400. "Is it not the duty," he says, "of the Christian landholder first to see to it that all his tenants are Christians? Tell me, how is the countryman to be-

[1] Quomodo Roma, sic et Carthago! exclaimed the populace.

[2] Augustini Sermo 24, T. V. ed. Ben.

[3] On this point he says (p. 62): "The martyrs endured the laceration of their members, and Christians stood in fear of the wrong which might be done them in Christian times. Whoever at present does you wrong, does it in fear. He does not openly say, 'Come to the idols:' he does not openly say, 'Come to my altars, and feast yourself.' And if he say it, and you will not do it, let him, in presenting his complaint against you, testify this:—'He would not come to my altars—to the temples which I venerate.' Let him once say this. He dares not say it. But in a fraudulent manner he calls you to answer for something else. He will rob you of your superfluity."

[4] L. c. § 17.

come a Christian, when he sees that you are so indifferent to his soul's salvation? You can work no miracles to convert men. Well, then, convert them by such means as lie within your power, by charity, by your care for these people, by a gentle disposition, by a kind address, and by whatever other means you have." "But say to me," he continues, "if the emperor should command you to build a house for his entertainment, would you be sparing of expense upon it? Now, then, Christ's kingdom is building up a church. Look not at the cost, but think of the fruit. These peasants till your land; do you, then, provide for the edification of their souls. They bring *you* the fruits of the soil; do you guide *them* to heaven. He who makes the beginning, is the cause of all that follows afterward. So it will be your work, if away yonder, if upon your neighbors' estates, catechumens are educated. Though the public baths only make the peasants more effeminate, and the wayside inns only make them more dissolute, yet you build them, merely for the pride of it. Forums make them rude and impudent. That which I recommend does the reverse of all this. But as to the expense, say, what will it amount to? Do you only build first the main structure for a church; your successor will add a porch; a third, something more; and *you* will have the credit of it all. Do but make a beginning, then; lay the foundation. Or rather, stir up one another to the work; and let each strive with the other to be the first to accomplish it. But now people find it easy to build granaries to receive the gathered harvests, and never ask themselves where the harvest of souls is to be gathered in, but oblige their peasantry to travel many miles and to make great journeys in order to get to a church."[1]

It being now represented to the government, that the idolatrous temples and images on the country estates contributed much to the promotion of Paganism among the peasantry, the emperor Honorius passed a law, in the year 399, directing *that all temples in the country should be destroyed without tumult, so that all occasion of superstition might everywhere be removed.*[2] This law was expressly confined to the *temples in the country*, which could not reasonably be considered as monuments of art contributing to the ornament of the country,[3] — for the latter were protected by new laws against the fury of destruction.[4] Yet, on the *one* hand, it is certain that in those cities in which only a comparatively small number of Pagans were still to be found, and where this small number were kept together by the temples which were still remaining, the zeal of the Christian population would easily bring about the destruction also of these;[5] but, on the *other* hand,

[1] Hom. XVIII. in acta apost. § 5, ed. Montf. T. IX. f. 158.

[2] Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turba ac tumultu diruantur. His enim dejectis atque sublatis, omnis superstitionis materia consumetur. Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. 10, l. 16.

[3] Thus in the Codex canonum eccles. Africanæ (c. 58), it is said: Quæ in agris vel in locis abditis constituta nullo ornamento sunt.

[4] Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. 10, l. 18.

[5] Augustin (de civitate Dei, l. XVIII. c. 54) says that in this year all the idolatrous temples and images at Carthage were destroyed by the two comites, Gaudentius and Jovius.

however, there can be no doubt, that this law was never universally executed according to the letter.

Among the Pagans in many countries, an impression prevailed, in consequence of one of those predictions by which they were so often deluded, that Christianity would last for *only three hundred and sixty-five years;* and this prediction, by a loose reckoning from the time of Christ's passion, seemed now to be near the time for its accomplishment. Hence the destruction of the temples, which took place this year, made the greater impression upon many of the Pagans.[1] Yet they were still powerful enough on many of the country estates of North Africa, to commit acts of violence on the Christians, while engaged in the exercises of worship.[2]

After the death of the powerful Stilicho, by whom Honorius had been governed, the latter, probably through the influence of some of the great who were favorably disposed to Paganism, enacted a law which contradicted the laws hitherto issued. For, between the years 409 and 410, universal religious freedom was suddenly proclaimed in the western empire.[3] Yet this was only a solitary and transitory phenomenon; and the old laws soon went once more into operation. By an edict of the year 416,[4] Pagans were excluded from all civil and military places of trust; yet the necessities of the time and the weakness of the empire hardly allowed of its being carried into strict execution.[5]

The consequences which followed the emigrations of tribes in the western empire; the political disturbances which threw everything into confusion; the irruptions of savage and pagan hordes, might sometimes light up a ray of hope in the small pagan party; but it soon dwindled away again to nothing.

In many districts of the East, Paganism maintained itself for a longer time; and the party of pagan Platonists, which continued down into the sixth century, was its principal support. The emperors were

[1] See Augustin. l. c.

[2] Thus sixty Christians were murdered at Suffetum in Numidia, probably in consequence of an attack on the statue of Hercules. Augustin. ep. 50. At Calame in Numidia, A. D. 408, the Pagans ventured, in defiance of the laws enacted shortly before by the emperor Honorius against all pagan festivities, to march in an indecent heathen procession before the Christian churches; and, when the clergy remonstrated, a wild uproar arose. The church was attacked with stones, finally set fire to, and a Christian murdered. The bishop, who was hunted after, was obliged to conceal himself. Augustin. ep. 90, 91, 104.

[3] Ut libera voluntate quis cultum Christianitatis exciperet, cod. eccles. Afric. c. 107. It is true, this law, as it here reads, can be understood, according to its letter, to mean only that *no one should be forced* to embrace Christianity. Yet this was certainly a thing which, properly speaking, had as yet never been done, and it is clear that the law was so interpreted, as if the legal penalties which had been in force against those who exercised any other form of worship than that of the catholic Christians, should be done away.

[4] As late as the year 403, the Spanish Christian poet, Prudentius, had asserted that difference in respect to religion had no influence in the bestowment of posts of honor, and declared this to be right. L. I. c. Symmachum, v. 617.

Denique, pro meritis terrestribus æqua rependens
Munera, sacricolis summos impertit honores
Dux bonus, et certare sivit cum laude suorum,
Nec pago implicitos per debita culmina mundi
Ire viros prohibet: quoniam cœlestia nunquam
Terrenis solitum per iter gradientibus obstant.

[5] If the account of Zosimus (l. V. c. 46) is true, the feeble Honorius, unable to dispense with the services of one of his pagan generals, Generid, who would serve only on this condition, was obliged immediately to repeal this law.

moved by their political interests to avoid destroying everything at once, in those cities where Paganism predominated, lest they might destroy those interests also. They chose rather to proceed gradually. This principle may be detected in the remarkable answer which the emperor Arcadius gave Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, in Palestine, when the latter, in the year 401, prayed for the destruction of the idolatrous temples in this city, inhabited for the most part by fanatical Pagans.[1] "I am aware," says he, "that your city is given to idolatry; but it faithfully pays its tributes, and brings a great deal into the public treasury. If we proceed, now, to disturb it thus suddenly, the inhabitants will fly away in fear (namely, that the attempt would finally be made to bring them over to Christianity by force), and we should lose so much in our revenue.[2] But we will rather oppress them by degrees, depriving the idolaters of their dignities and places of trust, and issuing our commands that the temples shall be closed and oracles no longer be delivered; for when they are oppressed on all sides, they will come to the knowledge of the truth,"—a fine mode of conversion, to be sure!—"for all sudden and too authoritative measures are hard for the subjects." Yet finally the cunning of the empress Eudoxia prevailed—a woman who perfectly understood how Arcadius was to be managed, by taking advantage of his weaknesses; and who was led to think that her zeal for the destruction of idolatrous temples, and her many gifts to the clergy and the monks, would make atonement for her sins. By her influence, the reasonable hesitation of the weak Arcadius was finally overcome.

It is true, in a law of the year 423, it is expressed as doubtful whether any Pagans still remained:[3] but as it was considered necessary, in confirming the ancient laws against them, to change the punishment of death, which had hitherto been established against those who sacrificed, into the confiscation of goods and banishment; as it was considered necessary to protect the still remaining Pagans, who attempted nothing contrary to the laws, against being abused and plundered by nominal Christians, who used religion as a pretext;[4] it

[1] The life of Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, from which this story is taken, and which was composed by his disciple, the deacon Marcus,—a work which is important as furnishing many facts illustrative of the history of the church and of manners in this period,—has as yet been published only in a Latin translation, whose author seems not even to have given himself the pains of accurately deciphering the Greek text: see Acta Sanctorum, at the 26th of February, and the Bibliotheca Patrum. Galland. T. IX. I give the passage which belongs here, as I transcribed it, many years ago, from the Greek Codex in the imperial library at Vienna. The words of Arcadius are: *Οἶδα, ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη κατείδωλός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' εὐγνώμων ἐστὶ περὶ τὴν εἰσφορὰν τῶν δημοσίων, πολλὰ συντελοῦσα. Ἐὰν οὖν ἄφνω διασοβῶμεν αὐτοὺς, τῷ φόβῳ φυγῇ χρήσονται, καὶ ἀπολοῦμεν τοσοῦτον Κάνονα, ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ, κατὰ μέρος θλίβωμεν αὐτούς, περιαιροῦντες τὰς ἀξίας τῶν εἰδωλομάνων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πολιτικὰ ὑφφίκια, καὶ κελεύωμεν τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν κλεισθῆναι καὶ μήκετι χρηματίζειν. Ἐπὰν γὰρ θλίβωσιν εἰς πάντα στενούμενοι, ἐπιγινώσκουσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν ἔχον αἰφνίδιον βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.*

[2] Principles such as actuated those landowners in the management of their little estates. See above, p. 90.

[3] L. XVI. Tit. 10, l. 22. Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus.

[4] L. c. l. 23 et 24. Hoc Christianis, qui vel vere sunt, vel *esse dicunter*, specialiter demandamus, ut Judæis ac Paganis, in quiete degentibus, nihilque tentantibus turbulentum legibusque contrarium, non audeant manibus inferre, religionis auctoritate abusi. Against those who, under

follows from all this that there still continued to be Pagans, which is proved, moreover, by the laws issued under this reign against those who apostatized from Christianity to Paganism. Had there been good reason to doubt whether there were any more Pagans, there certainly would have been no occasion for a law of this sort. But undoubtedly the fact, that few remained who *openly declared* themselves Pagans, may be reconciled with the other, that it was necessary to devise laws of this kind, if the matter is presented in the following point of light, namely, that many were called apostates from Christianity, who had never seriously passed over to the Christian church — individuals who had submitted to baptism only as an outward form, but had ever continued to practice the pagan worship in secret. Whenever they were discovered, they were called apostates.[1] The like thing was repeated in the steps taken against the Huguenots in the time of Louis XIV.

The heathens, then, from this time in the fifth century and onward, were compelled to practice and propagate their religion secretly, in order to escape persecution; and thus their religion was made dearer to them. To hold the knowledge of divine things as a secret properly belonging only to the philosophically educated, — to engraft it on those mythical representations beyond which the people knew nothing; — this belonged necessarily to the system of the Neo-Platonists; and by these principles they were enabled to retain all their enthusiasm for Hellenism, and still adapt themselves to the character of the times.[2] A remarkable example of this is presented in the life of one, who, in the second half of the fifth century,[3] stood at the head of the New Platonic school, and who was looked up to by the Pagans as the centre of their secret party. This man was the philosopher Proclus.[4] In his youth he had been a disciple of the mathematician Heron of Alexandria; and the latter, who belonged to the secret party of the Pagans,[5] showed him the greatest mark of confidence, by disclosing to him the whole of his own method of paying divine worship.[6] Proclus, during his residence, at a later period, in Athens, happened to call, one evening, on the philosopher Syrianus, where he met with another man of learning, devoted to the ancient Hellenic religion. Whilst they were engaged in conversation, the moon shone forth brightly, and both

the pretext of religion, robbed the Pagans, Augustin also felt himself called upon to preach: "Perhaps in order that Christ may not say to you, I was clothed, and thou hast robbed me, thou alterest the custom, and thinkest to rob a Pagan and to clothe a Christian. Here also Christ will answer thee; nay, he answers thee even now by his servant, whoever he may be: Here too do me no harm; when, being a Christian, thou robbest the heathen, thou hinderest him from becoming a Christian." Sermo 179, § 5.

[1] Qui nomen Christianitatis induti sacrificia fecerint. Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. 7, l. 7.

[2] The art represented under the symbol of Proteus. Συνεῖναι τοῖς ανθρώποις οὐ θείως ἀλλὰ πολιτικῶς. See Synes. ep. 137, ad Herculian. Of Pagans who were seized in the exercise of the worship forbidden by the laws, Augustin says, Enarrat. in Ps. 140, § 20: Quis eorum comprehensus est in sacrificio, cum his legibus ista prohiberentur, et non negavit? Quis eorum comprehensum est adorare idolum et non clamavit; non feci, et timuit ne convincerétur?

[3] Born 412, died 487.

[4] His life, written by his disciple, Marinus.

[5] This is denoted by the predicate, ἀνὴρ θεοσεβὴς in the sense of Marinus. See the above-mentioned life, p. 19, ed. Fabric.

[6] Θαῤῥῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν τρόπον ἅπαντα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεοσεβείας.

desired to get rid of the young stranger, so that they might, without being observed, perform their devotions to the goddess Selene. Perceiving this, he retired to a short distance, and taking off his sandals, worshipfully saluted the rising goddess.[1] As it was the practice of the Christians, when physicians had expended their skill to no purpose on the sick, then to resort to some pious monk and beg for his intercession, so the Pagans would, in similar cases, betake themselves as a last resort, to the philosopher Proclus, whom they looked up to as a pillar of the ancient religion, and revered as a saint. At Athens, it was his good fortune to reside next door to the temple of Esculapius.[2] Thus he could go in unobserved,[3] and pray to Esculapius in a form which, as it was pretended, had come down from remote antiquity, and which was held to be peculiarly sacred,[4] without exposing himself to be caught in the snares which were constantly laid for the detection of such as still adhered to the old Hellenic worship.[5] It was pointed to as a high example of the cardinal virtue "fortitude," that in these dangerous times, when such violent storms of persecution were directed against a "legitimate cultus," this man continued to the end of his life to be its unflinching adherent;[6] though on one occasion he was obliged to seek safety by flight.

While the argument that universal consent is on the side of truth, was employed as well against Paganism as against heretics, Proclus contended that only the consent of those gifted with knowledge possessed the force of authority; but universal consent in the disavowal of the gods arose from ignorance. "Nor is any real consent possible," he said, "among people so ignorant; for real consent proceeds from man's reason. The unreasonable man is one at dissent with himself; much less then can he be in consent with others."[7] The oppositions of doctrine among the Christians may have tended to confirm him in this view. He contended against the Christian doctrine of creation, and also against the Christian doctrine concerning a prospective end and consummation of the earthly course of the world, with eighteen arguments derived from the first principles of the logically consequent system of Neo-Platonism.[8] Though he did not attack

[1] L. c. p. 26.

[2] When Marinus related this story, the temple was already destroyed. He says: *Καὶ γὰρ ἠυτύχει τούτου ἡ πόλις τότε, καὶ εἶχεν ἔτι ἀπόρθητον τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἱερόν.* L. c. p. 72.

[3] So at Philæ, in Egypt, the worship of Isis was still kept up, p. 47. At Adrotta, in Lydia, a certain cultus was still observed by Pagans in an ancient temple, concerning the name of which cultus, they are not agreed among themselves. According to some, the temple belonged to Esculapius; according to others, to the Dioscuri. It was said that remedies for the sick were wonderfully suggested here, and wonderful cures performed. Many stories were circulated concerning them. Marin. c. XXXII. Comp. the Deuxième memoire de Letronne sur des inscriptions grecques des V. et VI. siècles. Paris, 1832, p. 61, ff.

[4] *Εὐχομένου αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον τρόπον.* L. c. p. 73.

[5] *Τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνων καὶ οἰδεμίαν πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσι παρασχών.* L. c. p. 74.

[6] *Ἐν ζάλῃ γὰρ παρελθὼν καὶ τρικυμίᾳ πραγμάτων τυφωνείων ἀντιπνεόντων τῇ ἐννομῷ ζωῇ.* L. c. p. 35.

[7] *Ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι θεοὺς ὁμολογοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ δι' ἀνεπιστημοσύνην τοῦτο πεπόνθασι. Πῶς γὰρ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τις ὁμολογήσειεν, αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν στατιαστικῶς διακείμενος; καὶ οἱ ἀθεοι δὴ οὖν κτλ· οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἁρμονίως ἔχοιεν ἀνεπιστήμονες ὄντες.* Comment. in Platonis Alcibiadem, Pars II. opera ed. Cousin, T. III., Paris. 1821, pp. 125, 126.

[8] In great part preserved in the Refutation by Johannes Philoponus.

Christianity by name, yet this polemical work of his plainly has reference to the most important and general points of difference between the Neo-Platonic and the Christian way of thinking, — to the antagonism of a monistic doctrine of necessity with the teleological doctrine of freedom.

For the rest, it admits of no question that the religious atmosphere of these times had an influence also upon Paganism; and many things passed current in practice, both with Christians and Pagans, which did not differ in the least, except in their peculiar form and shaping. While, on the part of Christians, we hear of help bestowed in times of need by the visible presence of martyrs, we find the same thing among the Pagans in the shape of visible apparitions of the gods. Health-restoring dreams and wonderful cures, in churches dedicated to martyrs, go side by side with dreams and cures in the temples of the gods. Pagan philosophers not less than Christian devotees won reverence from their respective parties by the rigid austerity of their lives.

The emperor Justinian (from the year 527 and onwards), whose despotism, even in spiritual things, was the source of so many disorders to the Eastern church, endeavored, soon after the commencement of his reign, to suppress the last remains of Paganism by force, so far as this could be done in such a way. The persecutions were aimed particularly at men in the civil service. They were deprived of their property, tortured, executed. Many hypocritically assumed the profession of Christianity to escape the persecutions; of course, in such cases, they soon took off the mask, and were once more seen attending the performance of sacrifices.[1] The emperor, doubtless having heard that Athens[2] still continued to be a seat of Paganism, and that this religion was propagated by the pagan Platonists who still taught there, forbade the holding of philosophical lectures in that place.[3]

At this time, when the Hellenic religion was now on the verge of total extinction, lived one of its last champions, — the noble philosopher Simplicius, author of the "Commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus." To a profound interest in philosophical pursuits, he united a lively sense of religious need, impelling him to seek communion with the invisible world. Although the religious element of his philosophy may betray an unconscious influence of Christianity, yet his philosophical tendencies, taken as a whole, inclined more to the side of the Hellenic polytheism than to that of Christian Theism. At the same

[1] Theophanes Chronograph. ad. A. 522, *i. e.* according to our reckoning, 531 from the birth of Christ. See Ideler's Manual of Chronology, II. 458. Procop. hist. arcana, c. XI. p. 90, ed. Orelli. The same author (c. 19) relates, that Justinian employed the accusation of heathenism as a pretext to get into possession of the estates which his cupidity thirsted after. Comp. the chronicle of Johannes Malala, Pars II. p. 184, ed. Oxon.

[2] The Athenian schools had sunk so low in the beginning of the fifth century, that Synesius could write: "Athens is now famous only for her Hymettian honey;" and that he could compare the then Athens in her relation to the ancient, with the hide of a slaughtered victim; so completely was philosophy banished from the place, while only those dead and silent spots, the Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum, were shown to, and wondered at, by strangers. See the 136th letter of Synesius to his brother; but, after this time, Athens was somewhat restored to its bloom by the Neo-Platonic philosophy.

[3] Joh. Malala, l. c. p. 187.

time, however, it can with more propriety be said of him, than it could be said of Julian, that the strangely distorted exhibitions of Christianity presented before him in actual life, greatly contributed to strengthen his prejudices against it.

He held that it implied no contradiction to recognize *one* primeval Essence and first principle of all existence, not capable of adequate designation; and to pay worship to those principles of being which have emanated from this Essence, and in which what was one, in this Supreme Essence, has been evolved into manifoldness. Each one of these higher essences represents the Supreme Essence in its own peculiar way. In each of them, man worships the Supreme Being himself, who in them reveals himself.[1] Whilst Christianity emancipates the spirit from the forces of nature, and by giving freedom to minds separated by natural limitations, binds them together by the tie of a divine life, Simplicius, on the contrary, defends, in opposition to Christianity, the old principle of nature-religion, together with the limitations growing out of it. "God," he supposes, "is everywhere present, indeed, with all his divine powers; but men, separated from one another by time and space, and dependent on these conditions of time and space, can, under these conditions, partake of the divine influences only in certain proportions. Hence each people has its own peculiar religious institutions, which have come from the gods themselves; and these sacred national institutions men should reverence, in order that they may draw to themselves the divine influences, in accordance with these laws appointed by the gods. When divine things are ministered in accordance with the order appointed by the gods, a divine illumination is bestowed at the proper seasons, such as cannot at all be experienced on other days; for then the sick are healed, and many things which concern our welfare are foretold to us. So important an effect has difference of times and seasons on man's communication with the gods. The same holds good of the right or wrong relations of place, of words spoken, of actions done, and of offerings made to the gods."[2]

Thus, he discerns in all these outward relations a higher necessity, grounded on the relation of divine things to earthly, which should be sacredly regarded. "Since man," he argues, "is made up of soul and body, it is not enough that we purify the soul by an intellectual knowledge of divine things, and by a life in harmony with nature; we also need those means of purification which the gods have appointed for the soul's organ, the body. Let the purified soul, then, offer to the gods, through its purified organ, clad in the cleanliest raiment, the first fruits of those outward gifts which God has bestowed; since it is befitting that we should present the first fruits to those beings who

[1] In defense of Polytheism, he says: *Εἰ δὲ τις δυσχεραίνει τῷ αὐτῷ καλεῖν ὀνόματι τάς τε μερικὰς καὶ τὴν ὅλην, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ εὐλογως δυσχεραίνει, καὶ πράγματι δοκοῦντος εἶναι κοινοῦ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ* (since even by the nature of the *fact*, the conception of the principle from which all being proceeds, is something held in common by the gods, and the supreme first Essence) *ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς καλείτω· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἀρχῶν.* The principle: *τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ σέβας διὰ τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀναπέμπεσθαι χρή.* See p. 38, ed. Schweighäuser, p. 376.

[2] L. c. p. 352.

have given us all we possess. It is a token of our readiness to consecrate everything to them." In reply to the objection, God needs not such gifts, he says, "This indeed is true; but neither does he need our good life, nor that we should have correct views of Him. But *we* have need of these things, as means of placing us in union with the gods, in order that, as each of these offerings is suited, according to the measure belonging to it, to turn upon us the divine illumination, we may receive God according to the measure in which each one of us may be worthy of it." He refers to particular instances where, by such holy acts, people had been cured of epilepsy, and where, by the same means, hail-storms and inundations had been averted.[1]

As the religion of Simplicius was very far from being an abstract religion of reason; as he had full faith in a living relation between man and the gods, — so he received, along with all the rest belonging to the ancient religious traditions of the Greeks, their oracles and predictions. In discussing the question as to how and when men should resort for counsel and direction to soothsaying, he lays down the rule, that it should never be done save in matters not depending on man's will, and where reason and experience cannot give the knowledge required. It should be done with the calmness and equanimity with which a wise man is in the habit of looking on everything that comes about independently of his own will. If divinations were resorted to in every questionable case, it would be their tendency to make men timid and inactive, and inclined to attach importance to trifles.

Now it not unfrequently happened,—as had especially been the case in those times of wide-spread skepticism and of a deeply felt need of some new revelation, which preceded the appearance and the triumph of Christianity,—that men sought for answers to their questions in relation to general religious and philosophical truths, in revelations from the gods. Hence Simplicius was led to inquire, whether it was proper to resort to divinations for the purpose of resolving such a question as that relating to the immortality of the soul. He decided that it was not. In all questions capable of being resolved by rational investigation, men were bound to confine themselves to this mode of inquiry. "To be assured that the soul is immortal by some god, although it might undoubtedly beget a firm faith, yet was not suited to produce scientific conviction. If one is so favored of God as to get to the knowledge of causes and of scientific truth, this is but another proof of the divine goodness, and lies outside the province of divination. If some persons have consulted the gods concerning the nature of things, still such persons have been few in number, and not of the first rank among philosophers; and their persuasion of truth has commonly been, not a scientific conviction, but a simple conviction of faith;[2] for it was God's will that the soul, being endowed with a free power of self-determination, should come to the knowledge of the truth by its own striving."

[1] L. c. p. 351.

[2] Οἱ συνειθισμένοι πιστευτικὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστημονικὴν πίστωσιν. Vid. c. 39, p. 408, seq.

It is evident, even from his own view of the relation of philosophy to religion, that Simplicius could not have had any leaning toward Christianity. In communications from heaven, he was looking for something quite different from that which was to be given to man by divine revelation; and what faith was designed to reach by means of Christianity, he expected to find in his philosophy.

Although the false notions with regard to religious things which he found prevailing among a large portion of Christians, greatly contrib uted to foster his prejudices against a religion which he had not studied, and which he did not understand, yet at their basis was lying, after all, the real opposition between his own fundamental principle, and that of Christianity. To his Platonic way of apprehending the idea of God, the biblical doctrine of God's holiness, and all that was founded upon it and connected with it, were utterly foreign. Thus all punishment, for example, appeared to him to be but a means of reformation and of purification. Doubtless he would be ready to acknowledge the necessity for fallen man of various kinds of lustration; but the idea of a redemption, in the Christian sense, of a divine forgiveness of sins, of a new birth, could find no point for union with his mode of thinking. Whenever the need, which human nature stands in, of redemption and of reconciliation to God, came into question, he must have believed that, in all, there was a confusion of the subjective with the objective point of view. To him, it *could* not appear *otherwise.* As it was, in reality, a need of man's soul, that it should be delivered from that estrangement from God caused by sin, for which deliverance true repentance on the part of man was sufficient, so men gave to this thought an objective existence, as if some special agency on the part of God was required in order to bring it about. That Simplicius must necessarily have judged after this manner, may reasonably be concluded from what he says concerning the false notions of the Christians of his time.

Where he is inveighing against the deniers of a Divine Providence, he thinks it necessary, in the same connection, to attack what he calls a third species of atheism.[1] This, he makes to consist in the notion that the Supreme Being can be bribed[2] by gifts (oblations), by votive offerings (*ἀναθήμασι*), by distributions of money[3] (the merit of almsgiving), "as people now believe,"[4] — evidently alluding to the Christians; — so that evil-doers, men who are guilty of robbery and oppression, may, by expending in such gifts some small portion of their gains, and by making presents to those who pretend to pray and offer prevalent intercession to God in behalf of such transgressors, be allowed to go on in the same course, and sin without danger of punishment. "Many now living," he remarks, "consider it to be even worthy of the divine goodness that sinners should be forgiven, — understanding this in a vague and general sense."[5]

Having demolished, with little pains, this species of superstition, he

[1] Ὁ τρίτος τῆς ἀθείας λόγος.
[2] Παρατρέπεσθαι.
[3] Κερματίον διαδόσεσιν.
[4] Ὡς οἱ νῦν οἴονται.
[5] Vid. c. 38, p. 392, seq.

proceeds next, however, to inquire after the fundamental truth lying at the basis of the opinion, that God can be persuaded by the offering of gifts, by good deeds, or by prayers. "Wherever," he says, "there is true remorse for sin, these things may contribute somewhat towards bringing about the man's conversion to God, provided they are done in order to keep alive the sense of remorse; provided that the bodily prostration of the knee expresses the humiliation of the soul, and that the money is applied to such purposes as God approves." "For God," he says, "does not turn away from us when we sin; he is not angry; he does not forsake us; neither, therefore, does he return to us when we repent. All this is human, and altogether foreign to, and inconsistent with, the immediate blessedness of the Divine Being. But *we* separate *ourselves* from God, when we depart from that course which is in harmony with nature; and in the recovery of our original nature, *we* return again to fellowship with God. And we represent our own return to God, as if it were God who returned to *us*."[1] He illustrates this habit of confounding our own subjective feelings with an objective action outside of us, by means of the following comparison: "When a boat is pulled towards the shore by means of a rope tied to a rock, those in the boat who are not aware of the actual proceeding, suppose, not that they are themselves approaching the rock, but that the rock is approaching them. Repentance, prayer, and whatever else is connected with these acts, may be compared with this rope."[2]

Simplicius probably has reference to the persecutions which befell the few Pagans of his time, when he speaks of the tyrannical violence which would even force men to impiety.[3] These persecutions induced him, together with his associates in faith, the philosophers Isidorus and Damascius (the latter of whom, in his account of the life of this Isidorus, made many covert attacks upon Christianity),[4] to take refuge with the Persian king Chosroes, of whose fondness for philosophy they had received exaggerated reports. This prince gave them, it is true, a gracious reception; but their expectations were very far from being realized. Parsism was as little agreeable to them as Christianity; and they looked back, with many a longing sigh, to the better manners of their countrymen the Greeks. Chosroes, in making a treaty of peace with the emperor Justinian, prevailed on the latter to allow them to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in the Roman empire.[5]

[1] Ταύτην τὴν ἡμῶν ἐπιστροφὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγομεν.

[2] Μεταμέλειαι δὲ καὶ ἱκετεῖαι, καὶ εὐχαὶ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλογοῦσι τῷ κάλῳ. L. c. p. 398.

[3] Τυραννικὰς βίας, μέχρι καὶ τοῦ ἀσεβεῖν ἀναγκαζούσας. Vid. c. 13, p. 131.

[4] Photius reports this, who had read the work of Damascius, Cod. 181: τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν εἰ καὶ δειλώσῃ καὶ λαθραιοτέρᾳ κακοφροσύνῃ, ὅμως οὐκ ὀλιγάκις καθυλακτῶν εὐσεβείας.

[5] See Agathias de rebus Justiniani, l. II. c. 30, p. 69, ed. Paris. Lib. II. c. 30, p. 131, ed. Niebuhr.

B. *Polemical Writings of Pagans against Christianity; Charges which they brought against it generally; the Manner in which these Charges were met and refuted by the Christian Church Teachers.*

With regard to the attacks on Christianity by pagan writers it may be observed, that it was a necessary consequence of the altered circumstances of the times, that few would venture to attack Christianity in works expressly devoted to that object. The single work to be mentioned, of this description, that of the emperor Julian, we have already critically examined, in presenting our general view of his religious mode of thinking.

The dialogue entitled Philopatris, which has been ascribed to Lucian, although it appears certain that he was not the author of it, — a work in which Christianity and monachism are held up to ridicule, — contains a great deal which might be referred to the time of Julian; for as he was bitterly hostile to the monks, so the monks were bitterly hostile to him; and it is not improbable that they prophesied ill luck of him, as, according to this dialogue, the monks did of the then reigning emperor. But in this dialogue other marks also occur which hardly correspond with this period of time.[1]

As regards the objections which were commonly brought against Christianity by those who regarded it from the pagan point of view, they were partly such as, being based on essential differences existing between the two religions, must ever be repeated, and partly such as were peculiar to this particular time, and were called forth by the particular condition of the Christian church in this period. This is the case with all such objections as arose from the confounding together of church and state, and from the mass of corruption which,

[1] It is well to remark that in this dialogue are to be found many things hardly reconcilable with the hypothesis which assigns it to the time of Julian. It is easily seen that it holds up Paganism and Christianity alike to ridicule. A sort of Deism seems to lie at the basis of the whole work. But the Pagans of this time were, for the most part, zealous adherents to the old doctrine of the gods; and a production like this would hardly comport with their way of thinking. But even if we suppose that the author of this work espoused none of the commonly prevailing theories, but had formed a peculiar theory of his own, yet several other difficulties would still beset the hypothesis which assigns this dialogue to the times of Julian, or according to the conjecture of the pastor M. Ehemann (Studien der Evangelischen Geistlichkeit Würtembergs, Bd. XI. Heft 2, J. 1839), to the times of the emperor Valens. What could be the meaning of the promise that Egypt *should be* subjugated. Such a promise of something *which was yet to happen* could not be uttered with propriety under any one of the Roman emperors, until the time when Egypt was conquered by the Saracens. Not till then, could the recovery of this country be reckoned among the brightest prospects of the Roman empire. It may be questioned, also, whether the way in which the doctrine of the Trinity is spoken of in § 12, does not betray an author who must have written after the time of the second Ecumenical council. And if in the historical writings of Leo the deacon, a great deal is to be found by which the allusions in the dialogue may most easily be explained, the opinion first broached by the late and lamented Niebuhr, and afterwards adopted by Hase (in his ed. of the Script. Byzant. T. XI.), deserves to be more carefully examined.

under the garb of Christianity, had attached itself to the church. If, in the former period, the extension of the church, in spite of all persecution, witnessed of that which *the divine power of the gospel alone* was able to effect; *now*, on the other hand, the Pagans, looking, as men are wont to do, at the present moment, and forgetting the experience of the preceding centuries, could object against the divine character of the religion, *that Christianity depended for its spread on the favor of princes.*[1] To refute this objection, Theodoretus must appeal to the experience of the past, and to what was transpiring in Persia[2] when he wrote, in the beginning of the fifth century.

In the preceding period, the Christians had been accused of irreverence towards the Cæsars (irreligiositas in Cæsares), because they refused to join in those demonstrations of respect which idolatrous pagan flattery paid to the emperors. But when the Christians now reproached the Pagans with prostrating themselves before the images of the gods, the reply they sometimes received was, that they did not scruple themselves to fall down before the images of the emperor; which was the less excusable in *them*, since, according to their own doctrine, it was an honor due to God alone.[3] The Christian, indeed, had an answer; that this was an abuse which had sprung from Paganism, and, having become deeply rooted by the length of time, could not be extirpated by Christianity; though the church did not cease to condemn it.[4]

Next, while in the earlier times the conduct of the Christians had been the most expressive and convincing proof of the divine power of their faith; now, on the other hand, the enormous corruption which, under the show of Christianity, manifested itself in the public relations, and among the great mass of nominal Christians, was seized upon by the Pagans as a testimony against Christianity, and against the Christian period, which had led to such results. They did not reflect that the evils which float on the surface are ever easily detected, but that it requires more penetration to discern the truly good, which loves concealment and is less obtrusive. They saw, as Augustin justly expresses himself with regard to such characters, the scum only, which swims above, but did not remark the good oil, which had its secret channels, and, silently passing through them, made increase without notice.[5]

Thus it was urged as an objection to Christianity, which the bishop

[1] Ἐκ *βασιλικῆς ηὐξῆσθαι δυνάμεως*. Theodoret. Græc. Affect. curat. Disputat. IX. p. 935, T. IV. ed. Schultz.

[2] See below, persecutions in Persia.

[3] The Pagan Apollonius, in the Consultationes Zachæi Christiani et Apollonii philosophi, l. I. c. 28: Cur imagines hominum, vel ceris pictas, vel metallis depictas, sub regum reverentia, etiam publica adoratione veneramini, et, ut ipsi prædicatis, Deo tantum honorem debitum etiam hominibus datis? D'Achery, spicileg. T. I.

[4] L. c. and cons. the work De promiss. et prædict. Dei (in opp. Prosp. Aquit.), Pars V. De dimidio temporis, where, in c. VII., this transfer of pagan adulation is rebuked: Æterna cum dicitur, quæ temporalis est, utique nomen est blasphemiæ: cum mortales licet reges, in ea dicantur Divi eisque supplices dicant: numini vestro, altaribus vestris, perennitati vestræ, et cætera, quæ vanitas, non veritas tradit, atque exsecrabilia sunt.

[5] Augustin. Sermo XV. § 9. Amurca per publicum currit, oleum autem ad sedem suam occultos transitus habet; et cum occulte transeat, in magnitudine apparet.

Augustin was required to answer,[1] how it was that such great and manifest evils had befallen the church under Christian princes, *who for the most part were diligent observers of the Christian religion.*[2] Now this was the very mischief,—whereby the Pagans were confirmed in their false representations of Christianity, — that they heard such emperors as least deserved this praise, extolled, because of their zeal for orthodoxy, for the external interests and splendor of the church, —as being zealous Christians. This position ought to have been disputed, first of all. But Augustin, in his answer, does not undertake to deny it, though what he says, tacitly supposes that he did not himself concede this position. "It were to be wished," he says, "that something, at least, had been said of the conduct of the earlier emperors; thus examples would have been adduced of a similar or even worse character under emperors who were not Christians; and it might be seen that this is the fault of the men, and not of the doctrine; or else, not of the emperors themselves, but of others, without whom the emperors could have done nothing."[3] The position itself he disputes in his excellent apologetical work, "The City of God," where he says: "If all the kings of the earth, all the nations, all the great, and all judges; if young and old together would hear and obey the doctrines of Christ, such a people would at once participate of all civil prosperity in this present life, and of eternal blessedness in the next. But," he adds, "because one man listens to these doctrines, and another despises them; and because the great mass are more attached to the vices which flatter their corruption, than to the salutary rigor of the virtues; the servants of Christ, whether they be kings or subjects, rich or poor, freemen or slaves, endure, if need be, even the worst of governments; and, by that patient endurance, contribute to prepare for themselves a place in that holiest and most exalted community of angels, in that heavenly city where the will of God is law."[4] Augustin, moreover, very justly remarks, that the fountain of those evils which were improperly charged on Christianity, was to be traced to a far earlier time, — to the corruption of the Roman state, which had been introduced by earthly prosperity, and which had been checked by no earthly counterpoise. He justly appeals here to the testimony of the older Roman authors themselves; and, convinced that the Christian religion furnished the only thorough remedy for the evil, he thanks God that he had bestowed the means of a radical cure precisely at the time of the greatest corruption, whence mankind would have ever sunk lower in ruin. "Thanks be to the Lord our God," he exclaims, "who sent us his own special assistance against those evils."[5]

[1] See Augustin. ep. 136 ad Marcellin.

[2] Christianam religionem maxima de parte servantes.

[3] Ep. 138 ad Marcellin.

[4] De civitate Dei, l. II. c. 19.

[5] Augustin, in the letter above cited (§ 171), comparing the effects of Christianity with the civic virtues of the ancient Roman republic, finely remarks: "Thus God showed, in the example of that flourishing empire of the Romans, how much the civil virtues could effect even without the true religion, that it might appear evident that men, when this is also added, become the citizens of another state, whose king is the truth, whose laws are love, and whose duration is eternity."

Another objection was called forth, partly through the one-sided political position held by the ancient world, and partly through misunderstanding of the Christian standing-point. The ancient notion of the state, as the highest good, must indeed yield to the idea of the kingdom of God. That enthusiasm, absorbing within itself all other human interests, which had for its object the earthly fatherland and an earthly state, must give way to a higher enthusiasm for the heavenly fatherland and a heavenly state, where God is the ruler. And so Christianity might appear to the Pagans as something incompatible with the interests of the governments of this world. To this was added the misunderstanding of the laws of the kingdom of God, as if they were intended as a political code, — the failure to distinguish rightly between the position of the kingdom of God and that of the state, — the misapprehension of that Magna Charta of the kingdom of God, as though it exhibited the letter of laws requiring an external observance. That false apprehension of these precepts, as a positive letter, which had answered to the stage of Christian development existing in the eastern church in the preceding period, contributed to promote this misunderstanding. But the new relation of the state to the church, in the present period, and the scientific spirit of Augustin, prepared the way for a juster insight. And Augustin knew how to remove this misunderstanding. He replies that these precepts had reference to the disposition of heart, which, in Christians, should always be the same, rather than to the outward actions. They required that the heart should constantly cherish the same disposition of patience and good will, while the outward actions must differ according as the best interests of those towards whom we are thus disposed require.[1] To those who maintained that Christianity necessarily conflicted with the welfare of states, he says: "Let them give us such warriors as the Christian doctrine requires they should be; such subjects; such husbands and wives; such fathers, sons, masters, and servants; such kings and judges; such payers and receivers of tribute as they ought to be according to the precepts of the Christian doctrine; — and would they still venture to assert, that this doctrine is opposed to the state? Nay, would they not rather confess without hesitation, that, if it were followed, it would prove the salvation of the state?"

The Pagans also labored to show, in the historical way, that it was by forsaking the national gods, to whom the Roman empire owed its increase and prosperity, and by the spread of Christianity, the state had been ruined. Such was the aim of Eunapius and of Zosimus in their historical works, written in the fifth century. The Spanish presbyter, Paulus Orosius of Tarraco, in Spain, at the request of Augustin, wrote, in the year 417,[2] his historical compend, for the purpose of refuting this charge by facts of history; and for the same reason

[1] Augustin. ep. 138, § 13: Ista præcepta magis ad præparationem cordis, quæ intus est, pertinere, quam ad opus, quod in aperto fit, ut teneatur in secreto animi patientia cum benevolentia, in manifesto autem id fiat, quod eis videatur prodesse posse, quibus bene velle debemus.

[2] Adversus Paganos historiarum libri VII.

Augustin himself was led to write his profound work concerning the origin, character, progress, and ultimate aim, of the city of God.[1]

C. *Various Obstacles which hindered the Progress of Christianity among the Heathen; various Means and Methods by which it was promoted; and the different Kinds of Conversion.*

The opposition to Christianity by the still remaining Pagans differed in character according to their different degrees of intellectual culture. In some cases, it grew out of the predominating sensuous element in a superstition commingled with immorality. For this, Christianity was a religion too spiritual, requiring too much self-denial. In other cases, it grew out of the intellectualistic element predominating in a certain conceited wisdom or morality. Men of this latter class supposed that they possessed in their own virtue all which they could need, and deemed themselves much better than many Christians. Of such Augustin speaks: "You will find," he says,[2] "many Pagans refusing to embrace Christianity, because they are satisfied with their own good lives. One should live, say they, uprightly. What further precept can Christ give us? We lead good lives already; what need have we of Christ? We commit no murder, theft, nor robbery; we covet no man's possessions, we are guilty of no breach of the matrimonial bond. Let something worthy of censure be found in our lives, and whoever can point it out may make us Christians." Comparing himself with the nominal Christians, such an one says, "Why would you persuade me to become a Christian? I have been defrauded by a Christian; I never defrauded any man: a Christian has broken his oath to me; I never broke my oath to any man."[3]

Men of deeper feeling had some sense of the need of a redemption, no doubt; although they interpreted it, to be sure, in their own way. It was a redemption from the force of nature, from the power of matter (Hyle), from the demoniacal element which had sprung out of this matter. They invoked a redeeming, purifying, expiating Zeus.[4] But they did not believe they stood in need of a redeeming *fact*. The elevation of themselves in spirit to this god was, for them, the redeeming act; and with this they doubtless connected various outward forms of expiation and purification, such as had been handed down by ancient tradition. By means of these observances, they supposed they might attract to themselves certain divine powers for the cleansing and preserving of both the body and the soul.[5] But

[1] De civitate Dei, contra paganos, libri XXII.

[2] In Ps. 31. Enarrat. II. § 2.

[3] In Ps. 25. Enarrat. II. § 14.

[4] *Ζεύς ῥύσιος, καθάρσιος, μειλίχιος.* See the Hymns of Synesius.

[5] E. g. Longinianus, a Pagan of North Africa, writes to Augustin, who had questioned him with regard to his own opinion on the right way which leads to God (ep. 234): Via est in Deum melior, qua vir bonus piis, puris, justis, castis, veris dictis factisque suis probatus, et Deorum comitatu vallatus, in Deum intentione animi mentisque ire festinat. Via est, qua purgati antiquorum sacrorum piis præceptis, expiationibusque purissimis, et abstemiis observationibus decocti, anima et corpore constantes deproperant. Compare the views of Simplicius, as presented above

this presentiment of a redeeming God, this obscure feeling of a need of redemption, may, even under these circumstances, have proved to many a point of transition to Christianity, a point of recipiency for Christian impressions; as we see illustrated in the case of Synesius.

From these men of deeper feeling we must distinguish the *mis*educated,—a very numerous class, especially in the large cities,—men in whom the flashy spirit of the rhetorical schools had destroyed all sense for simple truth, and who were unversed in the exercise of that silent reflection, by which they might have come to the knowledge of themselves and of their religious needs. To such, the unattic style, the plainness and simplicity of Holy Scripture was already reason enough for despising it. And though, in fact, they knew very little about philosophy, still they wanted a philosophical religion, and reproached the Christians as devotees to a blind faith. Of such, Theodoretus says, "Some who have read the poets and orators, some who have also had a taste of Plato's eloquence, despise the sacred Scriptures, because they are not set out with beautiful phrases; and they are ashamed to learn the truth from fishermen. And this pride is found in men who possess but a superficial knowledge of the Greek philosophy,—who have only scraped together, from one quarter and another, a sort of literary medley.[1] Of such, Augustin, in his beautiful tract, entitled, "A Guide to the Instruction of the different Classes of Pagan Catechumens," says that their teachers must accustom them to hear Scripture read, without despising it because its language is so simple and free from all rhetorical embellishments.[2] It is to such that Theodoretus says:[3] "It was God's will that all men, Greeks and barbarians, learned and unlearned, shoemakers, weavers, and other mechanics, moreover slaves, beggars, peasants, women, both such as live in the abundance of all things, and such as depend on the work of their own hands, should draw from the same fountain of salvation: for this reason he employed fishermen, and one who was a shoemaker (he should have said a tent-maker, Paul), as his instruments; *and he let their language remain as it was in the beginning*, but poured through the same the clear streams of heavenly wisdom."

Chrysostom once heard a Christian, in disputing with a rhetorically educated Pagan of this class, contend that, in the elegant and proper use of the Greek language, Paul was superior to Plato. He censured the Christian who so badly understood how to defend his own cause; since the very point he was chiefly concerned to make out, was that the apostles were men destitute of human learning and art, in order to show that it was not human power, but the power of God, which operated through them.[4]

To the claim insisted upon and made valid by Christianity, of being the only religion designed for all mankind, was opposed by educated

[1] Theodoret. Græc. affect. curat. Disputat. I. p. 696, T. IV.

[2] De catechizand. rudib. c. IX. Sunt quidam de scholis usitatissimis grammaticorum oratorumque venientes, quos neque inter idiotas numerare audeas neque inter illos doctissimos. Docendi sint scripturas audire divinas, ne sordeat eis solidum eloquium, quia non est inflatum.

[3] Disputat. VIII. p. 899.

[4] Chrysost. ep. ad Corinth. I. H. III. ed. Ben. X. 20.

Pagans, — as we saw in characterizing the tendencies of Julian and Simplicius, — the necessary diversity of the forms of religion, grounded in man's nature. Thus the Neo-Platonic pagan philosopher Proclus paid homage to Greek and Oriental divinities, according to the peculiar Greek and Oriental modes of worship; it being his wont to say, that the philosopher ought not to bind himself to the observance of this or that national form of worship, but, as the common hierophant for the whole world, be familiar with every form of religion.[1] "The rivalship of the different religions," says Themistius to the emperor Jovian,[2] "directly contributes to stir up zeal in worship. There are different ways — some more difficult, others easier; some rougher, others more plain and even — which lead to the same goal. If you allow but one way to be good, and hedge up the others, emulation is at an end. God desires no such agreement among men. As Heraclitus says, Nature loves to hide herself, and still more than nature, the Creator of it, — whom we reverence particularly on this account, because the knowledge of him does not lie on the surface, and is not to be acquired without toil. As you have various ranks and conditions among your subjects, who all in like manner depend on you, and look up to you — so, be assured, the Lord of the universe also takes pleasure in variety and in the diversities of condition. It is his will, that the Syrians should worship him in one way, the Greeks in another, and the Egyptians in still another. And, again, the Syrians are not agreed among themselves, but are subdivided into different minor sects. None have precisely the same notions with the others. Why, then, should we try to force that which is impossible in the nature of things?" In like manner writes Symmachus, in the above-cited Relatio ad Valentinianum: "It is reasonable that we should hold that Being whom all worship, to be one and the same. We all see the same stars; there is a common cope of heaven; the same universe contains us. What matters it in what way each finds the truth? By one way, it is impossible to reach so hidden a matter." But to this diversity of impure, subjective, human modes of apprehension, the church teachers opposed the authority of a divine revelation, requiring the submission of all minds, as Ambrosius calls to Symmachus: "Come and learn here on the earth to walk in heaven. *Here* we live; and *there* is our walk. Let God, my Creator, himself teach me the mysteries of heaven. Let not man teach me, he who knows not even himself."

The doctrine which refused to recognize a higher truth, and which held that the forms of religion must necessarily be manifold, may have gained, indeed, a certain show of right, when opposed to another error then prevailing in the church, a certain intellectual dogmatism, which would force the same forms on different understandings, and refused to admit that, along with the higher unity, there was also a necessary diversity. The genuine spirit of Christianity alone could guide men to the just mean between these two extremes.

As the relation of the different classes of Pagans to Christianity

[1] See Marini vita Procli. p. 47.

[2] See the above-cited discourse, p. 89.

varied, so also the ways were various by which they were led to embrace the gospel; and in the great variety of these leadings was shown the manifold wisdom of God. But we must first distinguish, in this period, between conversion in the proper and Christian sense, — an inward change of disposition wrought by Christianity, — and the mere outward adoption of Christianity, that is, of its name and ceremonial observances; or an exchange of open, undisguised Paganism, for a nominal Christianity covering a pagan way of thinking. It must be evident, from what has already been observed respecting the spread of Christianity under the Christian emperors, that, in this period, the number of conversions of the latter kind far exceeded those of the former. And this is confirmed by the testimony of those church teachers who were right earnest in bringing about conversions of the genuine stamp. Thus Augustin, for instance, in remarking on John 6: 26, complains: "How many seek Jesus only that he may benefit them in earthly matters! One man has a lawsuit, — so he seeks the intercession of the clergy; another is oppressed by his superior, — so he takes refuge in the church. Others are seeking, one in this way, and another in that, to be interceded for in some quarter where they have but little influence themselves. The church is daily full of such persons. Seldom is Jesus sought for Jesus' sake."[1]

Doubtless it might happen, that many, whose sole intention was hypocritically to put on the profession of Christianity, would be led farther than they meant to be, by some bishop or catechist, who understood his calling and its duties. Such an one first took pains to inform himself, in the way prescribed by Augustin in his excellent guide to the catechist (the tract de catechizandis rudibus), of the reasons which induced the Pagan to seek baptism. If he showed that he was actuated by impure motives, such an enlightened teacher would gently repel him. Or if, which was most often the case, he answered the inquiries of the catechist in conformity with his own hypocritical disposition, still the catechist endeavored to give his conversation such a turn as to reach the heart of the heathen man. "Often," says the bishop Augustin, — speaking here from the experience which must belong to all men of the like spirit, — "often the mercy of God so comes to the help of the catechist's ministry, that the Pagan, moved by his discourse, resolves to *become* what he intended to feign.[2]

So, too, says Cyril of Jerusalem:[3] "A man may present himself before the church for baptism to please his wife; a wife, to please her husband; a servant, to please his master; a friend, to please his friend. And now the catechist feels it to be incumbent on him to lead the individual, — by whatever motives he may have been drawn thither at first, — to find in the church some higher and better thing than he was seeking for."

[1] In John. Tractat. 25, c. 10. Augustin also notices as outward reasons which led many to receive Christianity (p. 47, § 17): ut majorem amicum conciliet, ut ad concupitam uxorem perveniat, ut aliquam pressuram hujus seculi evadat.

[2] De catechiz. rudib. c. 5: Sæpe adest misericordia Dei per ministerium catechizantis, ut sermone commotus jam fieri velit, quod decreverat fingere.

[3] In the prologue to his Catechesis.

But if Pagans of this character came to one of the great majority of those ecclesiastics, men wholly without experience in the trial of spirits, or who were only interested to multiply the number of nominal Christians, they were received at once into the same number without farther question. Yet even these, after being incorporated with the visible church, might be led by what was there presented to them; by the impressions which they involuntarily received; by the society of Christians; by participating in the acts of worship; by some word of the sermon to which they might be listening with others on some great festival, — by such or other means, — to find in the church a good of a higher kind than any which they had sought for in it. Hence, Augustin remarks: "Many, who presented themselves to the church with such impure motives, are, notwithstanding, reformed after they have once come into it."[1] But, assuredly, no one was warranted for this reason to countenance such hypocrisy, to approve the evil, that good might come out of it. And beyond all doubt, the number was far greater of those who grew hardened in that worldly sense by which, from the first, they had profaned a holy profession, and who were thus the means of introducing into the church a great mass of corruption. Among the fruits of such mere outward conversions were those who were found, soon afterwards, at the altars of the false gods. We have proof of this in the laws enacted against apostates in the reign of the emperor Theodosius (see above).[2]

Yet these *gross worldly motives* were not the only ones which led to hypocritical conversions; as, indeed, there were many different stages of hypocrisy in these conversions, according as the consciousness of deception was more or less present; according as intentional fraud or unconscious self-deception more or less predominated. Many were first awakened by outward impressions, which might lead them to a superstition which had simply changed its color, as well as from superstition to the faith. Many supposed they had seen miraculous effects produced by the sign of the cross, similar to what had been witnessed, though under different circumstances, by Constantine;[3] others, who had heard of the divine power of Christ, driven in some strait to seek for assistance from the unknown God, believed they had seen him visibly manifested, and that they were thus delivered.[4] To others, some occurrence of the day, which was afterwards forgotten, but which had made an impression on their souls, of which, however, they were but vaguely conscious, would reappear in the form of a dream, where they imagined they saw Christ, or some martyr, threatening, warning, admonishing them. In all such cases, however, it might be, that the individual was seeking in Christianity only for some earthly good, although he was not hoping to obtain it from man, like the class of hypocritical professors first mentioned, but from God.

[1] Augustin. S. 47, § 17: Multi etiam sic intrantes corriguntur ingressi.

[2] See the entire Titulus VII. of the l. XVI. Cod. Theodos. Comp. the decrees of Siricius ad Himerium, of the year 385, § 4.

[3] See above, p. 9.

[4] See e. g. Paulin. Nolan. ep. 36 ad Macarium.

Not love, but fear, which easily creates idols, or not the love which is bent on heavenly things, but a material craving after miraculous revelations to the senses, which he hoped to find in Christianity, led him to the church. Much depended also on the circumstance whether he found a teacher who could point him away from sensuous to spiritual things. According to Augustin's directions to the catechist, it was the duty of the latter to take advantage of such communications to impress it on the heathen's heart, how great was God's care for men; but then he should also aim to divert his mind from such wonders and dreams, and lead it in the more certain way, and to the surer testimonies of Holy Scripture; — he should inform him, that God would not awaken him by such signs and dreams, if a safer way had not been already prepared for him in Holy Scripture, where he was not to seek for visible miracles, but accustom himself to wait for invisible ones; — where he would be taught of God, not in the *visions of sleep*, but while *awake*.[1] But when *such teachers* in Christianity were wanting, individuals of this class might easily be so misled, as merely to substitute in place of the pagan superstition, another under the Christian dress.

It so happened, that many had their fears excited by particular outward impressions, or by the inner excitements of conscience.[2] They felt the need of pardon; but they had no right conception of the forgiveness of sins, or of what must be done on man's part in order to obtain it. They dreamed of obtaining at once, by the opus operatum of baptism, the magical extinction of their sins, although they still continued in the practice of them. Now, in case such individuals came to a bishop or catechist of the character required in the above-cited work of Augustin, such a teacher would avail himself of the disturbed conscience, which had brought them to him, as a favorable opportunity for preaching to them repentance, and of leading them from the way of a hypocritical to an honest conversion. But unhappily, there were bishops whose only wish was to make the conversion to Christianity a right easy thing for the Pagans; and whose instructions, therefore, served much rather to confirm them in this wrong state of mind, than to draw them away from it. They merely told them what they would have to believe in order to be Christians; but they were silent as to the obligations to a holy life which flowed out of this faith, lest they might thus be deterred from baptism. Hence they baptized even those who lived in open sin, and who plainly enough manifested that it was not their purpose to forsake it. They imagined, that when these were once baptized and introduced into the fellowship of the church, it was then time enough to admonish them against sin. These corrupt modes of procedure originated partly in the erroneous notions of worth attached to a barely outward baptism and outward church fellowship; and partly in the false notions of what constituted faith, and of the

[1] De catechiz. rudib. c. 6.

[2] Augustin. de catechizand. rudib. c. 5. Rarissime quippe accidit, immo vero nunquam, ut quisquam veniat volens fieri Christianus, qui non sit aliquo Dei timore perculsus.

relation of the doctrines of faith and of morals in Christianity to each other.[1]

The better class of church teachers energetically protested against such frivolity of proselytism, and warned Christians of the dangerous consequences which would necessarily follow after it. Thus Chrysostom:[2] "Our Lord lays it down as a command, 'Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.' But from a foolish vanity and ambition, we have subverted this command by allowing corrupt and unbelieving men, full of all evil, to come forward and partake of this sacrament of baptism, before they have given the least satisfactory evidence of a change of mind. This is the reason why so many who were thus baptized have fallen away and occasioned much scandal." Against this, Augustin wrote his excellent work, "De fide et operibus." He says here, § 9: "What more befitting time can be found for one to hear about the faith which he ought to cultivate, and how he ought to live, than that time when, with a soul full of longing desire, he pants after the sacrament of faith which leads the way to salvation? What other season can be more appropriate for learning what manner of walk is suitable to so great a sacrament which they are longing to receive? Will it be after they have received it; when even after baptism they persist in the practice of so great sins,—when they have not become new men, but still remain in the old state of guilt? So that, by a strange perversion of language, it would first have to be said to them, 'Put on the new man;' and next, after they have done so, 'Put off the old;' whereas the apostle, observing the proper order of things, says: 'Put off the old man, and put on the new,' Coloss. 3: 9, 10; and the Lord himself exclaims: 'No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment; neither do men put new wine into old bottles,' Matth. 9: 16, 17."

The advocates of these measures alleged in their defense, that, in the letters of the apostles, the doctrines of faith preceded those of morals. To this Augustin replied: "This might have some weight, if it were the fact, that there are particular writings of the apostles addressed to the catechumens, and other particular epistles addressed to the baptized; and in the former nothing but the doctrines of faith were presented; in the latter nothing but the doctrine of morals. But the truth is, all the epistles are addressed to *Christians already baptized.* Why, then, do we find the two things combined? We must grant, both belong to the complete sum of Christian doctrine; but that they have commonly placed the doctrines of faith before the precepts of living, because a holy life presupposes the faith out of which it springs." Next, they defended their mode of proceeding by appealing to the example of the Apostle Peter, who preached nothing but faith to the three thousand who were baptized after his first dis-

[1] They imagined that such persons, by means of this outward baptism and the outward fellowship of the church, by means of that which *they* called faith, had at least a hope of salvation beyond that of the Pagans; though, before they could attain to it, they would have to pass through a refining fire, *ignis purgatorius.*

[2] In his tract addressed to Demetrius, on contrition περὶκατανύξεως.

course, and who, when they asked him what they should do, simply replied: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." Acts 2: 38. To this Augustin replied, that in the requisition of repentance, was in fact implied already the requisition to put off the old man and to put on the new; and the remark in verse 40, that Peter with many other words testified and exhorted, saying: "Save yourselves from this untoward generation," certainly supposes that they were required to renounce every sinful practice which belonged to the character of that sinful generation.

In opposition to the practice of citing exclusively those passages of Scripture which speak solely of the preaching of faith in Christ, or of Christ crucified, as Acts 8: 37, and 1 Cor. 2: 2; 3: 10, Augustin very justly remarks: "One important part of preaching faith in Christ is, to teach how the members must be constituted, which he seeks in order to be their head; which he forms, loves, redeems, and conducts to eternal life. An important part of preaching Christ crucified is, to teach how we ought to be crucified with him to the world, — consequently, everything that relates to the duty of self-denial. By *that* faith in Christ which Paul makes the foundation of the whole Christian life, he does not understand such faith as wicked spirits also might possess, but that faith by which Christ dwells in the heart, — that living faith which works by love, and comprehends in itself every other grace."

Many educated Pagans were conducted to the faith, not at once, by means of some sudden excitement, but after they had been led by particular providences, by the great multitude of Christians around them, to entertain doubts of the pagan religion they had received from their ancestors, and to enter upon a serious examination of the several systems of religion within their reach. They read the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Christian fathers; they proposed their doubts, their difficulties to Christian friends,[1] and finally made up their minds to go to the bishop. Many came, by slow degrees, through many intervening steps, to Christianity; and the Neo-Platonic, religious idealism formed one stage in particular by which they were brought nearer to *Christian ideas*, as is seen in the examples of a Synesius and an Augustin. This system made them familiar with the doctrine of a Triad. Although this doctrine, in its speculative matter and its speculative tendency, was altogether different from the Christian doctrine, which is in its essence practical throughout; yet they were thereby made attentive to Christian ideas. They were conducted still nearer to practical Christianity by the doctrine that man needed to be redeemed and purified from the might of the ὕλη, which not only fettered and clogged, but corrupted that element of his soul which stands related to God. It is true, they believed only in a general redeeming power of God, which was imparted to individuals in

[1] Augustin. de catechizand. rudib. § 12. Tales non eadem hora, qua Christiani fient, sed antea solent omnia diligenter inquirere, et motus animi sui cum quibus possunt communicare atque discutere.

proportion to their worth; or the communication of which was connected with various religious institutions under different forms. But, notwithstanding, all this was calculated gradually to pave the way both for the speculative mind and for the heart to embrace Christianity; even though Christianity might be regarded at first only as one of the manifold forms of the revelation of the divine, as we see illustrated in the case of Synesius.

In the idea of a divine Logos or Nus, the eternal revealer of God, these Platonicians would perhaps find themselves at home; not so with regard to the faith in the historical Christ crucified. They would have been pleased to place Christ on a level with those enlightened sages by whom the divine Logos had revealed himself under different forms. But to abide by this historical Christ alone, to seek in him their salvation, this was requiring too much from their speculative idealism.[1] This appeared to them something too narrow, material, answering only to the position of the multitude, who cleave to sensuous appearances, who cannot lift themselves above these to the spirit and to the pure idea. The great church teacher, Augustin, who himself passed over from a position of this kind to the simple gospel, describes the same out of the depths of his own experience,[2] and then adds: "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes, that so they who feel themselves weary and heavy laden might come unto him, and he might give them rest, because he is meek and lowly of spirit. But those who are inflated with the pride of a doctrine that styles itself sublime, hear not the call of him who says, 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of spirit, and ye shall find rest to your souls.' Matth. 11: 29."

Yet when those to whom Christianity appeared at first as one peculiar revelation of the divine, coördinate to other forms of manifestation, — not as the absolute religion of humanity, — were thereby induced to read the Holy Scriptures, and to attend divine worship in Christian churches, so far as this stood free and open to the unbaptized (i. e. the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon), they might, by their own study of the Scriptures, and through numberless immediate impressions derived from the church life, be let more deeply into the Christian truth than they had divined of it, until at last they found the redeeming God only in Christ; and the ideal Christ, by means of their own inward experience, became to them the real one. Thus Synesius, for example, came from the position above described still nearer to Christianity, when, in the year 399, having been sent to Constantinople, as a delegate from his native city Cyrene, driven to a great strait, where he was abandoned of all human help, he visited the church, spent much time in prayer, and in this place felt the near presence of God. Thus he was first led to desire baptism; — and he

[1] Many of these, had they been as clear to themselves, as honest and humble, as was Jacobi, might have said what that devout and noble spirit, so full of earnest longing after the truth, said in a letter to Lavater, that Christianity met their wants, so far as it was mysticism, but that on that very account it was the more difficult for them to get along with the historical faith. See Jacobi's Auserlesenen Briefwechsel, Bd. II. S. 55.

[2] Confess. l. VII. § 13, 14.

was doubtless brought to a still more profound acquaintance with the deep things of Christianity by the experiences of the episcopal office, which he had reluctantly been induced to assume. Thus it happened to Augustin, who from this position came to the study of the Apostle Paul, in the expectation of finding here the same things that he had found in Platonism, only in a different form; instead of which, he found *such a spirit* as brought about the great ferment and crisis in his inner life.

II. Spread of Christianity beyond the Limits of the Roman Empire.

Among the means which contributed to further the progress of Christianity in nations not subjected to the Roman dominion, may be mentioned first, the commercial intercourse of nations. Along with the goods of the earth, the highest blessings of the Spirit also were thus often transmitted to distant lands. In the next place, many of those monks who lived in the Lybian and the Syrian deserts, on the borders of barbarian tribes, acquired, by the godly character which shone forth in their lives, and which exercised a mighty power even over those rude minds, the respect and confidence of the wandering nomadic hordes; and they would doubtless avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded, of bringing home the gospel to their hearts. Even that which seemed to threaten destruction to the church, must contribute to its extension. Many Christians who had been driven by the persecution of Diocletian out of Egypt, Lybia, and Syria, took refuge with the neighboring barbarian tribes,[1] and there enjoyed that freedom in the worship of God which they could not find in the Roman empire. The Pagans murmured, when they saw the idolatrous homage they had been used to pay to the "eternal city" exhibited by history in its nothingness, and the colossal creation which had sprung forth from Rome crumbling daily to ruin. But through Christianity, to which they ascribed all the public misfortunes, a new and more glorious creation was to be called forth out of the ruins of the old one. Both the hostile and the peaceful relations of the Romans with the rude tribes, particularly those of German origin, which were the first, after the general migration of races, to take an important part in the grand historical events of the world, contributed to bring these tribes to their first acquaintance with the gospel. A man who lived in the early part of the fifth century, and was an eye-witness of these events — the author of the work "De Vocatione Gentium" (probably Leo the Great, afterwards bishop of Rome, but then a deacon)[2] — remarks finely on this point: "The very weapons by which the world is upturned must serve to promote the ends of Christian grace. Many sons of the church, who had been taken captive by the enemy, made their masters the servants of the gospel of Christ, and were teachers

[1] Euseb. vit. Constant. l. II. c. 53. [2] L. II. c. 32.

of the faith to those whose slaves they had become by the fortune of war. But other barbarians, who aided the Romans in war, learned among our people what they could not have learned at their own homes, and returned to their native land carrying with them the instruction they had received in Christianity."

We turn first to *Asia*. In the former period, it was remarked that Christianity had already made progress in *Persia*. The number of Christians had gone on increasing among all ranks until the beginning of the present period. At the head of the Christian church in Persia, stood the bishop of the royal residence and chief city of the ancient Parthian kingdom, namely, Seleucia Ctesiphon. But the Magians, the Persian sacerdotal caste, applied every means to counteract the spread of Christianity; and the Jews, who were thickly scattered over the Persian empire, joined also in these hostile machinations.

One solitary account[1] has been preserved from which we may gain some knowledge of the mighty effects wrought by Christianity in Persia at the beginning of the fourth century. Under the reign of Hormisdas II. (from A. D. 301 to A. D. 308),[2] one of the chief Magians, a so-called Mobed, a man who stood in the highest veneration,[3] embraced Christianity, and wrote a work against the doctrine of Zoroaster, and in defense of the Christian religion. This work was widely disseminated in Persia, and seems to have done much for the spread of Christianity. It having been found impossible to silence him by disputation, he was stoned to death. The Armenian bishops in their answer to Mihr-Nerseh's proclamation, affirm that anybody might learn what Christianity is from the writings of this Mobed.[4]

The emperor Constantine recommended the Christians to the protection of the Persian emperor Shapur (Sapor) II., taking occasion of an embassy sent to him by the latter prince.[5] His letter contains nothing which alludes to the existence, as yet, of a persecution against Christians in the Persian empire. At all events, it is certain that, according to the more exact chronology of the Oriental accounts, the beginning of the most violent and harassing persecution must be placed, not as the Greek church historians assert, in the reign of Constantine, but in that of his successor. But if some Oriental accounts[6] are to be trusted, this persecution was preceded by two others of shorter duration, in which many Christians suffered martyrdom,—one in the year 330,[7] the other in the

[1] We are indebted for this account to the History of the Religious Wars in Armenia, quite recently published, written by the Armenian bishop Elisæus.

[2] Unless we are to understand here Hormisdas I., who reigned from 272 to 273.

[3] According to Neumann's version: "Whom you held to be something more than a man." According to Cappelletti's Italian translation (Venezia, 1840), for the communication of which I am indebted to my friend and colleague Petermann: "Che voi reputavate più sublime dell' umana natùra."

[4] See Neumann's English translation of Elisæus, p. 14. Italian translation, p. 38.

[5] Euseb. de vit. C. IV. 9.

[6] See the two Chaldee documents extracted from the history of the Persian martyrs, in Stephan. Euod. Assemani acta martyrum orientalium et occidentalium appendix, p. 215.

[7] In the 18th year of the reign of Shapur, the beginning of which should be placed, according to Ideler's chronology (see B. II. S. 558), in the year 312.

year 342.[1] Still it may be doubted whether those documents are worthy of entire confidence, and whether their narratives are chronologically exact. The credible records of the principal persecution above mentioned, contain not a hint that others had preceded it. Moreover, the Greek church historians, notwithstanding the anachronism just mentioned, speak of but one persecution, and make no mention of any before this. They state, that at the time of the commencement of that principal persecution the Christian church was in a flourishing condition.

Now, with regard to the main persecution, which broke out in the year 343,[2] it is manifest that the hostile relations existing between the Roman and the Persian empires were the immediate occasion of it. It was attempted to excite the suspicions of the emperor against the Christians on political grounds, because of the correspondence which they maintained with their brethren of the same faith in the Roman empire. For this purpose, advantage was taken of the respect usually paid by the emperors at Constantinople to the chief of the Persian bishops. Thus, for example, the Persian Jews represented to the emperor Sapor, that, when the Roman emperor received from him magnificent epistles and costly presents, they were scarcely noticed, in comparison with a miserable note from the bishop of Seleucia Ctesiphon, to which the emperor paid every mark of respect.[3] So also Christian ecclesiastics were accused of harboring in their houses Roman spies; of betraying to them the secrets of the empire; of writing letters themselves to the Roman emperor, informing him of everything that transpired in the East.[4]

Yet it is certain that the persecution did not originate in mere political difficulties; but religious fanaticism and the influence of the Magians lay in great part at the bottom of it. The truth was, that one of the most revered and learned of the Mobeds, had embraced Christianity. The multiplication of splendid churches had excited the jealousy of the Magians, and they declared that everything ought to be sacrificed sooner than to allow Christianity to suppress utterly the worship of Ormuzd.[5]

The objections brought against Christianity by the Persian civil authorities mark the peculiar relation in which Parsism stood, both to

[1] In the 30th year of his reign. The passage in the Acts of the second persecution (Assemani, l. c. f. 227), where Sapor, addressing the Christians, says: "What God is better than Hormuzd, or mightier than the terrible Ahriman," is hardly in agreement with the Persian religious ideas; for, according to these, Ahriman, the object of abhorrence, would scarcely be mentioned in such connection with Ormuzd.

[2] The most important records of its history, of which we shall say more hereafter, may be found in the collection of the acta martyrum, made under the direction of the Bishop Maruthas (see Assemani bibliotheca oriental. T. III. P. I. p. 73), from which were derived also those narratives already made use of by the Greek historians of the church. These acta were published by Stephan. Euod. Assemani, in the work already cited.

[3] Acta martyrum, l. c. p. 20.

[4] L. c. f. 152.

[5] A remarkable expression of this kind is ascribed to king Jezdegerdes II., in the historical work of Elisæus (p. 30, l. c.): "I have heard from my ancestors, that in the time of Sapor II., when this doctrine was propagated through the whole empire, the teachers of our faith prevailed on the king to publish a severe edict for the suppression of Christianity, that the faith of the Magians might not utterly perish."

Christianity generally, and also to that prevailing tendency of the religious and moral spirit which obtained particularly among the Persian Christians. That which the Parsic doctrine inculcated, and which permeated its entire view of the physical and of the moral world, was the antagonism of Ormuzd and Ahriman, and of their respective creations. From Ahriman was derived all evil, all hindrances and disturbances of life in nature, all wrong in the moral world; and from Ormuzd, all good, and every good thing in both worlds. Contemplated from this fundamental position, the Christian monotheistic view of the universe could appear no otherwise than as a confusion of good and evil, of the godlike and the ungodlike, — as a profaning of the holy essence of God, since God was made to be the creator of that which could proceed only from the evil principle. Accordingly it was, on this ground, alleged against the Christians in Armenia that, in refusing to adopt the worship of Ormuzd,[1] and in profaning the pure elements, they took the side of Ahriman. To persecute the Christians, therefore, was felt to be a matter of necessity, since they were enemies of Ormuzd, servants of Ahriman. Accordingly in the proclamation issued, about the middle of the fifth century, by the Persian commander and governor Mihr-Nerseh, to the Christians in Armenia,[2] it is said: "All that is good in heaven, Ormuzd created, and all that is evil was produced by Ahriman. Hatred, calamity, unfortunate wars, — all these things are the working of the evil principle; but on the other hand, good fortune, dominion, glory, health of body, beauty of person, truthfulness in language, length of years, — all these things proceed from the good principle. But all that is not of this nature is the operation of the evil. They who affirm that God created death, and that both evil and good proceeded from him, are in error; for example, the Christians, who say that God, out of anger to his servant because he had eaten a fig[3] from a particular tree, created death, and thereby punished men." This to the Persians, appeared as a doctrine which confounded Ormuzd and Ahriman, which transferred to God that which could be said only of Ahriman. "Such anger," the edict goes on to remark, "never took possession of a man against his fellow: much less, of God against man. He who talks thus, is deaf, blind, and deceived by that serpent the devil." It was also objected to the Christians that they held insects, snakes, scorpions, to be created by God, and not by the devil.[4]

Although the Parsic religion acknowledged the being of one primal Essence, under the name of Zervan (Κρόνος = the αἰών, βυθός of the

[1] The word *Kirdigar* in the Armenian. See Neumann's English translation of Elisæus, p. 23.

[2] In the French translation, in the Memoires historiques et géographique sur l'Arménie par St. Martin, T. II. Paris, 1819, p. 472. More complete, in the history of the Armenian religious wars, by the Armenian bishop Elisæus, in the English translation of Prof. Neumann. London, 1830, p. 12. See above, p. 489. Vol. I. n. 1.

[3] The reason why the fig in particular comes to be mentioned here is, that many of the fathers of the Oriental church, as for instance, Theodorus of Mopsuestia (see his observations on the first chapters of Genesis, in the catena of Nicephorus on the Octoteuch. Lips. 1770), supposed it might be inferred from Genesis 3: 7, that this was the forbidden fruit.

[4] Assemani, l. c. f. 181.

Gnostics), from whom all existence flowed; yet this idea of the one hidden, primal Essence, from the very nature of the case, retreated into the obscure; and the idea constantly predominant was that of Ormuzd, the revealer of this hidden, divine, primal Essence; the creator, the victorious antagonist of Ahriman; and, although this Ormuzd was the highest object of all prayer and adoration, yet various genii and powers of a pure, holy nature, which were supposed to have emanated from Ormuzd, and to be the vehicles of his activity, received also a certain share of worship, so far as they represented him.[1] Adoration of the sun, as representative of Ormuzd, of Mithras, was required of the Christians. Accordingly the Persian king says to the Christians in Armenia, "I have sworn by the sun, the great god, who enlightens with his beams the whole world, animates with his warmth all creatures, that if, at his wonderful appearance on the morrow, every knee does not bow to him and acknowledge him as God, I will give you up to every kind of persecution."[2] The sun, fire, water, earth, as elements of a pure nature working with the energy of Ormuzd, were objects of worship with the Persians. Hence it was objected to the Christians that they worshipped but one God, and did not pay due honor to the sun, the fire, the water; especially that they profaned the water by using it for obscene washings. But how this should be understood, so as to be consistent with the Parsic notions, may be made a question; for lustrations by water were certainly used as a means of holiness according to the Parsic ritual. In the case last cited, either Christian baptism itself is represented as a profanation of the holy element, or else it is meant that the Christians paid no regard to the sacredness of water in their daily use of it.[3] As to the holy earth, the Persians believed that they might accuse the Christians of profaning this also, perhaps on account of the burial of the dead.[4] It is objected to the Christians of Armenia, from the Parsic point of view, even in the fifth century, "that they defiled water and fire; that they buried their dead in the earth and thus polluted it."[5] It constituted, again, a part of the nature-worship of the Persians, that they looked upon many of the brute animals as being specially consecrated to Ormuzd, and sacred; while others, as consecrated to Ahriman, were held to be unclean;—and hence the Christians were censured for slaughtering brute animals indiscriminately.

[1] Compare Silvestre de Sacy mémoirs sur diverses antiquitatés de la Perse. Paris, 1793, p. 41.

[2] See Elisæus' History of the Armenian religious wars, in the English translation, by Neumann, p. 22.

[3] See Herodot. l. I. c. 138.

[4] The custom of burying the dead contrasted strongly with the usage of the Persians at that period. The dead body was cast into the open field, as a prey for dogs and ravenous birds. They regarded it as a bad token, a sign that the deceased was an abandoned wretch, and his soul belonged to the Dews, if the body was left untouched by the beasts of prey. The bones that were left, were allowed to moulder away on the ground. See Agathias, l. II. c. 22 and 23, p. 113, ed. Niebuhr. This historian says expressly of the Persians: *Θήκη τινὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ἢ λάρνακι τοὺς τεθνεῶτας, ἢ καὶ τῇ γῇ καταχωννύναι ἥκιστα θέμις αὐτοῖς.* The former practice is noticed already by Herodotus, I. 140. He says, however, that the bones left behind were besmeared with wax, and buried.

[5] See Elisæus, by Neumann, p. 23.

The doctrine, too, of a Saviour of the world, who came in the form of a servant, and was crucified, was to the Persians foolishness and a stumbling-block — a doctrine in direct contradiction with their notions of Ormuzd. Nothing divine could possibly, according to their view, be subjected to suffering, for in suffering was manifested the power of Ahriman. Hence, in the before-mentioned edict of Mihr-Nerseh, it is placed among the errors of the Christians, that they taught that God, who created the heavens and the earth, had appeared in the world, and was born of a woman, Mary. "I shall not particularize," said that general, "for verily there are many singular things which they set forth in their sacred writings. Can anything be more offensive than what we find written in them? God, they proclaim, was affixed by the hands of men to a cross; the same God died and was buried, then rose from the dead and ascended up to heaven. Not even the wicked Dews can be seized by force and tortured by men; how much less God the Creator of all."

Necessarily connected with the nature-worship of the Persians, with the idea, pervading the whole life of the Persians, that every man should be a servant of Ormuzd in the struggle to defend his holy creation against the destructive powers of Ahriman, was the precept of their religion, which required a life of activity and industry, devoted to the culture of nature. All employments, even that of war against the enemies of the servants of Ormuzd, were reckoned as belonging alike to the contest for Ormuzd against Ahriman. The gifts of nature were to be enjoyed as holy gifts of Ormuzd; every fortunate event was thus made holy; riches, and especially a numerous progeny,[1] were considered as blessings conferred by Ormuzd. But at this time an ascetic spirit had become diffused among the Christians of the East; and it is easy to imagine what a contrast this must have presented to the Persian view of life. Hence, it was affirmed of the Christians, that they forbade men to marry and beget children; to do military service for the king; to strike any one.[2] And, in the above-cited proclamation of Mihr-Nerseh, it is said: "Believe not your leaders, whom you call *Nazarenes;*[3] they are deceitful knaves, teaching one thing and doing the contrary. They say, it is no sin to eat flesh; and yet they eat none. They say, it is right and befitting to take a wife; and yet they refuse even to look upon a woman. According to them, whoever accumulates riches is guilty of a great sin. They place poverty far above wealth; they praise poverty, and they

[1] See Herod. I. 136.

[2] Assemani, l. c. f. 181. Thus it was required of a Christian priest, if he would save his life, to worship the sun, to partake of blood (the oriental Christians holding the ordinance mentioned in Acts 15: 29, to be still binding), and to marry. Ass. l. c. f. 188.

[3] St. Martin is of opinion, that this name is used here as a general appellation of the Christians: but this will not do; for the subject of discourse here is the heads and teachers of the communities; and, moreover, the other remarks here cannot be referred to all Christians. We are to conceive rather, that this name (the monks being compared with the Nazarites of the Old Testament) was in the East a common designation of the monks; and the clergy in these districts were then chosen, for the most part, from among the monks. Comp. e. g. Gregor. Nazianz. orat. 32, p. 527, concerning the monks: Ναζαραίων χοροστασίαι, and οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ναζαραῖοι, orat. 19, p. 310.

defame the rich. They scorn the name of good fortune, and ridicule those who stand on the pinnacle of glory. They affect coarse garments, and they prefer common things to the costly. They praise death, and they have a contempt for life. They hold it an unworthy thing to beget men, and they praise barrenness. Follow their example, and the world would soon come to an end."

A Persian governor asks the Christians, "Which is the true religion, that which was professed by the kings, the lords of the world, the nobles of the empire, the men of rank and of wealth; or that which they, poor people, had preferred to it?" He reproached them as a people too indolent to apply themselves to those useful occupations by which men obtain wealth, and therefore so fond of praising poverty.[1]

The spirit of Oriental despotism, also, which prevailed among the Persians, demanded of the subject that he should have no other religion than that of his king. Thus, in the proclamation above-cited, it is said, "Know that you too must adopt the faith which your ruler accepts; especially as we have to give an account of you to God."

The first ordinance of the emperor probably ran as follows: *The Christians, unless they would consent to worship the Persian deities, should be required to pay an inordinate tax, levied on each individual.* This law may have been directed, perhaps, to the bishop of Seleucia, who was expected to collect the required sum from all the Christians, and pay it over. Simeon,[2] the venerable old man who then held this office, gave a high-hearted answer, which stood out in bold and striking contrast with the servile spirit of the Orientals; though it is wanting in the temper of Christian humility, and fails to mark the distinction between spiritual and political freedom. Yet it should be borne in mind, that the emperor probably demanded of the Christians an amount of money which they could not possibly raise, thinking to compel them in this manner to abjure their religion. The Christians, Simeon declares, whom their Saviour had emancipated by his blood from the most shameful yoke, and whom he had delivered from the most oppressive of burdens, could not submit to have such a yoke imposed on them. Far was it from them to be so foolish and sinful as to exchange the liberty which Christ had bestowed on them for slavery to men. "The Lord, whom we are resolved to obey, is the upholder and director of your government. We cannot subject ourselves to an unrighteous command of our fellow-servant. As God was the Creator of their divinity (the sun), so they held it to be a reckless thing to place God's creature on a level with himself. They had neither gold nor silver, as the Lord had forbidden them to heap up such treasures; and Paul had said to them, 'Ye are bought with a price; be no man's servants.'" The emperor interpreted this letter as if Simeon invited the Christians to insurrection, and commanded that he and his people should be threatened with severe punishment. To this

[1] Assemani, l. c. 186.

[2] Barsaboe, son of the leather-dresser. His father was the king's purple-dyer.

Simeon replied, that it was far from any thought of his to betray his flock for the purpose of saving his life and purchasing peace. He was ready, following the example of his Saviour, to give up his life for his flock. Sapor then declared: "Whereas Simeon scorns my authority, and obeys the Roman emperor, whose God alone he worships, but utterly despises my God, he must present himself before me and be executed." And he immediately issued another decree against the Christians: *The clergy of the first three grades were to be immediately executed; the churches of the Christians demolished; their church utensils devoted to profane uses.*

Simeon, with two presbyters of his church, was conveyed in chains to Ledan, a city in the province of Huzitis, where the emperor then resided. Before this, he had never hesitated to prostrate himself, after the Oriental manner, in the king's presence, — this being a custom of the country, which, in itself, contained nothing idolatrous. But now, when he was called upon to renounce the sole worship of his God, he declined doing this; since it behooved him at present to avoid every act which could be interpreted as if he gave to a creature the honor due to God alone. The emperor then required him to do homage to the sun, — assuring him that he might thus deliver himself and his people. To this Simeon replied, that he could still less pay to the sun, a lifeless being, that homage which he had declined showing to the king, who was a rational being, and therefore far more than the sun. As neither promises nor threats had any power to move him, the emperor ordered him to be thrown in prison till the next day, to see if he would not come to his senses.

To the Christians belonged at that time the head of the imperial household, and most considerable of the eunuchs, to whose care Sapor had been intrusted when a child, — the venerable Guhsciatazades. This person had been prevailed upon to do homage to the sun. When Simeon was conducted by him in chains, he fell on his knee, after the Oriental manner, and saluted him. But Simeon turned away his head; for he had denied the faith. His conscience was awakened by this silent reproof: he witnessed a bold confession before the emperor, and was sentenced to lose his head. When brought already to the place of execution, he begged of the emperor, as a reward for the services he had rendered to his whole family, that it might be publicly made known how Guhsciatazades died, not because he had betrayed the secrets of the empire, or committed any other crime; but simply because, as a Christian, he refused to deny the God whom he professed to worship. He hoped that the example of his death in behalf of the faith which he had once denied, would have the more powerful effect on others. Sapor consented; not knowing the power of faith, and expecting that the terrible example would prove a warning to many: but he soon learned the contrary.

The aged Simeon, in his dungeon, had thanked God for the repentance and martyrdom of this brother in the faith. He rejoiced to learn that his own death would probably take place on the very day which the Persian Christians had consecrated to the memory of Christ's

passion. So it happened. The next day after his arrest, and after the martyrdom of Guhsciatazades, he appeared before the emperor; and, showing that he was firm in his confession, he likewise was condemned to die. A hundred others of the clerical order, who had been condemned at the same time, were led out with him to the place of execution. Simeon and his two companions were to be reserved till the last. The whole design of the emperor was to shake his constancy, so that, through his example, he might work on the great mass of the Christians; and he hoped that the blood of so many, shed before his eyes, would make him waver; but he was mistaken. Simeon confirmed the band of confessors by his exhortations, and at last died himself with his two companions. It happened that one of these latter, Ananias, when it was his turn to strip himself and be bound, in order to receive the stroke of the axe, suddenly seized by the natural fear of death, trembled through his whole frame; the flesh only being weak, while the spirit was strong as before. When this was observed by Phusik, an officer of some rank, superintendent of all the workmen in the palace, who was himself a Christian, said he to him: "Never mind; shut your eyes but a moment, and partake of the light of Christ." This was immediately communicated to the king. Sapor was the more incensed at the disobedience of Phusik, because but a short time had elapsed since he had conferred on him his new honors. Phusik declared that he would gladly exchange these poor honors for the crown of martyrdom. His tongue was torn out in the most cruel manner, and thus he died.[1]

Still more violent was the persecution in the following year, 344. An edict appeared, which commanded that all Christians should be thrown into chains, and executed. Many, belonging to every rank, died as martyrs. Among these was a eunuch of the palace, named Azades, a man greatly prized by the king. So much was the latter affected by his death, that he commanded the punishment of death should be inflicted from thenceforth only on the leaders of the Christian sect; that is, only on persons of the clerical order. Of these, a great number suffered martyrdom. Yet, within the space of the forty years during which this persecution lasted, it became occasionally more general and violent again,—which was especially the case towards its close.

The treaty of peace which terminated the unfortunate war of the Romans with the Persians under the emperor Jovian, was unfavorable to the interests of the Christians; the ancient Christian city Nisibis, on the border of Mesopotamia, being given up to the Persians. Yet the Christian inhabitants had permission to leave the country.

The king Sapor himself was at length compelled to acknowledge that all his efforts to suppress Christianity by force, were expended in vain; and the disastrous effects which had followed in the train of all his sanguinary edicts led him to the measure of granting universal toleration to all religious sects in Persia. In the history of the relig-

[1] Assemani, Tom. I. f. 35. Sozom. l. II. c. 11.

ious wars, composed by the Armenian bishop Elisæus, the king of Persia, Jezdegerdes II., is represented as giving an account of the termination of this persecution, — an account well worthy of notice, though we cannot suppose that it is reported in the very words of the author. It may contain some truth, at any rate. "When the king (Sapor) had shut up the churches throughout Persia, the Christians converted every house into a church, and performed their worship in all places. Indeed, they made temples of themselves, and accounted their own persons as worthier and better than mere earthly structures. They patiently endured the severest persecutions, and their necks never grew weary. Their goods were plundered; but still there would always be more to be plundered again. The king was exasperated; the executioners in despair. But the Christians were joyful; they suffered with equanimity, and submitted patiently to the spoiling of their goods. When the king saw that they despised death, that they accounted it as nothing more than a passage to their home in heaven, he directed the Magians and Mobeds to disturb no man thenceforth, but let each follow his own faith without fear."[1]

In the early part of the fifth century, by the wise and prudent conduct of a man zealously devoted to the spread of the gospel, a favorable change was brought about in the situation of the Christians, which might have been attended with important consequences long in the future, had not his labors been defeated by the imprudent zeal of another bishop. The bishop Maruthas of Tagrit, in Mesopotamia,[2] consented to serve as agent in the negotiations between the emperors Arcadius and Theodosius II., and the Persian emperor Jezdegerdes I.; and in transacting this business he gained the esteem and confidence of the Persian emperor. By his sagacity, he defeated the intrigues of the Magians to procure his downfall; which only added to his reputation. He obtained permission for the Christians to rebuild their churches, and hold their meetings for divine worship; but the whole was rendered nugatory by the imprudent behavior of Abdas, bishop of Susa. This bishop caused a Persian temple (πυρεῖον), where fire, the symbol of Ormuzd, was worshipped, to be demolished. Owing perhaps, to the still remaining influence of Maruthas, Jezdegerdes showed at first a moderation seldom witnessed in Oriental princes under the like circumstances. He summoned Abdas into his presence, mildly reproved him for this act of violence, and simply required him to rebuild the temple. The bishop, thinking he could not conscientiously do this, resolutely declined, and the king was highly exasperated. He ordered the Christian churches to be destroyed, and Abdas to be executed (about A. D. 418).[3] This was the beginning of a thirty

[1] See Elisæus, p. 30.

[2] Maipheracta, Martyropolis.

[3] The judgment which the mild Theodoretus, who relates this, passes on the bishop's conduct, is worthy of notice (H. Eccles. l. V. c. 39): "I affirm, indeed, that the wrong time was chosen for the destruction of the fire-temple; for the Apostle Paul himself, when he came to Athens and found the whole city given to idolatry, destroyed none of the altars which they reverenced, but by instruction refuted their ignorance, and showed them the truth. But that the bishop preferred rather to die than to rebuild the temple, commands my admiration; for to me it seems the same thing to worship fire, and to rebuild the temple for such worship."

years' persecution of the Christians in Persia, which, under the reign of Varanes V. the successor of Jezdegerdes, from the year 421 and onward, became far more violent. Oriental cruelty invented against the Christians the most painful modes of death; and men of all ranks, even the highest, suffered martyrdom. Jacobus, a man belonging to one of the most distinguished families, had already been moved by his benefactor, the king Jezdegerdes, to deny the faith. But through the remonstrances of his mother and his wife, filled with remorse, he repented, and after this remained steadfast under protracted tortures, one limb being severed from his body after another. Once only, when his thigh was dismembered, a cry of anguish was heard from him: "Lord Jesus, help and deliver me, for the bands of death are about me."[1] Another noble Persian, Hormisdas, who was ordered by the king to deny his faith, answered: "You bid me do what is in itself a sin, and what you yourself cannot approve; for he who can consent to deny the Almighty God, will still more easily deny his king, who is a mortal man." The king thereupon deprived him of all his honors, confiscated his estate, and condemned him, naked, with only a girdle about his loins, to drive the camels in the rear of the army. But some days after, observing him, from his palace windows, in a pitiable condition, scorched by the sun, and covered with dust, he was seized with compunction. Summoning him to his presence, he ordered him to be clothed in a linen robe, and called on him anew to renounce his faith. But Hormisdas rent the linen robe in twain, saying: "If you suppose I shall renounce my faith for this, keep the gift by which you would bribe me to deny God." Of another Christian, by the name of Suenes, the master of a thousand slaves, Jezdegerdes demanded, after he had refused to deny his faith, which was the worst of his slaves, and immediately made the latter lord over the whole, including his old master.

Among other incidents, it so happened that a certain deacon, named Benjamin, was cast into prison. He pined away two years in his dungeon, until the arrival of an ambassador sent on other business from the East Roman empire. The latter petitioned the king for the release of Benjamin; and it was accorded to him, on condition that he would never preach Christianity to any adherent of the Persian system of religion. The ambassador assented to this condition, without consulting with Benjamin. But, on communicating it to the latter, he declined it altogether, saying: "It is impossible for me not to impart to others the light that I have received myself; for the gospel history teaches us to what sorer punishment he justly exposes himself, who hides his talent." Notwithstanding, he obtained his freedom, under the presumption that after all he would comply with the condition. He continued to preach the gospel; and, having labored a year in this way, he was accused before the king, who required him to deny the faith. Upon this, he asked the king to what punishment he would sentence the man who deserted his government, and swore allegiance to another. The king replied that he should sentence him to death.

[1] See Assemani acta Martyrum, l. c. p. 243.

"Then," said Benjamin, "what punishment might not that person justly suffer, who should disown his Creator, and give the honor due to God alone, to one of his fellow-servants?" He was executed with cruel torments.[1] The bishop Theodoretus of Cyros, on the Euphrates, wrote on this occasion to Eusebius, bishop of Persian Armenia, a letter of exhortation, breathing the genuine Christian spirit, in which he admonishes him to be not only steadfast in maintaining his own conflict, but forbearing and kindly provident towards the weak, — an exhortation which perhaps was not unnecessary to the Persian Christians, who were somewhat inclined, as it would seem, to a fanatical pride. "Let us be watchful," he writes,[2] "and fight for the sheep of our Lord. Their Master is at hand; he will surely appear, will scatter the wolves, and bestow honor on the shepherds. 'For the Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him.' Lament. 3: 25. Let us not murmur at this storm which has arisen; for the Lord knows what is best. On this account, he did not grant the request even of his apostle, who besought him to deliver him from his trials; but said to him: 'My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness.' But I beseech you, let not our only care be for ourselves; but let us bestow still greater care on the others; for the precept has come down to us from the apostles, to 'comfort the feeble-minded, and support the weak.' 1 Thess. 5: 14. Let us reach forth our hand also to the fallen; let us heal their wounds, that we may put them also in battle-array against the wicked spirit. The Lord loves men; he receives the sinner's repentance; — let us hear his own words: 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.' Ezek. 33: 11. For this reason, he has even confirmed his words by an oath, although he forbids the oath to others, in order to convince us that he longs after our repentance and our salvation. But the God of peace will shortly cause Satan to be trodden under your feet, and rejoice your ears with the tidings of your peace, when he shall say to the raging sea, 'Peace, be still.'"[3]

As many were inclined to save themselves by fleeing from the Persian dominion into the Roman empire, command was given to all the garrisons on the frontiers, and to the chiefs of the nomadic hordes in the Persian service who kept watch over the boundaries of the empire, to arrest all Christians who might attempt to leave the kingdom.[4] Many, nevertheless, succeeded in effecting their escape; and sought aid through Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, from the Roman em-

[1] Theodoret. V. c. 39. The same Theodoretus speaks of the steadfastness of the Persian Christians under all their tortures, de Græc. affect. curat. Disput. IX. p. 935, T. IV. He finely remarks: "They mutilate and destroy the body, but cannot get at the treasury of faith."

[2] Epist. 78.

[3] Epist. 78.

[4] Vit. Euthym. c. 18. Coteler. Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta, T. II. If this account is quite accurate, the order was issued under the reign of a Jezdegerdes, yet there is much contradiction between Oriental and Occidental reports of what happened in the Greek empire during the reigns of Varanes V. and Jezdegerdes II., even when different events are not intended, nor similar ones confounded.

peror. On the other hand, the Persian king demanded the surrender of the fugitives. This being refused, led, in conjunction with various other difficulties, to the war between the two empires, which again operated unfavorably on the situation of the Persian Christians. But with the restoration of peace, in the year 422, their prospects once more grew better. In particular, the charitable and Christian conduct of a pious bishop could not fail to make a favorable impression on the Persians. The Roman soldiers had carried off seven thousand Persian prisoners, whom nothing would prevail upon them to release, and who, deprived of all the necessary means of subsistence, were in the most pitiable condition. Then Acacius, bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia, called together his clergy, and said to them: "Our God needs neither dishes nor drinking-vessels, since he is all-sufficient in himself. Now as the church, through the love of its children, possesses many utensils of gold and silver, we must dispose of these to ransom and to refresh the prisoners." No sooner said than done: the prisoners were not only redeemed, but, after being provided with the means of subsistence, and with money to defray their travelling expenses, were sent back to their homes. This work of charity is said to have affected so deeply the heart of the emperor, embittered as it was against the Christians, that he desired an interview with the bishop.[1]

The first years only of Varanes' reign were thus unfavorable to the Christians. At a later period he became their friend; and the noble behavior of this bishop Acacius may have contributed to bring about such a change. The king declared that, next after the doctrine of Ormuzd, Christianity was the best religion. He manifested great respect for the bishops.[2] But Varanes' successor, Jezdegerdes II., was again a violent enemy of the Christians.

As doctrinal controversies in the Roman church, in the course of the fifth century, led to a schism between the Christian church of the Persian and that of the Roman empire (concerning which we shall speak in the fourth section), the political cause of the persecutions in Persia would thus be removed, and this circumstance would operate favorably on the situation of the Persian Christians.

By means of Persia, Syria, and other bordering provinces of the Roman empire, many seeds of Christianity would early find their way to *Armenia;* but the fanatical spirit of the Persico-Parthian religion was here for a long time an insurmountable obstacle to the spread of the gospel. The Armenian *Gregory*, who, on account of his apostolical activity, obtained the cognomen of "the Enlightener" (ὁ φωτιστής), first led the way, by his active zeal, to a more general diffusion of Christianity in his native country, from the commencement of the fourth century and onwards; and it was by his means also that the Armenian king Tiridates was converted.[3] The old religion, notwithstanding this event, still continued to maintain itself in many of the Armenian provinces. In the beginning of the fifth century, Miesrob, who had once been the royal secretary, having devoted himself wholly

[1] Socrat. l. VII. c. 21, 22.

[2] See the work of Elisæus, p. 42.

[3] See Moses Chorenens. Hist. Armen. l. II. c. 77, and c. 88.

to the service of religion, disseminated Christianity still more widely in countries to which it had not yet penetrated, by taking up his abode in those regions as a hermit. Up to this time, the Syrian version of the Bible, the authority of which was recognized in the Persian church, had been used in Armenia; and hence an interpreter was always needed to translate into the vernacular tongue the portions of Scripture read at the public worship. Miesrob first gave his people an alphabet, and translated the Bible into their language.[1] Thus was the preservation of Christianity among this people made sure, even while the country was subjected to such dynasties as were devoted to the Zoroastrian or to the Mohammedan religion, and sought to supplant Christianity; — and a Christian literature proceeded, from this time forward, to form itself in Armenia. Miesrob was a successful and well-deserving laborer also among the neighboring kindred populations.

A party devoted to the ancient cultus, who continued to maintain themselves in some districts of Armenia, were encouraged and supported by those who held the same faith in Persia. The Persian kings were striving continually to extend their dominion over Armenia. Where they were victorious, they persecuted Christianity, and sought to restore the old religion. The Persian commander and governor, Mihr-Nerseh, about the middle of the fifth century, addressed a proclamation to all the Armenians, in which he affirmed that all who did not adopt the religion of Mazdejesnan (the Zoroastrian faith) must be deaf and blind, and deceived by the wicked spirits (the *Dews*).[2] The Armenian governors and chiefs should either give a written answer to these objections against Christianity, or else appear personally before a great tribunal which should decide the question about religious matters.

Thereupon the Armenian bishops, priests, and grandees convoked an assembly, A. D. 450, in the chief city Ardaschad, under the presidency of the patriarch Joseph; and eighteen bishops signed a letter, transmitted in the name of all, to the Persian governor, in which they replied to those objections against Christianity, gave an account of their faith, and concluded with the following declaration: "From this faith no power can move us; neither angel nor man; neither fire nor sword; neither death in the waves of the sea, nor violence of whatsoever tortures. All our possessions are in your power. Decide about them as you will, and if you only leave to us our faith, we shall seek to have no other lord over us here below but you, as we will have no other God in heaven but Jesus Christ, for beside him, there is no other God. But if you would hear from us some other thing than this great testimony, then learn what is our determination. Our bodies are in your power; do with them what you please. The rack is in your power, patience is in ours. You have the sword, we have necks to offer to it. We are not better than our fathers, who surrendered their possessions

[1] Moses Chorenens. l. III. c. 47 and 52. sur l'Arménie par St. Martin. Paris, 1819,
[2] See the proclamation already cited, T. II. p. 472.
in the Memoires historiques géographiques

and their lives for the faith. Put to us, therefore, no further questions on these matters, for our faith comes not from men. We are not to be taught like children. We are inseparably united with God, and nothing, whether in the present or in the future, or in all eternity, shall be able to draw us away from Him."[1] True, many of the chief men, whom the Persian king had summoned to his court and threatened with a cruel death, were induced to deny the faith; but the attempt of the Persians to extirpate Christianity by violent measures, and to introduce the Zoroastrian religion, led to a general insurrection of the people, and a religious war. And this was often repeated. On one side, was denial of the faith and treason to the native country; on the other side, was a zeal for the faith prepared to surrender all and suffer all for a holy cause, and a heroic courage fighting for the highest interests.[2]

It was in the midst of the distractions in which the Persian church, as well as the whole country, was then involved, that the Armenian *Moses* of *Chorene* wrote the history of his native land, which he concludes with sorrow and complaint.

The conversion of the race of *Iberians*, bordering on the North (within the present *Georgia* and *Grusinia*), proceeded from a very remarkable, insignificant beginning.[3]

Under the reign of the emperor Constantine, a Christian female, perhaps a nun, was carried off captive by the Iberians, and became the slave of one of the natives of the country. Here her rigidly ascetic and devotional life attracted the attention of the people, and she acquired their confidence and respect. It happened that a child who had fallen sick, was, after the manner of the tribe, conveyed from house to house, that any person who knew of a remedy against the disease might prescribe for it. The child, whom no one could help, having been brought to the Christian woman, she said that *she* knew of no remedy; but that Christ, her God, could help even where *human* help was found to be unavailing. She prayed for the child, and it recovered. The recovery was ascribed to the prayer; this made a great impression, and the matter finally reached the ear of the queen. The latter afterwards fell severely sick, and sent for this Christian female. Having no wish to be considered a worker of miracles, she declined the call. Upon this, the queen caused herself to be conveyed to her; and *she* also recovered from her sickness through prayers of this female. The king, on hearing of the fact, was about to send her a rich present; but his wife informed him that the Christian woman despised all earthly goods, and that the only thing she would consider as her reward was when others joined her in worshipping her God. This, at the moment, made no farther impression on him. But some-

[1] See the above cited History of the religious wars, by the bishop Elisæus, p. 20.

[2] See the above cited Memoires sur l'Arménie, T. I. p. 323, and the work of Elisæus.

[3] Among this people, too, the prevailing religion was probably some modification of the Persian cultus, adapted to their rude manners. They worshipped an *image* of Ormuzd, notwithstanding that the genuine Zoroastrian religion allowed of no images. See Moses Chorenens. l. II. c. 83.

time afterwards, being overtaken, while hunting, with gloomy weather, by which he was separated from his companions, and finally lost his way, he called to mind what had been told him concerning the almighty power of the God of the Christians, and addressed him with a vow, that, if he found his way out of the desert, he would devote himself entirely to his worship. Soon after, the sky cleared up, and the king safely found his way back. His mind was now well disposed to be affected by the preaching of the Christian female. Afterwards he himself engaged in instructing the men, while his queen instructed the women of his people. Next they sent (between the years 320 and 330) in quest of teachers of the gospel and clergymen from the Roman empire; and this was the beginning of Christianity among a people where it has been preserved, though mixed with superstition, down to the present times.[1]

From this tribe, the knowledge of Christianity may have been extended also to the neighboring populations. About the year 520,[2] Tzathus, prince of the *Lazians* (Colchians), one of the tribes of this country, came on a visit to the emperor Justin. He received baptism, and Justin stood as his godfather. He returned back to his people, with a noble Greek lady, whom he had married, richly loaded with presents from the emperor, who acknowledged him as a king. In the time of the emperor Justinian, the assassination of a prince of this tribe, by a Roman general, produced among them a great excitement; and some individuals took advantage of this state of feeling to persuade them to drop their connection with the Roman people, and attach themselves to the Persian empire. But the fear lest a connection with the Persians would endanger their Christian faith, is said to have contributed especially to deter them from following this advice.[3] Another tribe also, belonging to this district, bordering on Mount Caucasus, namely, the *Abasgians*, were converted under the reign of the emperor Justinian. Until this time, groves and lofty trees (after the manner of the ancient Germans) had been the objects of

[1] *One* of the original sources of this story is Rufinus, from whom the Greek church historians have borrowed it. Rufinus had it from the mouth of the Iberian chieftain Bacurius, who had risen to the dignity of a Comes Domesticorum in the Roman empire, and, at the time Rufinus knew him, had become Dux over the borders of Palestine (see Rufin. h. e. c. 10). The simple tale bears within itself the marks of truth; and, indeed, the spread of Christianity has often received an impulse from similar occurrences. The second, perhaps *independent*, channel is the History of Moses of Chorene (l. II. c. 83). It is possible, indeed, that this historian took his account indirectly from the Greek writers, who were indebted for it to Rufinus. But, considering the vicinity of the country, it may be conceived, too, that he derived his account immediately from the spot. In favor of this latter supposition would be the slight discrepancies in the two several accounts, though these, too, might be accounted for by the story being given in an Armenian dress. According to this writer, the name of the Christian woman was Nunia, and that of the prince, Miraus. The Christian woman was an Armenian; and the application for teachers of Christianity was made, not to the church of the Roman empire, but to the Armenian bishop, Gregory, who has been already mentioned. It may be a question, however, whether this modification of the story was not invented in favor of the Armenian church, to which the *Iberian* became subsequently united.

[2] 512, according to the era of Theophanes.

[3] See Agathias III. c. 12, p. 165, ed. Niebuhr.

their worship. The emperor Justinian sent them ecclesiastics, and founded among them a church. He produced a favorable disposition towards Christianity among the people, by forbidding their rulers to engage in the scandalous traffic in castrated slaves, to which many of the male children of the people were sacrificed.[1]

What we had to say respecting the vagueness of the accounts relative to the spread of Christianity in the earliest times in *India*, applies also to many of the accounts belonging to the earlier times of *this* period. The same cause of the obscurity still continued to exist; namely, the unsettled use of the name *India*, by which was understood sometimes Ethiopia,[2] sometimes Arabia, and sometimes East India proper. At the same time, however, it should be borne in mind, that there was at this time a constant intercourse between all these countries by commercial connections and colonies, which also might serve as a channel for communicating Christianity from one of these districts to the other. The various passages, therefore, in which Chrysostom names the *Indian* among the different languages into which the Holy Scriptures had been translated, can settle nothing definitely; and even if it could be made probable, by the accompanying descriptions, that Chrysostom had really East India proper before his mind, still such rhetorical representations could not properly be considered as evidence to be relied upon, especially as he himself might possibly have been deceived by the vague meaning of the name. Of more importance, on this point, is what the Arian historian Philostorgius relates concerning the missionary Theophilus, who bore the cognomen of Indicus (ὁ Ἰνδός). This Theophilus had been sent by his countrymen, the inhabitants of the island Diu (Διβοῦ), in the reign of the emperor Constantine, as a hostage to Constantinople. He was there educated, and trained for the spiritual office; afterwards consecrated as deacon, and still later made a bishop, that he might be prepared to preach the gospel to his countrymen, and to the Arabians. By the island Diu, we are without doubt to understand Diu Zokotora, called by the ancients Dioscorides, an island near the mouth of the Arabian gulf, the situation of which, in relation to Arabia, corresponds well with the description given by Philostorgius.[3] Theophilus is said to have made his journey from Arabia to his native place, Diu (this would accord with the situation of the island above-mentioned); and from there to other countries of India, which is also conceivable, inasmuch as this island was, in ancient times, a central depot for the commerce with the East Indies, and the seat of an Indian commercial colony, the Banians.[4] It is said that Theophilus found Christianity already existing there, as a thing of long standing.[5] That famous merchant and

[1] See Procop. de bello Gothico, l. IV. c. 3.

[2] Compare the above-cited "Memoires" of Letronne, p. 31.

[3] The name Dioscorides is a mutilation of the Sanscrit Dvipa Sukhatara; see Ritter's Geographie Thl. 5. p. 603. Letronne has declared against this supposition, and thinks that the island was Dahlak, in the Red Sea. See Memoires already cited, p. 139.

[4] The Sanscrit Baing-jana, commercial people. See Ritter, l. c. and p. 443.

[5] When the Arian Philostorgius says: "The inhabitants of this country needed no correction of their doctrine, i. e. their doctrine did not at all coincide with the Nicene Creed, — they had preserved the

circumnavigator of the world, Cosmas, known under the name of the Indian sailor (Ἰνδικοπλεύστης),[1] heard from certain people of this island whom he met with in Ethiopia, that many Christians resided there, to whom were sent ordained clergymen, usually from Persia.[2]

The Persian church seems, therefore, to have been active in promoting the spread of Christianity. Their commercial relations, and also the persecutions to which they were subjected, and which induced Christians to emigrate, gave them opportunities for this work. We find it stated that even so early as the fourth century, under the reign of Sapor II., Christianity had been extended by the churches, which, before the outbreak of the persecutions, were so flourishing in this country, to the eastern districts lying on the borders of the Caspian Sea and thence south as far as to India.[3] Here come in the accounts which we have from Cosmas concerning the Christians in India.

He found Christians in three different places in India; first, on the island Taprobane, called by the inhabitants Sieledibu (the present Ceylon). Here he visited a church, which had been planted by Persian merchants residing on the spot, and was presided over by a presbyter who had been ordained in Persia. This island was a central depot of the trade with Persia and Ethiopia. Maritime commerce was the channel by which Christianity had reached this spot from Persia. Again, he met with Christians, and an ordained clergy, at Male, "where pepper grows" (perhaps the present Malabar); next at Calliana (perhaps Calcutta,[4] or a trading-station of that name near Bombay, formerly important), where there was a Persian bishop.[5] From the accounts of Cosmas, it is by no means to be gathered that Christianity had spread among the native population of these countries; it is only clear that commercial colonies of the Persians here practiced the rites of Christian worship. These Persian Christians are the progenitors of the Christian colonies still existing on the coast of Malabar.[6]

The nomadic life which prevailed over the largest portion of *Arabia*,[7]

ἑτεροούσιον unaltered from the beginning, this can only be understood to mean, that they had the older, more simple form of church doctrine, the subordination system, before it had undergone any further change by the dialectic process, — that form which would have satisfied the Arians." See Philostorg. l. III. § 14.

[1] He had made these journeys first as a merchant and afterwards communicated the geographical and ethnographical facts which he had collected, in the Τοπογραφία χριστιανική, which he wrote when a monk, in the year 535, published by Montfaucon in the Collectio nova patrum et scriptorum Græc. Tom. II.

[2] See his Τοπογραφία χριστιανική, l. III. ed. Montf. f. 178.

[3] See Elisæus, l. c. p. 30. In Neumann's translation: "This doctrine began to spread through the land, and thence to the countries towards the east. It came into the country of the Kushanians; and thence it spread south even to India." Neumann explains the name Kushanians as belonging to a people in the neighborhood of the Caspian Sea. According to the Italian translation: Sino al paese dei Tartari e di là si estese alle parti meridionali sino alle Indie. A remarkable testimony with regard to the path by which Christianity spread from Persia to India.

[4] Καλλιάνη, in Sanscrit Kaliyani. See Ritter's Geographie Thl. 5, p. 515, and 603.

[5] See Cosmas, l. III. p. 178, in Montfaucon, and l. XI. p. 336.

[6] The deciphering of the ancient documents of these Christians will perhaps throw more light on the subject of the spread of Christianity in India. See Tychsen's Dissertation de inscriptionibus Indicis in the Commentationes Soc. Reg. Gotting. recentiores, Tom. V.

[7] See above, vol. I. p. 81.

ever presented a powerful hindrance to the spread of Christianity. For it is certain, that Christianity could strike its root deeply and firmly, only where it entered as a forming power into the whole life of the people. The extensive commercial intercourse between a part of Arabia and the Roman empire, induced the emperor Constantine to send an embassy, with numerous presents, to one of the powerful Arabian chiefs, the king of the ancient and mighty nation of the *Hamyares* (Homerites), or Sabæans, in Yemen, Arabia Felix. He was at pains to select for this mission the above-mentioned Theophilus of Diu, who, by reason of the old commercial connections between his country and Arabia, and perhaps of his descent from some ancient Arabian colony,[1] might claim affinity with the race, with whose language he was acquainted. This Theophilus, it is said, obtained permission from the Arabian chieftain to found a church, at the emperor's expense, in which Christian worship might be held for the benefit of the Roman merchants. The labors of Theophilus were attended with the happiest effects. He converted the prince of the country, who founded, at his own cost, three churches; one in the principal town of the nation, which was called *Zaphar;* another at the Roman port and commercial depot, *Aden;* and the third at *Hormuz*, the Persian place of trade on the Persian Gulf.[2] Theophilus, from the first, encountered the fiercest opposition from the Jews, whose influence in this country was great. The same party succeeded afterwards in supplanting the Christian communities which had been able to maintain themselves here. See below.

Monks who lived in the deserts bordering on Arabia, and who came in contact with the wandering hordes of nomadic Arabians, acquired the respect and confidence of these rude men, and could take advantage of it to preach the gospel to them. Eusebius of Cæsarea relates that, in his time, Christian churches were planted in the deserts of the Saracens.[3] Bands of Saracens came, with their wives and children, to the monk Hilarion, and besought his blessing. He availed himself of these opportunities of exhorting them to the worship of the true God, and to faith in Christ.[4] Still later, about the year 372, it happened that a Saracenian queen, Mavia or Mauvia, who was at war with the Romans, heard much of a Saracenian monk in the neighboring desert, by the name of *Moses*. She made it one of the conditions of peace, that this Moses should be given to her people as their bishop, which was granted.[5]

In the first half of the fifth century, Simeon the Syrian monk (and Stylite), who spent several years standing on a pillar thirty-six ells in height, by this extraordinary spectacle, and the complete subjection

[1] See above, p. 140.

[2] See Philostorg. II. 6; III. 4. As Theophilus was an Arian, we cannot think it strange that the other Greek writers of church history, who belong to the orthodox party, make no mention of these meritorious labors of an Arian.

[3] Commentar. in Jesaiam, in Montfaucon's Collectio nova patrum, Tom. II. f. 521. Ἐκκλησιῶν Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἱδρυμένων.

[4] See Hieronymi vita Hilarionis, T. IV. ed. Martianay, P. II. f. 82.

[5] Socrat. IV. 36. Sozom. VI. 38. Rufin. II. 6. Theodoret. IV. 23.

which he seemed to exercise over his body, drew upon himself, as might have been expected, the attention of the nomadic Saracens. They looked upon him as a super-earthly being, and placed great confidence in blessings which they obtained from him, as well as in his prayers. Hundreds and thousands came to him, and were moved by his exhortations to receive baptism. Theodoretus relates this as an eye-witness.[1]

Among the examples of conversion most deserving of notice, belongs the following: The chief of a Saracenic tribe, whose name, according to the Greeks, was *Aspebethos*, was, at the beginning of the fifth century, attached to the service of the Persian empire; and the business assigned him was to watch over the boundaries. Now, the Christians in the Persian empire were at this time suffering persecution, and the Saracenic commander was ordered to seize and confine every Christian fugitive who attempted to pass the limits. But he was touched with pity towards them, and allowed them to pass free. Thus having brought persecution on himself, he fled to the Romans. He became head of an Arabian tribe in alliance with the latter. Sometime afterwards, believing himself indebted for the cure of his son, *Terebon*, to the prayer of the venerable monk Euthymius, he caused himself and his son to be baptized by the latter; and many of his tribe followed his example. He encamped in the neighborhood of Euthymius, and many other Saracens also pitched their tents near by. Euthymius had great influence over their minds. Finally, Terebon, having now arrived at mature age, became the chief of his tribe, and Aspebethos, who had taken the baptismal name of Peter, was made bishop of the several Saracenic bands. He was called the first Saracenic camp-bishop[2] in Palestine.[3] Somewhat later, in the beginning of the *sixth* century, occurred the conversion of a Saracenic sheikh (φύλαρχος), *Almundar;* perhaps not without some connection with the facts above related.[4]

We pass from Asia to *Africa*. The most important event in the present period, connected with the conversion of this quarter of the world, was the founding of the Christian church among the *Abyssinians*, in a population among whom it has preserved itself, down to the present time, as the dominant religion, amidst surrounding pagan and Mohammedan tribes, and which is perhaps destined to be an instrument, in the hands of Providence, for the benefit of this entire quarter of the world. In this case, also, the great work proceeded from an inconsiderable beginning. A learned Greek of Tyre, named Meropius, had, in the reign of the emperor Constantine, undertaken a voyage of scientific discovery. Already on his homeward journey, he landed on the coast of Ethiopia or Abyssinia, to procure fresh water, where he was attacked, robbed, and himself and crew murdered, by the warlike natives, who were at that time in a state of hostility with the Roman

[1] Hist. religios. c. 26, T. III. p. 1274.

[2] Ἐπίσκοπος τῶν παρεμβόλων.

[3] See Vita Euthymii in Cotelerii monumenta ecclesiæ Græcæ, T. II. c. 18, 19, 38, 39.

[4] See Theodoret. lector. l. II. f. 564, ed. Mogunt. 1679.

empire. Two young men, his companions, *Frumentius* and *Ædesius*, alone were spared, out of pity for their tender age. These two youths were taken into the service of the prince of the tribe, and made themselves beloved. Ædesius became his cup-bearer; Frumentius, who was distinguished for intelligence and sagacity, was appointed his secretary and accountant. After the death of the prince, the education of *Æizanes*, the young heir, was intrusted to them; and Frumentius obtained great influence as administrator of the government. He made use of this influence, already, in behalf of Christianity. He sought the acquaintance of the Roman merchants visiting those parts, who were Christians; assisted them in founding a church, and united with them in the Christian worship of God. Finally, they obtained liberty to return home to their country. Ædesius repaired to Tyre, where he was made a presbyter. Here Rufinus became acquainted with him, and learned all the particulars of the story from his own mouth.[1] But Frumentius felt himself called to a higher work. He felt bound to see to it that the people with whom he had spent the greater part of his youth, and from whom he had received so many favors, should be made to share in the highest blessing of mankind. He travelled, therefore, to Alexandria, where the great Athanasius had recently been made bishop (A. D. 328). Athanasius entered at once, with ready sympathy, into the plan of Frumentius. But he found, very justly, that no one could be a more suitable agent for the prosecution of this work than Frumentius himself; and he consecrated him bishop of Auxuma (Axum), the chief city of the Abyssinians, and a famous commercial town. Frumentius returned back to this place, and labored there with great success. Subsequently, Theophilus of Arabia, who has already been mentioned, visited the same country, and repaired to the principal town, Auxuma (Axum). Theophilus being an Arian, and Frumentius, the friend of Athanasius, professing in all probability the doctrines of the council of Nice, it is possible a dispute may have arisen in their announcement here of their respective doctrines, which would necessarily be attended with unfavorable effects on the nascent church; but perhaps, too, Frumentius, who had not received a theological education, did not enter so deeply into theological questions. Still the emperor Constantius considered it necessary to persecute the disciples of the hated Athanasius, even in these remote regions. After Athanasius had been banished from Alexandria, in the year 356, Constantius required the princes of the Abyssinian people to send Frumentius to Alexandria, in order that the Arian bishop Georgius, who had been set up in place of Athanasius, might inquire into his orthodoxy, and into the regularity of his ordination.[2]

[1] Rufin. hist. eccles. I. c. 9.

[2] See the letter of Constantius, in the Apologia Athanasii ad Constantium, § 31. The princes of the Abyssinians are here called Αἰζανᾶς and Σαζανᾶς. A Greek inscription, which proceeded from the former of these while he was still a Pagan (he is here called Ἀειζανᾶς), has recently been discovered by the English in Abyssinia, and is given in Salt's Voyage to Abyssinia, p. 411. In this inscription, Ἀειζανᾶς alone is called *king*. Σαιαζανᾶς, on the other hand, together with Δηφᾶς, is named his brother. But the fact may have been,

The fate of the Christian church among the *Homerites*, in Arabia Felix, afforded an opportunity for the Abyssinians, under the reigns of the emperors Justin and Justinian, to show their zeal in behalf of the cause of the Christians. The prince of that Arabian population, Dunaan, or Dsunovas, was a zealous adherent of Judaism; and, under pretext of avenging the oppressions which his fellow-believers were obliged to suffer in the Roman empire, he caused the Christian merchants who came from that quarter, and visited Arabia for the purposes of trade, or passed through the country to Abyssinia, to be murdered. Elesbaan,[1] the Christian king of Abyssinia, made this a cause for declaring war on the Arabian prince. He conquered Dsunovas, deprived him of the government, and set up a Christian, by the name of Abraham, as king in his stead. But at the death of the latter, which happened soon after, Dsunovas again made himself master of the throne; and it was a natural consequence of what he had suffered, that he now became a fiercer and more cruel persecutor than he was before. Against the native Christians he raged with fire and sword. Many died as martyrs, especially in a town called Negran, inhabited for the most part by Christians. Upon this, Elesbaan interfered once more, under the reign of the emperor Justinian, who stimulated him to the undertaking. He made a second expedition to Arabia Felix, and was again victorious. Dsunovas lost his life in this war; the Abyssinian prince put an end to the ancient, independent empire of the Homerites, and established a new government favorable to the Christians.[2]

The Cosmas already mentioned, who composed his description of the earth in the time of the emperor Justinian,[3] was aware that Christian churches, bishops, and monks, were then existing in Homeria, and the country of the Auxumites, or Ethiopia.[4]

We now return to *Europe*. But we shall reserve many of the

that, when Constantius wrote his letter, the first of these had become co-regent. It is singular, however, that Constantius expresses himself as if Frumentius had then visited Auxuma for the first time. This might lead us to infer that there is some chronological inaccuracy in the narrative of Rufinus; as he places the ordination of Frumentius in the beginning of the episcopal presidency of Athanasius.

[1] Theophanes is certainly mistaken, when, at the year 524, he relates that these events first led the Jewish king of Ethiopia to embrace Christianity, and to obtain a bishop from the emperor Justinian. Nor have we any good reason to presume, on the authority of this historian, that Christianity in Abyssinia had become extinct again, and was restored in consequence of these events. Much rather, the zeal of the Abyssinian monarch in the cause of the Christians, together with his own commercial interests and his connection with the Roman empire, was a sufficient reason why he should espouse the cause of the persecuted Christians in the neighboring country. Nor would it be difficult to show, that it was the effort to ascribe great effects to the zeal of the emperor Justinian in behalf of the Christian church, which led to this false report; as well as ignorance, moreover, respecting the precise time of the Abyssinian conversions, — which led to the natural effort at explaining what was unknown by the method of combination. Procopius, a contemporary, calls the Ethiopian king, whose name with him is Ἑλλισθεαῖος, a zealous Christian, de bello Pers. l. I. c. 20.

[2] F. Walch has undertaken to collect and compare all the conflicting oriental and Grecian notices of these events — respecting which every particular fact cannot be certainly determined — in the two dissertations on this subject, in the IV. vol. of the Novi Commentarii Soc. Reg. Gotting. 1774.

[3] See above, p. 106.

[4] L. III. f. 179, l. c.

most important facts of this section, — the greatest part of that which relates to the diffusion of Christianity and the planting of the Christian church among the populations of *German* descent, who established themselves, after the migration of the nations, on the ruins of the Roman empire, — to the following period, so as not to separate what strictly belongs together, and that we may be enabled to survey at a single glance the whole missionary work among these populations. We shall notice here, therefore, only those matters which may be separately considered, and which may most easily be connected with the history of the church in the Roman empire.

Christianity had long since extended itself, as we remarked already in the previous period, among the Britons, the ancient inhabitants of England; while as yet the natives of Scotland and Ireland, the Picts and Scots, had heard nothing of the gospel. The incursions of these tribes into the province of the Britons often spread terror and devastation; and in these forages they frequently carried away with them, as slaves, large numbers of prisoners.

It was by an altogether peculiar combination of circumstances that, in the first half of the fifth century, the man was trained and prepared for his work who was the means of first planting the Christian church in *Ireland*. This was *Patricius* (or, as he was called in his native country, *Succath*). The place of his birth was Bonnaven, which lay between the Scottish towns Dunbarton and Glasgow, and was then reckoned to the province of Britain. This village, in memory of Patricius, has received the name of Kil-Patrick or Kirk-Patrick.[1] His father, a deacon in the village church, gave him no careful education. He was instructed, indeed, in the doctrines of Christianity; but he did not come to know what he possessed in this knowledge, until the experience of great trials brought him to the consciousness of it. At the age of sixteen, he, with many others of his countrymen, was carried off by Scottish pirates to the northern part of the island Hibernia (Ireland). He was sold to a chieftain of the people, who made him the overseer of his flocks. This employment compelled him to spend much time in the open air; and solitude became pleasant to him. Abandoned of all human aid, he found protection, help, and solace in God, and prayer and pious meditation became his chief delight. He speaks of all this himself, in his confessions:[2] "I was sixteen years old, and I knew not the true God; but, in a strange land, the Lord brought me to the sense of my unbelief, so that, although late, I minded me of my sins, and turned with my whole heart to the Lord my God; who looked down on my lowliness, had pity on my youth and my ignorance, who preserved me ere I knew him, and who protected and comforted me as a father does his son, ere I knew how to distinguish between good and evil."

[1] The collection of old traditions in Usser. Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates, f. 429.

[2] This work bears in its simple, rude style, an impress that corresponds entirely to Patricius' stage of culture. There are to be found in it none of the traditions which perhaps proceeded only from English monks, — nothing wonderful, except what may be very easily explained on psychological principles. All this vouches for the authenticity of the piece.

He had spent six years in this bondage, when twice, in dreams, he thought he heard a voice bidding him fly in a certain direction to the sea-coast, where he would find a ship ready to take him, and convey him back to his country. He obeyed; and, after various remarkable experiences of a guiding Providence, he found his way back to his friends.

Ten years afterwards, he was a second time taken captive by Scottish freebooters, and conveyed to Gaul, where, by means of Christian merchants, he obtained his freedom. He then returned back to his country, and his friends were greatly rejoiced to have him once more among them. He might now have lived quietly with his friends; but he felt within him an irrepressible desire to carry the blessing of the gospel to those Pagans with whom he had spent a great part of his youth. He thought he was called upon, by nightly visions, to visit Ireland, and there consecrate his life to Him who had given his own life for his ransom. The remonstrances and entreaties of kindred and friends could not prevent him from obeying this call. "It was not in my own power," says Patricius, "but it was God who conquered in me, and withstood them all." It seems that he now betook himself first to France,[1] for the purpose of fitting himself still better for his work, in the society of pious monks and clergymen.

As the old legends relate, he next made a journey to Rome, in order to receive full powers and consecration to his office from the Roman bishop. The news of the death of the archdeacon Palladius,[2] who had been sent from Rome as a missionary to Ireland, but had accomplished very little on account of his ignorance of the language, having just arrived there (in the year 432), the Roman bishop, Sixtus III., did not hesitate to appoint Patrick in his place. We cannot, it is true, pronounce this tradition, at once, to be false; yet we shall be struck with many difficulties, upon examining it. If Patrick came to Ireland as a deputy from Rome, it might naturally be expected that in the Irish church a certain sense of dependence would always have been preserved towards the mother church at Rome. But we find, on the contrary, in the Irish church afterwards, a spirit of church free-

[1] His biographer, Jocelin, a writer in the 12th century, makes his journey to France follow after his return to Ireland; and this harmonizes, moreover, with the Confessions of Patrick; although it is possible that, immediately after his release, since this took place in France itself, he entered on his travels to visit the more celebrated cloisters of this country. That he maintained an intimate correspondence with the pious men of southern France, may be gathered from his Confessions, where he says, that he would be glad to visit once more, not only his native country, but also Gaul: Eram usque Gallias, visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei.

[2] From the notices of Prosper Aquitanicus, it appears that the bishop Cœlestinus of Rome had ordained Palladius as a bishop for the Scots, by whom perhaps may have been intended the Irish; and, according to these accounts, he must have accomplished a good deal. But Prosper may perhaps have received, at his distance from Rome, exaggerated stories. He says in his Chronicle, under the year 431: Ad Scotos *in Christum credentes* ordinatus a Papa Cœlestino Palladius et primus episcopus mittitur; and in the liber contra Collatorem, c. 21, § 2: Ordinato Scotis episcopo, fecit etiam barbaram (insulam) Christianam. The tradition of the mission of Palladius to Ireland seems, according to the citations of Jocelin, to have been preserved in that country for a long period; but also the tradition that the conversion of the nation was not due to his labors, but was reserved for those of Patrick.

dom, similar to that shown by the ancient British church, which struggled against the yoke of Roman ordinances. We find subsequently among the Irish a much greater agreement with the ancient British than with Roman ecclesiastical usages. This goes to prove that the origin of this church was independent of Rome, and must be traced solely to the people of Britain. Moreover, Patrick could not have held it so necessary, as this tradition supposes he did, either as a Briton, or according to the principles of the Gallic church, to obtain first from the Roman bishop full powers and consecration for such a work. Again, no indication of his connection with the Roman church is to be found in his Confession; rather everything seems to favor the supposition that he was ordained bishop in Britain itself, and in his forty-fifth year.[1] And it may be easily explained, how the tendency of later monks to trace the founding of new churches to Rome, might, among so many other fabulous legends, give rise also to this.

Arrived in Ireland, he possessed a great advantage, in prosecuting his work, from his knowledge of the customs and the language of the country. He assembled around him in the open fields, at the beat of a drum, a concourse of people; and he related to them the story of Christ, which relation manifested its divine power on their rude minds. It is true, the people were excited against him by those powerful priests, the Druids; but he did not allow himself to be frightened on this account. As the chief men had it in their power to do him the most injury, while they remained under the dominion of these Druids, he labored especially to gain access to them. Perhaps numbers were already prepared for the faith in the gospel, like that Cormac, an Irish prince, belonging to the last times of the fourth century, who, after having abdicated his government and given himself up to silent reflection and religious contemplation in solitude, is said to have come to the conviction of the vanity of the Druidical doctrines concerning the gods.[2]

A proof of the power exercised by Patrick over the youthful mind is seen in the way in which he is said to have drawn to him those who were to be his successors in the guidance of the Irish church. He came into the house of a person of rank, taught there, and baptized the family. The young son of the house was so attracted by the impression of the looks and words of Patrick, that he could never afterwards be separated from him. He followed him and kept close to him amid all his dangers and sufferings. Patrick is said to have named him

[1] Patrick intimates in his Confession, c. 3, that some respectable clergymen in Britain opposed his consecration to the episcopal office. He intimates that his enemies turned against him the confession of a sin, committed *thirty* years before, which confession he had made before he was chosen deacon. And from what follows, it is quite evident that this has reference to something he had done when a boy of *fifteen*. It would follow from this, then, that he was ordained bishop in his forty-fifth year, and so probably commenced his labors in Ireland in the same year of his life. Now if we could also determine with accuracy the year of his birth, we might fix precisely the year of his episcopal ordination and his missionary journey. But *this* is a point with regard to which nothing can be considered as settled, the chronological data of the traditions, both in Usher and in Jocelin, being, to say the least, extremely uncertain.

[2] See the History of Ireland, by F. Warner, vol. I. p. 247.

Benignus, on account of his kindly nature. He is said also to have converted one of the chief bards, called Dubrach MacValubair; and the minstrel who had been used to rehearse the Druidical doctrine of the gods, now composed songs in praise of Christianity [1] — a circumstance which would have no inconsiderable influence on a people naturally inclined to poetry and music.

The lands which he received as presents from converted chieftains, Patrick applied to the founding of cloisters, having contracted in France a predilection for the monastic life. The cloisters were designed to serve as nursing schools for teachers of the people, and from them was to proceed the civilization of the country. Although Patrick was qualified himself to impart but little scientific instruction to his monks, yet he infused into them the love of learning, which impelled them subsequently to seek for more information, and for books, in Britain and France. Yet he gave them the first means of all cul ture, in inventing an alphabet for the Irish language.[2] He had much to bear continually from the opposition of the pagan chiefs. He was once, with his attendants, fallen upon by one of these chiefs, robbed, and detained fourteen days in captivity.[3] Often he sought to purchase quiet for himself and his friends by presents. And it was not with Irish Pagans alone that he had to contend. A piratical British chieftain, named Corotic, from the district of Wallia (Wales), fell upon a number who had been recently baptized by Patrick, carried off a part of them captives, and sold them as slaves to heathen Picts and Scots. To this man, who professed outwardly to be a Christian, Patrick wrote an emphatically threatening letter, which has been preserved, and excommunicated him from the church. Glad as he would have been to visit his old friends in Britain and in France, yet he could not think it right to leave the new church. "I pray God," he said, after a long residence among this people, "that he would grant me perseverance to enable me to approve myself a faithful witness, for the sake of my God, to the end. And if I have ever labored to accomplish anything good for the sake of my God, whom I love, may he grant that, with those converts and captives of mine, I may pour out my blood for his name!"

The *Goths* belonging to the stocks of *Germanic* descent, first had opportunity of coming to the knowledge of Christianity by means of their wars with the Roman empire, probably as early as the second half of the preceding period. During those incursions which, in the time of the emperor Valerian, they made into Cappadocia and the bordering countries, they are said to have carried away captive many Christians, and, among the rest, persons of the clerical order. These remained with the Goths, propagated themselves among them, and labored for the diffusion of Christianity.[4] Accordingly we find already

[1] Jocelin. c. 5, § 38. Mensis Mart. d. XVII.

[2] Of the zeal for the monastic life which he inspired, Patrick speaks himself in his Confessions: Filii Scotorum et filiæ regulorum monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur. Opuscula Patricii, ed. J. Waræi, p. 16.

[3] L. c. p. 20.

[4] Philostorg. II. 5.

among the bishops who subscribed their names to the decisions of the Nicene council, a certain *Theophilus*, who is called bishop of the Goths;[1] and Athanasius, in a work written undoubtedly some years before the council of Nice,[2] speaks of the Goths, as one of the nations which had experienced the transforming influences of Christianity. And though not everything said by him in the passage referred to (which shall be quoted more at large hereafter) is to be understood as applying to the Goths, yet it is evident that, even before the appearance of Ulphilas, of whom we are presently to speak, he must already have been informed of the introduction of Christianity among that people.

The Arian historian Philostorgius, and Basil bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, both agree in saying that the Goths received the first seeds of Christianity from Cappadocia,[3] and Basil mentions a native of that province, by the name of Eutyches, who was an active laborer in this work. Moreover, the connection which was so long kept up between the Gothic communities and the Cappadocian church, testifies to the existence of an original relation of this sort.

We have, then, no reason to distrust the report of the Arian historian Philostorgius, himself a Cappadocian, concerning the Cappadocian origin of the individual who is entitled to the credit of having been the principal instrument in introducing Christianity and Christian culture among the Goths. This was *Ulphilas*, a descendant from one of those Christian families of Roman origin, which had established themselves among this people. The Cappadocian Philostorgius points out the very village in that province from which the family had emigrated. The name of the man, which is evidently German (Wolf, Wölfel), might indeed seem to throw some doubt on this statement; but there is no difficulty in supposing that a foreign family, which had long resided among a German people, would give German names to their children.

Ulphilas was born in the year 318,[4] and was probably educated in

[1] Socrat. Hist. eccles. l. II. c. 41.

[2] De incarnatione verbi, § 51.

[3] Basilius, ep. 114, § 1, to Ascholius bishop of Thessalonica, who had alluded to the fact in his letter: *Ἐσέμνυνας ἡμῶν τὴν πατρίδα, ὡς αὐτὴν παρασχομένην τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰ σπέρματα.*

[4] In the reports concerning Ulphilas in the old church historians, are to be found many contradictory statements, and at the same time great confusion in the chronology of events. This arose from their neglecting to distinguish, and to keep separate from each other, different moments in the life and labors of the man; and from the fact that the orthodox church historians proceeded on the supposition that Ulphilas must have been devoted, at the beginning, to the doctrines of the Nicene council, and that his views had been changed only through the influence of the dominant Arian party in the East-Roman empire. But we are indebted to Professor Waitz of Kiel, for the publication of a very important fragment of a polemical tract, written, as it would appear, by the Arian bishop Maximin, containing an essay on the life and labors of Ulphilas, by one of his disciples, Auxentius, bishop of Dorostorus (Silistria). This fragment, edited by Professor Waitz, from a Parisian manuscript, has first made it possible to clear up the chronological confusion, and to throw more light on this obscure subject; and the editor has himself already made good use of it for this purpose. This fragment must henceforth be made the basis of all further inquiries into the history of Ulphilas' labors. "Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulphilas. Bruchstücke eines ungedructen Werkes aus dem Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts herausgegeben und erläutert von Georg Waitz. Hannover, 1840." Now from this work it may be gathered that Ulphilas entered the episcopal office in his thirtieth year, and died, after having administered the office forty years, in 388, when the law cited in Cod.

Christianity. In the little community which had been gathered already among his people, he performed the office of a church-reader, until the year 348, when he was consecrated as a bishop. In this capacity he labored partly for the further spread of Christianity, and partly for the promotion of Christian knowledge and Christian life among a people, who from having been left without teachers up to this time, possessed but a very imperfect knowledge of Christianity.[1]

When, by the active zeal of Ulphilas, a wide door had now been opened for the entrance of Christianity among the Goths, the Pagans were exceedingly wroth. The principal ruler of the nation at this time, who is described as a person bitterly opposed to the Christians, was probably the same Athanaric[2] as the one afterwards so notorious as their persecutor.[3] Persecution proved how deep and firm a hold Christianity had secured for itself in the hearts of the people. Multitudes of men and women suffered martyrdom,[4] so that, in the language of bishop Auxentius, who reports the fact, the persecutors were downcast, while the victims of the persecution were crowned.[5] By this persecution, Ulphilas, who had now exercised the office of bishop for seven years, was induced, in the year 355, to cross the Danube with a large company of his countrymen, and seek refuge within the Roman empire.[6]

By means of Ulphilas, whom the emperor Constantius held in great respect, places were provided for the settlement of these Goths in

Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. IV. l. 2 (see the work above-mentioned, p. 21, 23), was enacted. It follows that he was born A. D. 318.

[1] Concerning his appointment to the episcopal office, it is said by Auxentius, in the tract of Maximin, p. 20: Hic Dei providentia et Christi misericordia propter multorum salutem in gente Gothorum de lectore triginta annorum episcopus est ordinatus, ut non solum esset hæres Dei et cohæres Christi, sed et in hoc per gratiam Christi imitator Christi et sanctorum ejus, ut quemadmodum sanctus David triginta annorum rex et propheta est constitutus, ut regeret et doceret populum Dei et filios Israel, ita et iste beatus tanquam propheta est manifestatus et sacerdos Christi ordinatus, ut regeret et corrigeret et doceret et ædificaret gentem Gothorum quod et Deo volente et Christo auxiliante per ministerium ejus admirabiliter est adimpletum, et sicuti Joseph in Ægypto triginta annorum est manifestatus et quemadmodum Dominus et Deus noster Jesus Christus filius Dei triginta annorum secundum carnem constitutus et baptizatus, cœpit evangelium prædicare, et animas hominum pascere, ita et iste sanctus ipsius Christi dispositione et ordinatione et in fame et penuria prædicationis indifferenter agentem ipsam gentem Gothorum secundum evangelicam et apostolicam et propheticam regulam emendavit et vivere docuit, et Christianos vere Christianos esse manifestavit et multiplicavit.

[2] This, we might, with Professor Waitz, infer from the fact that he is styled by Auxentius, in Maximin's tract (p. 20), "Judex Gothorum," and Themistius says of the Gothic prince Athanaric, with whom Valens had a war, De pace, p. 160: Τὴν μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπαξοῖ τὴν τοῦ δικαστοῦ δὲ ἀγαπᾷ.

[3] Socrates, l. IV. c. 33.

[4] Auxentius says concerning this, l. c. p. 20: Ubi et ex invidia et operatione inimici tunc ab irreligioso et sacrilego judice Gothorum tyrannico terrore et barbarico Christianorum persecutio est excitata, ut Satanas, qui male facere cupiebat, nolens faceret bene, ut quos desiderabat prævaricatores facere, et desertores, Christo opitulante et propugnante, fierent martyres et confessores.

[5] Ut persecutor confunderetur et qui persecutionem patiebantur, coronarentur. ut hic qui tentabat vincere, victus erubesceret, et qui tentabantur, victores gauderent.

[6] The words of Auxentius, l. c.: Ubi et post multorum servorum et ancillarum Christi gloriosum martyrium, imminente vehementer ipsa persecutione, completis septem annis tantummodo in episcopatu, cum grandi populo confessorum de barbarico pulsus in solo Romaniæ a Constantio principe honorifice est susceptus.

Moesia. The people were wont to compare Ulphilas with Moses; for it was under his guidance the Goths had made this exodus from the midst of a pagan people, and, delivered from the wrath of that second Pharaoh, Athanaric, had been brought to a country where they could enjoy their religion in peace and security.[1] By this successful undertaking, he could not fail to win, to a still higher degree, the confidence of his people. He was a zealous and fervent preacher; and, to qualify himself for this duty, he had taken pains to master the Gothic, Greek, and Latin tongues.[2] We see thus early, in this first bishop from among the German race, a representative of the tendency which is said to have always distinguished the German people, and by virtue of which the greatest revolution in the development of the church has been brought about, namely, a regard for the Holy Scriptures, prompting to the effort to make them accessible to the people. With a view to this end he invented an alphabet for the Goths, and by means of this gave them a translation of the Bible in their own language. It may be questioned whether that is true which is reported by Philostorgius,[3] namely, that he omitted in this translation the books of the Kings, with which were reckoned at that time also the books of Samuel, so as not to supply still more nutriment to the warlike spirit of the Goths. It is said that he composed theological and devotional tracts in all the three above-mentioned languages.[4]

Whether all the Christians among the Goths emigrated with Ulphilas, or whether some of them remained behind and continued still to labor for the spread of Christianity, we know not. The seed scattered by him yielded fruit afterwards in various ways; but Christianity was introduced among the Goths from other quarters also. Indeed, something may have been done for this object by bishops residing in the adjacent provinces of the Roman empire. One of them, Ascholius bishop of Thessalonica, we find afterwards maintaining a close correspondence with the church among the Goths dwelling beyond the limits of the Roman government. But the new spread of Christianity provoked another violent persecution on the part of its old enemy, Athanaric. This began A. D. 370. Among the Gothic Christians of this time, we find that there were persons of fervent zeal, and ready to seal their faith by martyrdom. A distinguished example among these

[1] Philostorgius, who (l. II. § 5) agrees with Auxentius in his account of this migration of the Goths under the leading of Ulphilas, is right in saying that this enterprise did not take place, as others held, in the reign of Valens; but he places it too early, namely, under the reign of Constantine. It must have been Constantius, not Constantine, who is said to have styled Ulphilas "the Moses of our time" (ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μωσῆς). This name is given to Ulphilas, by Auxentius also, l. c.: Sicuti Deus per Mosen de potentia et violentia Pharaonis et Ægyptiorum populum suum liberavit et rubrum mare transire fecit, et sibi servire providit, ita et per sæpe dictum Deus Confessores sancti filii sui unigeniti de barbarico liberavit et per Danubium transire fecit et in montibus secundum sanctorum imitationem sibi servire decrevit.

[2] As Auxentius says: Græcam et Latinam et Gothicam linguam sine intermissione in una et sola ecclesia Christi prædicavit.

[3] Lib. II., § 5.

[4] As Auxentius says, l. c. p. 19: Qui et ipsis tribus linguis plures tractatus et multas interpretationes volentibus ad utilitatem et ad ædificationem, sibi ad æternam memoriam et mercedem post se dereliquit. He may have had in mind also, amongst these, the Gothic translation of the Bible.

was Sabas, concerning whom we have a special account from the community to which he belonged. This account is moreover important, because it places distinctly before us the character of the persecution of the Christians among the Goths. It appears evident from this narrative, that it did not so much arise from the people, inflamed with fanaticism against Christianity, as from their chief magistrate and their principal men, who were impelled, perhaps, rather by political than by religious motives, to put down in this way a foreign religion.

Sabas was a pious layman of the Gothic race, whose highest aspiration, from early childhood, had been to become a devout Christian. He got himself appointed to a place among the regular church-singers, where he performed his part with singular faithfulness. He led a rigidly abstemious life. In standing up for the truth, and in opposition to idolatry he was a bold and decided witness, but without needlessly thrusting himself into notice. His zeal for the faith had exposed him already to many dangers. The Gothic chiefs, in commencing their persecution of Christianity, bade the Christians — as the heathens of the earlier centuries had done — to prove that they abjured the faith by partaking of meat which had been offered in sacrifices. Now the pagan dwellers in the village where Sabas lived, proposed resorting to a trick, whereby they might cheat the authorities, and save the Christians, their neighbors. Instead of meat that had been actually offered in sacrifice, they set before them, on the day of trial, other meat under this name, that the Christians might partake of it without scruple, while the magistrates would think the law had been complied with. But Sabas could not be persuaded to approve of this deception. He moreover pointed out the wrongness of it to his fellow-believers. The Pagans, on finding that by his means, their plan would be defeated, expelled him from the village. But they afterwards recalled him.

Some time after this, by direction of the pagan authorities, a second trial was held at the same place, to ascertain whether there were any apostates from the old religion. Several individuals came forward with their offerings, and declared themselves ready to take oath before the presiding officers that there were no Christians in their village. But Sabas presented himself, and said before all, "So far as it concerns myself, let no man swear: for I am a Christian." Thereupon the people of the village, who had removed the Christians from their houses to a place of concealment, swore that there was but *one* Christian in the village. The director of the trial ordered Sabas to be brought before him; and then inquired of the by-standers whether he owned any property. Being told that he owned nothing but what was on his back,[1] the Pagan contemptuously exclaimed, "Such a fellow can do neither good nor harm," and ordered him to be thrust out.

It must have been seen that, by the repetition of such trials, the

[1] Μηδὲν ὧν περικέκληται πλεῖον. Does this signify περικεκάλυπται, or has the writer — to whom the Greek was evidently not the mother tongue, as we perceive from many indications — introduced into the Greek word a meaning which does not belong to it?

object aimed at, which was to extirpate Christianity, could not be accomplished; especially when the pagan populace, instead of sympathizing with the fanaticism of their rulers, appeared to be quite willing to protect the Christians. As soon as this was observed, the persecution became more violent. Not long after the celebration of an Easter festival by the Christian community of the village, Athanaric himself fell upon the place with an armed force. The village priest and Sabas were seized in the tents where they slept, bound in chains, and carried off. They were subjected to much harsh treatment on the way. The triumphant faith manifested by Sabas through all his sufferings, kindled yet more the wrath of his persecutors. Sustained by this faith, which gave him such unusual power of physical endurance that nothing could subdue him, he went through all with firmness and a cheerful spirit. He was subjected to various tortures through the great part of a night, until at length his tormentors fell asleep, leaving him bound on the floor. A woman of the house who had risen early to make bread for the family, took pity on him and set him free. He fearlessly remained where he was, and assisted the woman in her work. Athanaric, on hearing of this in the morning, ordered him to be bound again, and suspended from a beam in the house. Messengers then came, in the name of Athanaric, with meat from the sacrifice, and placing it before the priest and Sabas, bade them eat of it and save their lives. The priest said, "We are forbidden to eat of such meat. Tell Athanaric he may order us to be crucified, or to die any other death he may choose." But Sabas, whose devout sentiments were not unmixed with a certain degree of natural excitement, asked, "Who is it that sends this message?" Being told, "It comes from our lord Athanaric," he exclaimed, "There is but one Lord, even the God in heaven. But Athanaric is a godless man, and under God's curse; and this meat, like Athanaric who sends it, is unclean." One of Athanaric's servants, irritated by this language, gave him so violent a blow on the chest with his club, that all who witnessed it, supposed it fatal. There was no outcry of pain; but to the one who struck him, he said, triumphantly, "Believe me, I as little felt it, as if you had cast on me a lock of wool." He was now condemned to death; and to death by drowning. All the way, as they conveyed him to the river where the sentence was to be executed, he praised God for the privilege granted him of dying a martyr. When they had come to the river, his attendants began to confer together about allowing him to escape, since he had committed no crime. It would never be found out by Athanaric. But Sabas, who already with the eye of faith saw heaven open, which he had no desire to exchange for earth, said, "Why do you not do as you were bid? I behold what you cannot. They who come for me, are already here, in shining raiment." And while he was shouting praise and thanks to God, he was cast, with a plank bound to his neck, into the river. Then his dead body was taken out, and left exposed on the bank. But a Roman officer on the frontier, the Dux Soranus, directed that the martyr's bones should be brought over to the other side, and at the request of his kinsman,

bishop Basil of Cæsarea, sent them as most precious relics to the church of Cappadocia, his native province.[1]

On this occasion, the Christian communities among the Goths sent a circular letter, containing a report of all these proceedings, to the communities of Cappadocia, and to all the churches of Christendom. It began thus: "What was said by the Apostle Peter, that in every nation he that feareth the Lord and worketh righteousness is accepted with him, has been verified with great power, even in the present times; for we have proof of it in the life and sufferings of the blessed Sabas, who is a witness for God and for our Saviour Jesus Christ." And it concludes with these words: "Let then, a solemn festival be observed on the day when he received the crown of martyrdom; and we beg you to give notice of it to the more distant brethren, so that throughout the whole church, the festival may be celebrated, and the Lord, who chose his servant, may be praised. Greet all the saints. All the persecuted here with us, greet you. Praised forever be His name who can conduct us all by his grace to the kingdom of heaven."[2]

The bones of Sabas, together with the letter of the communities, a letter also from Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, and another from the Dux Soranus,[3] arrived during those unhappy times for the churches of Cappadocia, when those communities were so rent asunder by the disputes and schisms occasioned by the supremacy of the Arian party under the emperor Valens. Basil of Cæsarea, comparing the then existing state of the church with that of which he was reminded by the bones of the martyr, and by the account of the trials endured by the Gothic Christians, remarks, in his reply to bishop Ascholius,[4] "When we received your letter, and read it over and over again, we imagined ourselves transported back to those ancient times when the churches of God flourished, being rooted and grounded in the faith, and bound together in love; when harmony prevailed, as among the manifold members of one body; when it was plainly to be seen who was the persecutor and who the persecuted; when the communities which were attacked continued still to increase in the number of their members; when the blood of the martyrs served but to multiply the champions of the faith. Then we Christians maintained peace with one another; that peace which our Lord left as his legacy, but of which not a single vestige now remains."

Ascholius, in his letter, spoke of a certain Eutyches, a Cappadocian, who, as we may gather from some expressions of Basil, had, in earlier times, labored abundantly among the Goths;[5] he seems to have

[1] For doubtless there is good reason to conjecture that Basil's ep. 155 was directed to this Dux Soranus. Basil writes: Καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις, ἐὰν καὶ λείψανα μαρτύρων τῇ πατρίδι ἐκπέμψῃς, εἴπερ ὡς ἐπέστειλας ἡμῖν, ὁ ἐκεῖ δωγμὸς ποιεῖ καὶ νῦν (it is supposed, therefore, that this had already been the case before), μάρτυρας τῷ Κυρίῳ. T. III. 6, p. 354, ed. Paris. 1839.

[2] This letter, which we have had occasion to cite before, is printed in the Greek original in Actis Sanctorum. T. II. mens. April. Appendix, f. 967.

[3] Letter 165, among those of Basil, seems much rather intended for this Dux, than for the bishop Ascholius of Thessalonica, who is the person addressed in the superscription.

[4] Ep. 164.

[5] His words are (§ 2): Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου ἀνδρὸς Εὐτυχοῦς εἰς μνήμην ἡμᾶς ἤγαγες.

spoken in praise also of their common country, from whence all these blessings had come. To this Basil replied, "In reminding us of the past you have rejoiced our hearts, while at the same time we are pained when we look at the signs immediately before us; for there is not one of us who deserves to be compared with a Eutyches. So far are we, indeed, from being in a condition to lead barbarians, through the power of the Spirit and the efficacy of his gracious gifts, to gentleness of manners; that, by the superabounding of our sins, the civilized themselves have much rather been converted into barbarians." [1]

It is a noble trait in the church historian Socrates, that he should find cause to respect in the Arian Goths, despite their want of correct knowledge, that love of Christ which gave them a heart to encounter martyrdom, and that he should acknowledge them to be true martyrs.[2] Yet the fact which he assumes is assuredly not true in its application to all the martyrs among the Goths; for though Arianism was propagated in the school of Ulphilas, yet Christianity was disseminated among the Goths from other quarters also, by teachers sent from orthodox communities: with whom a different type of doctrine from that of Arianism would be introduced. There can be no doubt that such was the fact with regard to the martyrs last mentioned; for so it is implied in the circular letter of the Gothic Christians which we have cited.[3]

When, some years later, the war which broke out among the western Goths themselves, and between the two leaders, Fritigern, on the one side, and Athanaric, that bitter enemy of the Christians, on the other, induced the tribe devoted to Fritigern to demand aid from the Roman empire; and when, still later, the irruption of the Huns led a portion of the Goths to seek a place for settlement within the Roman empire, these transactions, in which Ulphilas perhaps took a part, opened the way for other portions of the Goths to be won over to Christianity.[4]

The different kinds of conversion should, however, be carefully distinguished; those which, on the one hand, proceeded from the influence of teachers who knew how to work on the innermost convictions of men, and which therefore proved to be genuine, in the conflict with Paganism, and those which, on the other hand, were brought about merely by external influences and considerations.

The historian Eunapius relates of the Goths under the emperor Valens, that while they secretly kept up the old sacred institutions of their race, they often conformed in outward show and appearance to Christianity; carrying about with them, in their wagons, pretended bishops, with a view to obtain the favor and confidence of the Byzantine court. This they could do the more easily, inasmuch as they

[1] Οἱ γε τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν βαρβάρους ἐξημερῶσαι τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χαρισμάτων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἡμέρως ἔχοντας τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐξηγριῶσθαι. From which words, we may infer what had been done by Eutyches, the Cappadocian, among the Goths.

[2] His words are (l. IV. c. 33): Οἱ βάρβαροι ἁπλότητι τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν δεξάμενοι, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς κατεφρόνησαν.

[3] This may be inferred from the doxology, in contradiction to Arianism, with which the letter concludes: Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ (God the Father) δόξα κτλ., σὺν παιδὶ μονογενῇ [ει] καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

[4] See Socrates, IV. 33. Sozomen, VI 37.

had also people among them who wore a monk-like dress for this purpose, and whom they called monks, being well aware of the high estimation in which this class of men was held among the Christians.[1] True, the bare assertion of one who was so bitter an enemy to the Christians, can hardly be taken as sufficient authority in support of a fact of this nature. At any rate, he expresses himself too vaguely and generally. It is quite possible, however, that the Goths, shrewdly conjecturing that this would be a very easy way to deceive the court at Byzantium, may, occasionally, have resorted to such a trick; although as to the main fact, there can be no reason whatever to question the reality of the conversion of the Goths to Christianity.

Ulphilas himself labored as a bishop among his people forty years. The last ten years of his life were attended with many painful trials, since the form of church doctrine to which he was strongly opposed, the creed drawn up by the council of Nice, was becoming then more dominant, even in the Eastern church, and was favored and patronized by the civil power. He himself, together with other bishops who agreed with him in doctrine, was, in the year 388, called by the emperor Theodosius to Constantinople, for the purpose of there holding a new conference on the matters in dispute. This negotiation, however, which, under the existing circumstances, would have been fruitless, was broken up by the ruling doctrinal party;[2] and by an imperial edict, all new proceedings of this sort in relation to controversial matters were forbidden.[3] Ulphilas and his associates looked upon this regulation as but an indication of the want of confidence, on the part of their opponents, in the goodness of their cause, and as a warning to themselves, that the doctrine which they considered to be the true one, was to be suppressed by force.[4] This was the last painful thing which the worthy bishop — who had grown gray in the conflict in behalf of Christianity, and in laboring for the Christian culture of his people — was called to experience. He died at Constantinople, in the year 388, having before this drawn up a statement of his belief, as a legacy to his flock, and with death before his face, set forth a confession of the doctrines which he preached, and which he had always maintained.[5] He left behind him disciples who builded on the foundation he laid. One of these was the bishop Auxentius, to whom we owe the account of his life from which we have drawn so largely. Auxentius says of

[1] See Eunapii Excerpta, in Maii scriptorum veterum nova collectio, Tom. II. Romæ, 1827, pp. 277, 278. *Ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν καλουμένων μοναχῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γένος κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτετηδευμένων, οὐδὲν ἐχούσης τῆς μιμήσεως πραγματῶδες καὶ δύσκολον, ἀλλ' ἐξῄρκει φαῖα ἱμάτια συροῦσι χιτῶνια, πονηροῖς τε εἶναι καὶ πιστεύεσθαι.*

[2] See further onward. Doctrinal controversies.

[3] The law which, since the time of its enactment is certain, affords an important chronological landmark,—the law which is printed in the above-cited work of Maximin, p. 23. Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. IV. 1, 2.

[4] Maximin says (p. 23): Præfati prælati hæretici,—so appeared to him the adherents of the Nicene Homoousion,—omnibus viribus institerunt, ut lex daretur, quæ concilium prohiberet.

[5] Auxentius says of Ulphilas, p. 21: Qui et in exitu suo usque in ipso mortis momento per testamentum fidem suam scriptam populo sibi credito dereliquit. The first words of this testament are: Ego Ulfila, episcopus et confessor, sic credidi; et in hac fide sola et vera, testamentum facio ad Dominum meum.

him: "He was a man whom I cannot praise as he deserves, and concerning whom I dare not be wholly silent; a man to whom I owe more than to all other men besides; for he bestowed more pains on me than all other men ever did. He took me from the hands of my parents, in my earliest years, as his pupil, taught me to read and study the Holy Scriptures, explained to me the truth, and by the mercy of God, and the grace of Christ, brought me up, bodily and spiritually, as his son in the faith."[1]

The great Chrysostom, while patriarch of Constantinople, and during his exile, after he was expelled from Constantinople, labored earnestly for the education of orthodox teachers among the Goths. He set apart a particular church at Constantinople for the religious worship of the Goths; where the Bible was read in the Gothic translation, and discourses were preached by Gothic clergymen in the language of their country. He adopted the wise plan of here training up missionaries for the people from among the people themselves. On a certain Sunday, in the year 398 or 399, in one of the principal churches in Constantinople, after causing divine worship to be celebrated, the Bible to be read, and a discourse to be preached, by Gothic ecclesiastics in the Gothic tongue, to the great surprise, no doubt, of the refined Byzantians in the assembly, who looked down upon the Goths as barbarians, he took advantage of this remarkable scene, to point out to them, in the example before their own eyes, the transforming and plastic power of Christianity over the entire human nature, and to enlist their sympathies in the cause of the mission. He delivered a discourse, which has come down to us, full of a divine eloquence, on the might of the gospel, and the plan of God in the education of mankind.[2] Among other things he remarks, quoting the passage in Isa. 65: 25: "'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock.' The prophet is not speaking here of lions and lambs, but predicting to us that, subdued by the power of the divine doctrine, the brutal sense of rude men should be transformed to such gentleness of spirit, that they should unite together in one and the same community with the mildest. And this have you witnessed to-day,—the most savage race of men standing together with the lambs of the church,—one pasture, one fold for all,—one table set before all." Which may refer either to common participation in the sacred word, which had been presented first in the Gothic and then in the Greek language, or to common participation in the communion.

While a Themistius, contemplating the whole matter from his antique standing-point, looked upon the chasm that separated the barbarian Goths from the cultured Græco-Roman world, as the effect of an original difference of natures, and therefore one never to be filled up; while, in perfect accordance with Plato's spirit, he applied what

[1] Quem condigne laudare non sufficio, et penitus tacere non audeo, cui plus omnium ego sum debitor, quantum et amplius in me laboravit, qui me a prima ætate mea a parentibus meis discipulum suscepit, et sacras literas docuit, et veritatem manifestavit, et per misericordiam Dei et gratiam Christi et carnaliter et spiritualiter ut filium suum in fide educavit. P. 20.

[2] The VIII. Homily, among those first published by Montfaucon. Tom. XII. opp. Chrysostom.

Plato says of the relation of the passions to reason, in individuals and in the state, to the relation existing between the nationality of the barbarians and that of the Greeks and Romans;[1] the church teachers, on the other hand, point to the effects which Christianity had already begun to produce among these barbarians, as showing that the gospel had here the same power to transform man's nature which it had ever manifested elsewhere. Thus Athanasius, for example, in a place already cited, where, in connection with the Persians, the Armenians, and the tribes dwelling beyond the ocean, he mentions the Goths, testifies as follows: "Who could overthrow the worship of idols, and plant virtue in all these tribes of men? Who except our Lord Jesus Christ; who not only preached to them by his disciples; but, by his efficacious influence on the minds of men, induced them to lay aside their rudeness of manners, and, abandoning the worship of the gods of their country, to acknowledge him. Who is it that unites together in bonds of harmony those who were wont to be at variance with each other? Who else could do it but the beloved Son of the Father, the common Saviour of all, Jesus Christ, whose love prompted him to endure all things for us? Yes, it had been foretold from the beginning what an empire of peace he should establish; for Holy Scripture announces (Isa. 2: 4): 'Then they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' This is no longer a thing incredible; for even now the barbarians, they with whom rudeness of manners is innate, so long as they still worship idols are in perpetual quarrel and cannot remain a moment without the sword; but no sooner do they receive the word of Christ, than they turn from warlike pursuits to agriculture, and instead of putting their hands to the sword, lift them up in prayer; in a word, instead of warring with each other, they enter the warfare against Satan and evil spirits, seeking to overcome them by self-control and the virtues of the mind. This is a proof of our Saviour's divine power; and the wonderful thing in it is, that they are faithful unto death, and die as witnesses for Christ."[2]

It is easy to recognize in the Goths a characteristic feature of the German spirit, in that zeal for the study of the Bible, which began with Ulphilas, — in the predominant bent for scriptural investigation. The learned Jerome, while residing at Bethlehem (in 403), was surprised at receiving a letter from two Goths, Sunnia and Fretela, making inquiries about several discrepancies which they had observed between the vulgar Latin and the Alexandrian version of the Psalms; and Jerome begins his answer[3] in the following words: "Who would have

[1] De pace, p. 157: *Εἰναί τι καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ βάρβαρον φῦλον, λίαν αὐθαδες καὶ δυσπειθὲς, τὸν θυμὸν λέγω καὶ τὰς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας, ἀντικαθήμενα γένη τῷ λογισμῷ, καθάπερ Ρωμαίοις, Σκύθαι καὶ Γερμανοί.* As reason should not wholly extirpate the passions implanted by nature, but bridle them, so too should the barbarian hordes, corresponding to the same, in respect to the reason which is appointed to rule them, not be destroyed, but compelled to obedience.

[2] De incarnat. verbi, § 51, 52.

[3] Ep. 106, in the edition of Vallarsi; in other editions, ep. 98.

believed, that the barbarian tongue of the Goths would inquire respecting the pure sense of the Hebrew original; and that, while the Greeks were sleeping, or rather disputing with each other" (according to another reading — "despising it"), "Germany itself would be investigating the divine word?"[1] Jerome could say, that the red and yellow-haired Goths carried the church about with them in tents; and perhaps for this reason battled with equal fortune against the Romans, because they trusted in the same religion.[2]

The influence of Christianity was, perhaps, seen also in those who as yet made no profession of it, when Alaric, the leader of the West-Gothic army, captured Rome, and spread consternation all around. The churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the chapels of the martyrs, became the universal places of refuge; and they remained, with all their treasures, and all the men who had fled to them, respected and spared amid all the havoc of devastation. Not a man of the barbarians touched these spots; nay, they conveyed thither themselves many unhappy individuals who had excited their pity, as to a place of safety. Pagans, who had ascribed to Christianity all the calamities of the period, and Christians, united here in giving thanks to God. "He who does not see," exclaims Augustin, speaking of this fact,[3] "that the thanks for this are due to the name of Christ, to the Christian period, must be blind; he who does see it, and praises not God, is an ingrate; he who would hinder them that praise God, is a madman. Far be it from any intelligent man to ascribe this to the rudeness of barbarians. *He* bridled and tempered the savage nature of the barbarians in a miraculous manner who had said long before: 'Then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes. Nevertheless, my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from them.'" Ps. 89: 32, 33.

[1] Quis hoc crederet, ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreret veritatem; et dormitantibus, immo contendentibus (or contemnentibus) Græcis, ipsa Germania Spiritus Sancti eloquia scrutaretur?

[2] Ep. 107 ad Letam, § 2. Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria.

[3] De civitate Dei, l. I. c. 7.

SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION. CHURCH DISCIPLINE. SCHISMS OF THE CHURCH.

I. History of the Church Constitution.

1. *Relation of Church to State.*

If Christianity, as we saw in contemplating the preceding period, appeared, at first, only in opposition to the then existing relations of the world; if the new world which sprang out of Christianity proceeded to develop itself in an independent manner, by the side of the then existing ancient world; yet this condition of things was to be but a transient one. The period of which the prominent feature was a mutually excluding antagonism, was to be followed, as soon as this antagonism should be overcome, by a period of appropriation and assimilation, extending uninterruptedly through all future time. To the kingdom of God, to Christians as its members and organs, had been given, indeed, the promise of the dominion of the world. During the first stadium of the progressive advancement of Christianity, it was but natural that *conflict* with the world should be the only side to present itself; and that the dominion of the world, which was regarded as a thing not to be brought about except supernaturally, and from without, by the second coming of Christ, should be cherished only as a *hope* in relation to the distant future. So long as the eye remained fixed on this *one* point, everything lying between that point and the present, was overlooked. The antecedent links, in the progressive chain of events whereby that final, decisive result was to be prepared, were not as yet distinctly seen. But Christianity, as a world-ruling principle, must manifest itself, first of all, through *various stages* of the appropriation of the world, before that complete dominion of the world, by the kingdom of God, could be realized in a complete appropriation of the world. Now if this was a necessary progression, in the process of unfolding, still it was attended with this peculiar danger, that if the side of *antagonism* to the world which was to be appropriated, should ever be lost sight of, as an essential moment, the consequence would be a *confusion* of the church with the world which she was to appropriate, whereby the church would forfeit her purity, and, while seeming to conquer, would herself be conquered.

Belonging to this appropriation of the world by Christianity was especially the *Christianizing* of the *state;* which, however, could be brought about only in the same proportion as there was a recipiency for it in the peculiar province to be impenetrated by the Christian

principle; so that the Christian spirit and the Christian temper *could influence* the state, only when the state developed itself by laws in accordance with its *own proper essence*, and not taken *directly* from Christianity. And it was, at the same time, never to be lost sight of, that Christianity, — which proceeds in all cases from free, individual appropriation, and realizes itself only in that divine community of life which exists among such as have thus freely appropriated it, — cannot realize itself, therefore, fully and at once, in a civil life depending on outward laws. The great danger, then, lay here; that if men should fail to notice and pay attention to this relation of the two provinces to each other, it would so happen that, while it was the state which should be Christianized, instead of this, Christianity would be changed into a civil polity, and what belongs to the kingdom of God would be secularized; an evil in which, to be sure, as we shall see, the East-Roman empire especially involved itself.

The great change in the relation of the church to the state, for which the way had been prepared by the progress of Christianity thus far, was effected by *the passing of the Roman emperors over to the side of Christianity*. The supreme magistrates now considered themselves to be members of the church, and took a personal interest in its concerns; but it was no easy matter for them to fix the proper limits to this participation, and, in this relation to the church, to forget their relation as emperors to subjects. They would be strongly inclined to transfer the relation they had stood in as Pagans to the pagan state-religion, over to their relation to the Christian church. Yet they were here met by that independent spirit of the church, which, in the course of three centuries, had been developing itself, and acquiring a determinate shape; and which would make them see that Christianity could not, like Paganism, be subordinated to the political interest. There had in fact arisen in the church, as we observed in the previous period, a false, theocratical theory, originating, not in the essence of the gospel, but in the confusion of the religious constitutions of the Old and New Testament, which, grounding itself on the idea of a visible priesthood belonging to the essence of the church and governing the church, brought along with it an unchristian opposition of the spiritual to the secular power, and which might easily result in the formation of a sacerdotal state, subordinating the secular to itself in a false and outward way. The emperors did in fact entertain precisely *that* view of the church which was presented to them by tradition; or rather, since — if we except Valentinian I., who seems to have consistently carried through one determinate theory — they had here no judgment of their own, they were involuntarily borne along by the dominant spirit. The entire church constitution, as it then stood, appeared to them, equally with Christianity, a divine institution, built on the foundation of Christ and the apostles, in which nothing could be altered by arbitrary human will. Add to this, that the same church constitution had acquired its form in a time when the church was an independent society by itself, under the government of the bishops.

With the emperor Constantine there were three different points of

view intersecting each other, under which he regarded his relation to the church. The first, and the one to which he was most strongly inclined — because it had sprung out of his earlier eclecticism, and was moreover ever and anon freshly recommended to him by the influence of the moderate bishops, or of philosophers given to Platonism — was the principle of *religious toleration*, which led him to respect the rights of individual judgment. And we see him, too, occasionally brought back to this original principle, by his sad experience of the evil effects of mixing up politics with the affairs of religion. The second was the *theocratic theory*, which passed over to *him* from the preceding development of the church. If the bishops had not, by their disputes, and their determination to use the power of the state for the promotion of their private ends, made themselves his dependents, it would have been in their power, by consistently and uniformly availing themselves of this theory, to obtain a great deal from him. Thus, for example: in a rescript of the year 314, when an appeal was made from an episcopal tribunal to the imperial decision, he declared that, "the sentence of the bishops must be regarded as the sentence of Christ himself."[1] The third point of view was the *religious-political*, according to which he believed that he might attribute to himself, as head of the state, a certain influence also on the church, exercised consciously or unconsciously. It flattered the vanity of Constantine so to regard himself, as if God had made *him* master of the whole Roman empire, in order, through him, to spread and promote his worship everywhere.

When on a certain occasion, the emperor said to the bishops at a banquet,[2] that he too was, in his own way, a bishop, this doubtless was meant simply as a sportive remark, a play on the word *episcopos*, which in Greek signifies an overseer; at the same time, something more serious lay at bottom. Not, to be sure, that it had ever entered into the emperor's thoughts, as the court-bishop Eusebius first suggested,[3] to consider himself a bishop over the whole church, in the same sense as the several bishops were over their respective dioceses; but in accordance with what was remarked on a former page, he intended to signify, that it was the supreme aim of his government to train his subjects to piety. He meant to say, that God had made him overseer of the province lying outside of the church; that is, of all political relations, in order that he might manage these according to the divine will, and give such direction to the whole, as to lead his subjects in the way of pious living. But from this position many con-

[1] Sacerdotum judicium ita debet haberi, ut si ipse Dominus residens judicet. See Optat. Milev. de schismate Donatistar. f. 184.

[2] This remark of Constantine, which Eusebius quotes (de vita Constantini, IV. 24), as he heard it at table from the emperor's lips, was: *Ὡς ἄρα εἴη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν εἴσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἐπίκοπος ἂν εἴην.* Eusebius, who could best know in what sense Constantine meant this to be taken, understands by *ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, simply the state, so far as Constantine exercised such oversight over his subjects as to lead them, to the best of his ability, in the way of pious living: *Ἀκόλουθα δ' οὖν τῷ λόγῳ διανοούμενος, τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἅπαντας ἐπεσκόπει, προύτεπέ τε ὅση περ ἂν δύναμις τὸν εὐσεβῆ μεταδιώκειν βίον.*

[3] See the following note.

clusions might be drawn which are not, directly, implied in it. If it was Constantine's opinion, that piety and orthodoxy were strictly connected with each other, he might, on this principle, consider it one of the cares of government to keep a watchful lookout for the preservation of orthodoxy.

When doctrinal controversies threatened to produce a schism in the church, the emperor exhorted the bishops to unanimity; and if his exhortations were unheeded, he resorted to such means for uniting the opposite parties, as his sovereignty over the whole Roman state put into his hands. He convoked an assembly of bishops from all parts of the empire, in order to give a decision for all the Christians under his government.[1] The decrees of these synods were published under the imperial authority, and thus obtained a political importance. Those only who adopted them could enjoy all the privileges of Catholic Christians favored by the state; and, in the end, civil penalties were threatened against those who refused to acknowledge them.

The coöperation of the emperors having once become so necessary, in order to the assembling of these councils and the carrying out of their decisions, it could, of course, no longer remain a matter of indifference to them *which* of the contending parties they should sustain with their power. However emphatically they might declare in theory, that the bishops alone were entitled to decide in matters of doctrine, still *human passions proved mightier than theoretical forms*. Although these councils were to serve as organs to express the decision of the divine Spirit, yet the Byzantine court had already prejudged the question, as to which party ought to be considered pious and which impious, wherever it could be contrived to gain over the court in favor of any particular doctrinal interest;[2] or in case the court persecuted *one* of the contending doctrinal parties merely out of *dislike to the man who stood at the head of it*, then the doctrinal question must be turned into a means of gratifying personal grudges.[3] The emperors were under no necessity of employing force against the bishops: by indirect means, they could sufficiently influence the minds of all those with whom worldly interests stood for more than the cause of truth, or who were not yet superior to the fear of man. It was nothing but the influence of the emperor Constantine, which induced the eastern bishops, at the council of Nice, to suffer the imposition of a doctrinal formula which they detested, and from which, indeed, they sought immediately to rid themselves. The emperor Theodosius II. declared, indeed, to the first council of Ephesus, that no person who was not a bishop should interfere with the *ecclesiastical* proceedings;[4] and in this dec-

[1] Οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος, συνόδους τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει. De vita Constantini, l. I. c. 44.

[2] As it had been contrived, before the assembling of the council of Nice, to persuade the emperor Constantine that the Arian doctrine contained a blasphemy against the divinity of Christ, and that the ὁμοούσιον was absolutely required in order to maintain the dignity of Christ's person.

[3] As at the first council of Ephesus, where the revenge of Pulcheria, who governed the imperial court, turned the doctrinal controversy into a means of removing the patriarch Nestorius from Constantinople.

[4] Ἀθέμιτον, τὸν μὴ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων τυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐκκλη-

laration he himself may have been in earnest; but he was borne along by the current of a powerful court party, which itself had combined with a party of the bishops; and to this party he must serve as the instrument. The pious and free-hearted abbot, Isidore of Pelusium, wrote to the emperor, that no remedy existed for the evil in the church, unless he placed some check *on the dogmatizing spirit of his courtiers;*[1] and the sequel proved how entirely he was in the right.

It is true, powerful voices were heard singly protesting against this confusion of political and spiritual interests;[2] as, for example, Hilary of Poitiers, who remarked well and beautifully to the emperor Constantius: "It is for this purpose you govern and watch, that all may enjoy sweet liberty. The peace of the church can no otherwise be restored, its distractions can in no other way be healed, than by permitting every man to live wholly according to his own convictions, free from all slavery of opinion.[3] God has rather taught than compelled the knowledge of himself; and while he procures respect for his commands, through the admiration excited by his divine works, has scorned an extorted confession. Even though such force should be employed for the support of the true faith, yet the bishops would come before you and say: God is the Lord of the universe; he requires not an obedience which is constrained, a profession which is forced. He cannot be deceived; only sincere worship can please him. We should honor him rather for our own good, than as if any advantage could ensue to him. I can — the bishop will say — receive only those who come of their own free will; hear only those who entreat (for baptism); impart the seal of confirmation to him alone, who lays down a voluntary confession."[4] But these isolated voices could accomplish nothing in opposition to the great mass; and they proceeded mainly from those who were themselves made sore by oppression.

Now, as so much depended on the fact whether a party had the emperor's vote on its side, every art was employed, consequently, to secure this; all that was corrupt in the Byzantine court found its way into the bosom of the church — court parties became doctrinal parties, and the reverse. Imperial chamberlains (cubicularii), eunuchs, directors of the princes' kitchen,[5] disputed on formulas of faith, and affected to set them-

σιαστικοῖς σκέμμασιν ἐπιμίγνυσθαι. See the Sacra Theodos. II. in the acts of this council.

[1] Isidor. Pelusiot. l. I. ep. 311. Παρέξειας τούτοις θεραπείαν, εἰ παύσειας τῶν δογματισμῶν τοὺς σοὺς διακόνους.

[2] Comp. the examples cited in the first section, p. 35.

[3] Idcirco excubatis et vigilatis, ut omnes, quibus imperatis, dulcissima libertate potiantur. Non alia ratione, quæ turbata sunt, componi, quæ divulsa sunt, coërceri possunt, nisi unusquisque nulla servitutis necessitate adstrictus, integrum habeat vivendi arbitrium. Hilar. ad Constant. l. I. § 2.

[4] Si ad fidem veram istiusmodi vis adhiberetur, episcopalis doctrina obviam pergeret diceretque: Deus universitatis est Dominus, obsequio non eget necessario, non requirit coactam confessionem. Non fallendus est, sed promerendus. Nostra potius, non sua causa venerandus est. Non possum nisi volentem recipere, nisi orantem audire, nisi profitentem signare. L. c. § 7.

[5] As for example, that chief cook (ἀρχιμάγειρος), who was sent as a deputy from the court of the emperor Valens to persuade Basil of Cæsarea not to show any opposition to doctrines of the court. See Gregor. Naz. orat. XX. f. 348. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. IV. 19.

selves up as judges in theological disputes. That which must pass current for sound doctrine in the church was subjected to the same fluctuations with the parties at court. At length, in 476, the usurper Basiliscus, who enjoyed a brief authority, set an example wholly in accordance with the spirit of the Byzantine court, of effecting changes in the ruling doctrines of the church by imperial decrees, and of settling dogmatic controversies by a resort to the same expedient; and this example was soon after but too eagerly followed by other emperors, such as Zeno and Justinian. These attempts to rule over the conscience by imperial mandates, opened a new source of disturbances and disorders in the Greek church. It would, indeed, be going too far to assert that the civil power could, for any long period, force the development of doctrines to results utterly foreign to that development. The spirit of the church was too mighty within itself, to allow this to be done for any considerable time. Whatever had not proceeded from the process of development within the church itself—whatever had only been obtruded upon it by some individual party backed by outward force — was sloughed off by reactions coming from the very heart of the church: but this very thing could not take place without violent convulsions.

The peculiar defects in the national character of the Greeks, which also found their way into the development of Christianity among this people; their excessive fickleness of mind and inclination to partisanship,—presented, by the disputes thence arising, occasions for that corrupting interference of the state and of the court, and the condition of dependence into which the church was thereby drawn. The Greek church holds up, in this respect, a warning example for all times. The more stiff and firm, the more practically disposed and less movable spirit of the Western church, presented fewer points of contact for such foreign influences. And the more clearly expressed theocratical principle in this latter church, — the predominant authority of the Roman bishops,—here exercised a power which held that sort of interference more constantly in check, than was the case in the Greek church.

As we perceive that all disturbances to the regular course of the development of Christianity originate in the fact that the standing points of the ancient world, at first overcome by the Christian principle, once more regain their authority, and find admittance within Christianity itself, so in respect to the matter now before us, we may discern, in the Roman church on the one hand, the Jewish principle of the external theocracy, and in the Greek church on the other hand, the pagan principle of the political element subordinating to itself all other development,— the principle of a state religion.

We shall now proceed to consider the relations of the church to the state more in detail.

The state at present took some part in providing for the support of the churches. More was effected in this respect by one law of Constantine, than by all other means put together. This was a law which expressly secured to the churches a right which, perhaps, they had

already now and then tacitly exercised,[1] namely, the right of receiving legacies; which, in the Roman empire, no corporation whatever was entitled to exercise, unless it had been expressly authorized to do so by the state. Such a law Constantine enacted in 321, assigning as the reason for it, not the interests of the church, but the *inviolable sacredness of the last will.*[2]

In part, zeal for the cause of the church, but partly also the delusive notion that such gifts, as meritorious works, were particularly acceptable in the sight of God, and that it was possible thereby to atone for a multitude of sins, *or both motives together*, procured for the churches, especially in large towns,[3] very considerable and very numerous donations. Worldly-minded ecclesiastics descended even to dishonorable means to increase the bequests in favor of their churches. On this account, the emperor Valentinian I. restricted this right by several limitations; and distinguished church teachers complained not so much of these limitations, as of the fact that the clergy had made them necessary.[4]

But as everywhere, in the conditions of the church of this period, beautiful examples of a pure Christian sentiment shine forth in contrast with the worldly spirit, so it was here also. We see pious bishops, from Christian motives, giving up their title to bequests, which, according to the civil law, they might have received. A citizen of Carthage made over all his property to the church, under the expectation that he should have no children; only reserving to himself the use of it while he lived. But afterwards, when he had children, Aurelius, contrary to the legator's expectations, gave back the whole; "for according to the *civil law*," says Augustin, who relates the case,[5] "he might have retained it; but not according to the *law of heaven*." And Augustin himself, who, in fact, was by many found fault with, because he did so little to enrich the church, declared, that "he who would disinherit his son to make the church his legatee, might look for some other one than Augustin to receive the inheritance; nay, he hoped and prayed that he might find no one." A man belonging to the guild of navicularii (whose office it was to convey grain in their vessels to Rome, Constantinople, or Alexandria) had made the church at Hippo his legatee; but Augustin declined the bequest, because, in case of shipwreck, the church would either be

[1] For, during the persecutions in the third century, we find it intimated that attempts were made to deprive the churches of their estates, which evidently they could have come in possession of in no other way. Consult the edict of Gallien. And Alexander Severus had already conceded to the Christians a public place as legally belonging to them. See Ælii Lampridii vita, c. 49.

[2] Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. II. § 4.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus (l. XXVII. c. 3) speaks of the great wealth which the Roman bishops derived from donations by the matrons.

[4] See Hieronym. in the celebrated epistle to Nepotianus. ep. 52, in which he contrasts the corruption of the clergy with the design of their calling: "Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem." Jerome, when he spoke of the corruption of the clergy, doubtless had before his mind what he had witnessed in Rome (see ep. 22 ad Eustochium, § 28), where he gives a sad account of those running round to the houses of the rich matrons, seeking only to extort gifts from them: Si pulvillum viderit, si mantile elegans, si aliquid domesticæ suppellectilis, laudat, miratur, attrectat, et se his indigere conquerens, non tam impetrat quam extorquet, quia singulæ metuunt, veredarium urbis offendere.

[5] Sermo CCCLVI. § 5.

obliged, by a judicial process, and the application of torture to the crew, to prove that the mishap was unavoidable, or else to make good the loss to the state exchequer. As regarded the first alternative, it did not befit the church, in Augustin's opinion, to subject mariners, who had been rescued from the waves, to the pains of torture; as to the second, the church might not possess the means. "For," says Augustin, "it is not befitting a bishop to be amassing money, and to push back the hand of the beggar." It was Augustin's principle,[1] to accept no bequest which in any way injured the relations of the individual by whom the bequest was made. A respectable citizen of Hippo had made over to the church an estate, merely reserving to himself the use of it while he lived. Afterwards he repented of it, and requested that the papers might be returned to him, sending in lieu of them a sum of money. Augustin sent back both; declaring that the church would not receive forced gifts, but those only which were made with free will.

The difference of temper, just spoken of, as manifested by the bishops, is seen also in their different ways of disposing of the wealth which thus flowed in upon them. In the case of the bishops of large cities, we may perceive already how this wealth which, to worldly minds, presented the strongest temptation to seek after such offices, tended to corrupt the church itself. The unprejudiced pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, describes the pomp and state of the Roman bishops, their gorgeous attire, the more than royal magnificence of their banquets.[2] In like manner, Gregory Nazianzen describes the state which the bishops of Constantinople were wont to display; how in their table, in the pomp and train of attendants with which they appeared in public, they vied with the first men of the empire.[3] As the people became accustomed to such modes of life in these bishops of the residential city (and such splendor was to many a welcome spectacle), the worthy men who in such an office were not disposed to follow such examples, a Gregory Nazianzen, a Chrysostom, would by many be regarded with disgust. But Ammianus himself, in giving this picture of the bishops of the residency, places in contrast with them many provincial bishops, who by their frugal and simple habits of life, recommended themselves before God and all his worshippers as pure-minded men. Examples of bishops were not wanting, who confined their personal wants to the smallest possible compass, and applied all they had to spare to the support of charitable institutions. Beyond question, the bishops might employ great incomes for good purposes; for they not only had to provide for the expense of preserving the churches, of maintaining divine service, of supporting the clergy, of supplying the means of subsistence for the poor, who, in the great cities, such as Constantinople, were very numerous, and but too often suffered to live

[1] See his Life, by Possidius, c. 24.

[2] Lib. XXVII. c. 3, where he says, it was no wonder that men would stake everything to secure to themselves the Roman episcopate: "Cum id adepti futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulantes curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas."

[3] Orat. XXXII. f. 526.

in indolence; but also, as a general thing, the establishments for the reception of strangers, (ξενῶνες),[1] the alms-houses (πτωχοτροφεῖα),[2] the institutions for the support of helpless aged persons (γηροκομεῖα), the hospitals and orphan-houses (the νοσοκομεῖα and ὀρφανοτροφεῖα), originated in the churches, and the churches had to provide the means for their support. A celebrated establishment of this kind was the one founded by Basil, bishop of Cæsarea, and which existed in the third and fourth century — the *Basilias*, — an institution designed for the reception of strangers, and to provide medical attendance and nursing for the sick of whatever disease. Here everything was brought together that could contribute to the welfare and comfort of the patients. The physicians of the establishment resided within its walls, and workshops were provided for all the artisans and laborers whose services were needed;[3] so that Gregory Nazianzen, in his funeral discourse at the death of Basil,[4] could call this institution a city in miniature. Basil had also caused similar alms-houses to be established in the country; one in each provincial diocese (συμμορία), placed under the care of a country bishop, who had the supervision of its concerns.[5] Theodoret, bishop of Cyros, who had a diocese which was poor on account of its location, was, notwithstanding, able to save enough to erect porticoes for the use of the city, to build two large bridges, to construct a canal from the Euphrates to the town, which had before suffered for the want of water, and to repair and improve the public bath, which was so important a means of health to the inhabitants of those hot districts.[6]

Among the favors bestowed by the state to further the ends of the church, belonged the exemption of the clerical order from certain public services (munera publica, λειτουργίαι). Such pertained partly to certain classes of citizens, and in part they were attached to the possession of a certain amount of property. Now, with these state burdens stood connected, for the most part, the undertaking of certain kinds of business and employments which were incompatible with the nature of the spiritual calling. For this reason, in the previous period, when no calculation could be made on the disposition of the state to accommodate the clerical order, a law had been passed that no person who was liable to any civil imposition (seculo obstrictus) should be ordained to the spiritual office.[7] But the church having now been freed by Constantine from these restrictions, it might be hoped that the like privileges would be accorded to the clergy as were allowed to pagan priests, physicians, and rhetoricians. In fact, Constantine

[1] With regard to the ξενών: Ἐστὶ κοίνον οἴκημα, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφωρισμένον. Chrysostom, in act. ap. hom. 45, § 3, near the end. Of this institution, as an ancient one in the church, though the name was new, see Augustin. Tractat. 97, in Joh. § 4. *Xenodochia* postea sunt appellata novis nominibus, res tamen ipsæ et ante nomina sua erant, et religionis veritate firmantur.

[2] These institutions for the poor were under the supervision of clergymen, also of monks, οἱ κληρικοὶ τῶν πτωχείων. Conc. Chalc. canon. 8.

[3] See Basil. Cæsareens. ep. 94, and Sozomen. VI. 34.

[4] See his orat. 30 and 27.

[5] Basil. ep. 142, 143.

[6] See Theodoret. ep. 81.

[7] When for instance, Tertullian alleges against the *heretics* (præscript. c. 41), that they ordained seculo obstrictos, it may be gathered from this, that the practice was forbidden in the dominant church.

ordered by a law of the year 319, — after having already conceded to the clergy, previous to 313, a certain degree of exemption, — that they should be freed from all *burdens of the state*.[1] This unconditional exemption of the clergy from those civil duties was destined to prove, however, the source of many evils both to church and to state; since it was the natural consequence that numbers, without any inward call to the spiritual office, and without any fitness for it whatever, now got themselves ordained as ecclesiastics for the sake of enjoying this exemption; — whereby many of the worst class came to the administration of the most sacred calling,[2] — while, at the same time, the state was deprived of much useful service. The emperor Constantine, in this collision of interests, sought to secure only those of the state. That the true interests of the church could not have been foremost in his thoughts is the more evident, since he shows, by this law itself, how imperfectly he understood them. By a law of the year 320, which presupposes the existence of a still earlier one, he ordered that for the future no person belonging to the *families of Decurions*, no one provided with sufficient means of living, no one who was fitted for the performance of those civil duties, should take refuge in the spiritual order; that, as a general thing, new clergymen should be chosen only to supply the places of those who had deceased,[3] and these should be persons of small means, and such as were not bound to take upon them any of those burdens of the state. They who were obligated to any of those duties, if they had crept into the clerical order, were to be forcibly thrust back to their former condition, — for which regulation Constantine gave this singular reason: "The rich must bear the burdens of the world, the poor must be maintained by the wealth of the church;"[4] as if this were the object of church property and of the church offices! But this restriction was not less unjust, than the reason alleged for it was false; for it well might be that the very men who felt the inward call, and possessed the best qualifications for the spiritual office, were to be found among the higher ranks in the provinces; while by such a law these were excluded. Yet with the powerful influence of the spiritual order at court, under the Christian emperors, it must often happen, as a matter of course, that such laws

[1] Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. II. l. 2.

[2] Comp. what Athanasius (hist. Arianorum ad Monachos, § 78) says of the Pagans who passed over from the first senatorial families to Christianity, for the purpose of obtaining as ecclesiastics the *ταλαίπωρος ἀλειτουργησία*. — Basil. Cæsar. ep. 54, respecting such as got themselves ordained to the inferior ecclesiastical offices in the country, merely for the sake of eluding the obligation to do military service: *Τῶν πλείστων φόβῳ τῆς στρατολογίας εἰσποιούντων ἑαυτοὺς τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ*. Comp. also the acts of the process against the bishop Antoninus of Ephesus, in Palladius' life of Chrysostom (opp. ed. Montfauc. T. XIII.), where it comes out that that metropolitan bishop sold episcopal dignities to such as were merely seeking by episcopal ordination to be released from the burdensome curial duties.

[3] But what had promoted this certainly excessive multiplication of ecclesiastics was partly the number and magnitude of the external advantages, whereby the spiritual order now became attractive to so many who were not spiritually minded, and in part the existence of so many church offices which required for their discharge merely outward liturgical services.

[4] See Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. II. l. 6. Opulentos enim sæculi subire necessitates oportet, pauperes ecclesiarum divitiis sustentari.

would be evaded, and not unfrequently to the injury of the church. Some wavering and uncertainty, too, soon began to show itself in the execution of the law; expedients were devised to avoid injuring the interests either of the state or of the church; and, finally, the law was enacted that those who were under obligation to render such civil services should, upon entering the ecclesiastical order, give up their property to others who could discharge those services in their stead. It was very justly given as a reason for this regulation, that, if they were really in earnest in what they proposed, they must despise earthly things. But it was certainly far from being the case that this law could be strictly kept.[1]

But not only were various privileges conceded to the church by the state: the church also obtained influence for herself, in various ways, on the civil community. This, indeed, would of course be the necessary result, when that which had been to the Christians of the preceding period the church separate from the state, the church existing as a state within the state, came to be recognized as having power to make laws by means of the state, standing in closest alliance with the church. This is to be applied particularly to the jurisdiction which had grown up within the church. Inasmuch, for example, as it had been so arranged in the Jewish synagogues, that contentions between individual members should not be brought before the civil tribunals, but should be settled within the communities themselves, so this custom was transferred into the Christian communities. If the spirit of Christian brotherly love could not wholly banish the collisions of selfish interests by which those contentions were called forth, the arbitration of individuals chosen out of the community should suffice, at least, to induce men to lay aside such contentions. When the episcopal form of church government became matured, it was made a part of the function of the episcopal office to decide these disputes. Yet, hitherto, the sentence of the bishop stood valid only so far as both parties voluntarily agreed to submit to it. Constantine made the sentence of the bishops legally binding, whenever the two parties had once agreed to repair to their tribunal, so that no farther appeal could be made from it.[2] Nor was this anything foreign to the constitution of the Roman law. The bishops were simply allowed to exercise the authority which was conceded to arbiters chosen *e compromisso*, by the two contending parties.

Thus a great deal of business of a foreign nature came upon the episcopal office. Bishops more spiritually disposed made it a matter of complaint, that so much of the time which they were prompted, by the inclination of their hearts, to bestow on the things of God, must be employed for the purpose of immersing themselves in the investigation of secular affairs.[3] At the same time they had to suffer no

[1] See the laws of the year 383, in the Titulus de Decurionibus.

[2] Sozomen. l. I. c. 9.

[3] When certain theological labors had been committed by two African councils to the care of the bishop Augustin, who was now advanced in years, he agreed with his community, that, for the purpose of executing these, he should be spared from attending to their business during five days in the week. A formal protocol or bill (gesta ecclesiastica) was drawn up,

little vexation; for, however impartially they might decide, they still exposed themselves to many an accusation on the part of those who were looking merely at their *own* advantage, and who, when the decision of the bishop was adverse to their interests, could not pardon it in them that they must submit without any right of appeal from an unfavorable sentence.[1] Yet worthy bishops, from love to their communities, bore this burden attached to their calling, grievous as it was to them, with the self-denial which an Augustin evinces, when from a full heart he exclaims in the language of the 119th Psalm, ver. 115 (as it is found in the Alexandrian version), "Depart from me, ye evil-doers, for I would study the commandments of my God;" and when he proceeds to say: "Wicked men exercise us *in observing the commandments of God;* but they call us away *from exploring them* (from the study of Holy Scripture), not only when they would persecute us or contend with us, but even when they obey us and honor us, and yet compel us to busy ourselves in lending support to their sinful and contentious desires; and when they require of us that we should sacrifice our time to them; or when, at least, they oppress the weak, and force them to bring their affairs before us. To these we dare not say, Man, who has made me a judge or a divider of inheritance over you? For the apostle has instituted ecclesiastical judges for such affairs, in forbidding Christians to bring suits before the civil tribunals." Such bishops might undoubtedly avail themselves also of this opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the members of their flock, of diffusing among them the spirit of unanimity, and of opportunely dropping many a practical admonition. But to worldly minded bishops, it furnished a welcome occasion for devoting themselves to any foreign and secular affairs, rather than to the appropriate business of their spiritual calling.

The church Theocracy, which had been formed in the preceding period, by the especial instrumentality of the bishops, might, under these new relations, operate as a healthful counterpoise to the arbitrary will of despotism. Much of this sort of influence arose, as a matter of course, from the particular point of view in which the bishops were regarded by the religious sense of their communities; and that which at first stood valid in custom, was not until afterwards con-

specifying what the church had conceded to him; but he was soon besieged again, so that he was compelled to say: Ante meridiem et post meridiem occupationibus hominum implicor. (See the gesta ecclesiastica Augustini. ep. 213). In the Greek church, the case may have been, however, that bishops, whether for the purpose of devoting themselves with greater blessing to other kinds of labor, or whether it was simply out of indolence, turned over these matters of business to certain members of their clergy, whom they invested with full powers for transacting them. At least, Socrates incidentally relates this of a certain Silvanus, bishop of Troas, a man inclined to ascetic retirement, belonging to the first times of the fifth century, without remarking that it was anything unusual. But when this good bishop observed that the clergy to whom he had intrusted this business were endeavoring to make gain of it without regard to right, he committed the investigation to a justice-loving layman. Socrat. VII. 37.

[1] See Augustin. in Ps. XXV. en. 2, § 13, T. IV. f. 115. Etsi jam effringi non potest, quia tenetur jure forte non ecclesiastico, sed principum seculi, qui tantum detulerunt ecclesiæ, ut quidquid in ea judicatum fuerit dissolvi non possit.

firmed by law. To this kind of influence belongs that which the bishops obtained by their intercessions (intercessiones). It was then not unusual for persons who enjoyed some reputation as men of learning, as rhetoricians, to avail themselves of this for the purpose of interceding with the great, who affected to patronize science, in behalf of the unfortunate. But that this custom should pass over especially to the bishops, was a natural consequence of the new direction which Christianity gave to the mode of contemplating the forms of social life. New ideas of the equality of all men in the sight of God; of the equal accountableness of all; of mercy, love, and compassion, were diffused abroad by Christianity. Christian judges and magistrates were uncertain how they should unite the discharge of their official duties with what was required of them by the precepts of Christ. In the previous period, *one* party of Christians, in fact, held the administration of such offices to be incompatible with the nature of the Christian calling. The council of Elvira (in 305) directed that the supreme magistrates in the municipal towns, the *Duumviri* (though these were not called upon to pronounce sentence of death), should not enter the church during the year of their office.[1] The council of Arles, in 314, directed indeed that the *presidents* in the provinces, and others who were incumbents of any civil office, should continue to remain in the communion of the church,[2] yet charged the bishops in the places where they exercised their civil functions, with a special oversight of them; and, when they began to act inconsistently with their Christian duties,[3] they were then to be cut off from the church fellowship. Thus, then, it came about that conscientious Christians who occupied official stations, whenever they were beset with doubts from the above-mentioned causes, had recourse to the bishops for instruction and for the quieting of their scruples. For example, a certain functionary, by the name of Studius, betook himself, in a case of this sort, to Ambrosius, bishop of Milan. The latter told him that according to Romans 13, he was authorized to employ the sword for the punishment of crime, yet proposed for his imitation the pattern of Christ in his conduct towards the woman taken in adultery (John, c. 8), in order to remind him that he should suffer the principles of Christian love and mildness, to take the place of strict justice. If the transgressor had never been baptized, he might still be converted, and obtain the forgiveness of sin: if he had been already baptized, he could yet repent and reform. Ambrosius says on this occasion that those who pass sentence of death would not, indeed, be excluded from the communion of the church, since they are justified, by the above-cited declaration of the apostle, in passing such a sentence; but that the majority did, however, abstain from the communion, and that their conduct in this case was to be approved.[4] We see that the church

[1] C. 56. Magistratum uno anno, quo agit duumviratum, prohibendum placuit, ut se ab ecclesia cohibeat. Can. 56. See Bruns, Canones apost. et concil. II. p. 9.

[2] Litteras accipiant ecclesiasticas communicatorias, Can. 7. See Bruns, II. p. 108.

[3] Cum cœperint contra disciplinam agere.

[4] According to the old editions, ep. ad Studium, l. VII. ep. 58.

acknowledged the right of capital punishment, while, by endeavoring to explain the justice of it in the spirit of love which seeks to save the guilty person, however deeply sunk in crime, she strove to change the punishment of death into some other better suited to this end.

In this way it came about that the bishops gradually obtained the right of exercising a sort of moral superintendence over the discharge of their official duties by the governors, the judges, the proprietors, who belonged to their communities; — an authority which was not always, indeed, alike respected; — that they were empowered, in the name of religion, to intercede with governors, with the nobles of the empire, and even with the emperors, in behalf of the unfortunate, the persecuted, the oppressed; in behalf of individuals, entire cities and provinces, who sighed under grievous burdens, laid on them by reckless, arbitrary caprice, or who trembled in fear of heavy punishments amidst civil disturbances. Where the fear of man made all others mute, it was not seldom those only who spoke out in the name of religion and of the church who ventured to utter themselves with freedom; and their voice might sometimes penetrate to the consciences of those who were intoxicated by the feeling of their absolute power, and surrounded by servile flatterers.

Some examples will render this clear. When the separation of the province of Cappadocia into two provinces (Cappadocia prima et secunda), under the emperor Valens, in the year 371, had reduced the inhabitants, who thus lost much of their gain and were oppressed by a double weight of civil burdens, to great distress, it was the bishop Basil of Cæsarea who interceded — to no purpose indeed — with the great, and, through them, with the emperor, in behalf of the whole province. Among other things, he thus wrote to one of the nobles:[1] "He could boldly tell the court that they were not to imagine they should have two provinces instead of one; for they would not have secured another province from some other world, but have done just the same as if the owner of a horse or of an ox should cut him in halves, and suppose that by so doing he obtained two instead of one." When, in the year 387, a popular movement at Antioch, which had been brought about by the oppression of excessive taxes, gave reason to fear a severe retribution from the emperor Theodosius, who might easily be hurried, in a momentary paroxysm of passion, to the extremest measures, and all was in a state of the utmost confusion, the aged and sick bishop Flavianus proceeded himself to Constantinople. Said he to the emperor: "I am come, as the deputy of our common Master, to address this word to your heart: 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, then will your heavenly Father also forgive you your trespasses.'" These words, to which he gave a still more pointed emphasis by alluding to the import of the approaching festival of Easter, so profoundly affected the heart of an emperor easily susceptible of religious impressions, that he exclaimed: "How could it be a great thing for me, who am but a man, to remit my anger towards men, when the Lord of the world himself, who for our sakes took the form

[1] Ep. 74 ad Martinian.

of a servant, and was crucified by those to whom he was doing good, interceded with his Father in behalf of his crucifiers, saying: 'Forgive them, since they know not what they do'?" All that had been done, he promised should be forgotten, and Flavian should hasten back to convey the glad tidings to his community before the commencement of the Easter.[1]

In like manner Theodoret interceded with great men, and with the imperial princess Pulcheria,[2] in behalf of the inhabitants of his poor church diocese, who were calumniated at the court, and oppressed by heavy taxes. So Augustin addressed the most earnest remonstrances to a rich landlord, Romulus by name, who was in the practice of unjustly pressing the poor people of the country, and who had carefully avoided speaking with Augustin himself. He concluded with these words: "Fear God, unless you are willing to deceive yourself. I call him to witness on your soul, that while saying this, I fear more for you than for those in behalf of whom I may seem to be interceding. If you believe, let God be thanked. If you do not believe, I comfort myself in what the Lord says, Matt. 10: 13."[3]

It being a frequent practice with the collectors of the revenue in Cappadocia, to compel the peasants to take oath, and thus to lead them into the temptation to commit perjury, Basil of Cæsarea, having repeatedly protested against this abuse at their meetings, finally wrote to the governor of the province: "One thing still remains to us, which is to adjure you before God and men, by this writing, that you would cease to bring death on men's souls; that you would devise some other way of collecting the taxes; but let men keep their souls unharmed. For the taking of oaths avails nothing to the collection of the taxes; but it assuredly occasions much evil to souls. When men have once learned to make light of perjury, they will be no longer constrained by oaths to pay their taxes, but will believe that in the oath they have found a means of deceiving, and an opportunity for evasion."[4]

It cannot, indeed, be denied, that, while pious and prudent bishops did much good by a discreet resort to these intercessions, others, by a haughty abuse of them, by hierarchical arrogance, by a confusion of the Christian with the juridical point of view, to which they obstinately adhered, might seriously interfere with civil order.[5] Yet the injury which was thus done in the case of particular individuals, is certainly not to be compared with the benefits which accrued, in various ways,

[1] See Chrysostom orat. 20, de statuis, near the end.

[2] See ep. 42, etc.

[3] See Augustin. ep. 247.

[4] Epist. 85.

[5] Respecting such haughtiness of the bishops, a certain judge, by the name of Macedonius, complains in a letter to Augustin (ep. 152), to whom he states his doubts about the reasonableness of intercessions. He denounces those who complained of wrong, when their intercessions, however unreasonable, met with no hearing; from whom, however, he altogether distinguishes such men as Augustin. The latter, in reply, explains at large his deliberate judgment respecting the end, the right and the wrong use of the episcopal *intercessiones*, ep. 153. To guard against such abuses, it was ordered by a law of the year 398, that the monks and the clergy should not be permitted to snatch condemned malefactors from their merited punishment; yet they were allowed, even by this law, to resort to a legal intercession. Cod. Theodos. l. IX. Tit. XL. l. 16.

from intercessions of the bishops in behalf of the innocent who were oppressed, and the weak who were abandoned to the caprices of passion and of arbitrary power.[1] The bishops were considered as especially the protectors of widows and orphans. The dying who must leave behind them orphan children, commended them, in this time of despotic power, to the protection of the bishops. The property of widows and orphans, which there was cause to fear might fall into the clutches of the powerful, was placed under the guardianship of the churches and the bishops.[2] Ambrosius, bishop of Milan, reminds his clergy of the fact, how often he had withstood the attacks of the imperial power in defending the property of the widow; — nay, of all; — and he says to those clergy, that they would thereby magnify their office, if the attacks of the powerful, under which the widow and the orphan must succumb, were warded off by the protection of the church; if they showed that the precept of the Lord had more weight with them than the favor of the rich.[3]

It was the same with another right which the churches gradually obtained by traditional usage. As the pagan temples had been already considered asylums for such as fled to them for refuge, and as the images of the emperor served the same purpose, so now this use passed over to the Christian churches. It is evident, from what has been said, how salutary a thing this might prove under the circumstances of those times; since taking refuge in the asylum of the church, particularly at the altar, afforded time for the bishops to intercede for the unfortunate, before any injury could be done them. They who were persecuted by a victorious party, in times of civil disturbance, could, in the first instance, here find protection against the sword; and the bishops, meanwhile, would gain time to apply to the powerful for their pardon. Many examples of this kind are furnished in the labors of Ambrose, during the Western revolutions of his period. Slaves could here find protection, for the first moment, against the cruel rage of their masters, and subsequently, by the interposition of the bishops, appease their anger. Such as were by misfortune involved in debt, and persecuted by their creditors, could here gain shelter for the first moment; and pious bishops could, in the mean time, find means, either by a collection in their communities, or by an advance of money from the church funds, of canceling their debt, or of effecting a compromise between them and their creditors.[4] It is true, this right of the churches, which, under the circumstances of those times, could be applied to such salutary purposes, might also be abused by the hierarchical arrogance of some bishops.[5] This right was at first not

[1] How common it was for those whose life or freedom was suddenly endangered by powerful enemies, or for their relatives and friends, to enter the church and apply to the bishop for his speedy assistance, is seen from Augustin. S. 161, § 4, S. 368, § 3. Videtis, si cujus vita præsentis seculi periclitetur, quomodo amici ejus currunt pro eo, quomodo curritur ad ecclesiam, rogatur episcopus, ut intermittat, si quas habet actiones, currat, festinet.

[2] See Augustin. ep. 252; according to other editions, 217. Sermo 176, § 2.

[3] Ambrosius de officiis, l. II. c. 29.

[4] See Augustin. ep. 268 ad plebem; according to other editions, 215.

[5] An example in Augustin. ep. 250. Certain individuals guilty of perjury having taken refuge in the church, the Comes Classicianus, accompanied by a few men, went to Auxilius the bishop, for the purpose of making such representations to him

conceded to the churches by a law, but had its ground simply in the Christian custom; and hence it happened, too, that it was often violated by rude, tyrannical men. Pious bishops here had an opportunity of evincing their steadfast courage in protecting the unfortunate who had taken refuge with them, against the rage of powerful enemies who would not suffer themselves to be restrained by any respect for the asylum.[1] The first imperial law which appeared with reference to the asylum, was in fact directed against it. The case happened thus: Chrysostom, the venerable bishop of Constantinople, had defended a number of unfortunate individuals against the arbitrary violence of the unprincipled, but for a time powerful, Eutropius; in consequence of which, the latter procured the enactment of an express law, in 398, restricting this right of the church, which had grown out of common usage and custom.[2] So much the stronger, therefore, must have been the impression made on the popular mind, when, in the following year, Eutropius himself, having fallen from the summit of earthly fortune to the lowest infamy, was obliged to seek shelter, at the altar of the church, from the fury of the exasperated Gothic troops to which the weak Arcadius was willing to abandon him; and it was Chrysostom who defended him there. A great effect was also produced by an incident which occurred in Constantinople itself, under the reign of Theodosius II. Certain slaves, sprung from one of the rude nations, and belonging to a nobleman at Constantinople, took refuge from the harsh treatment of their cruel master, in the sanctuary of the principal church. There, for several days in succession, they disturbed

as would prevent him from receiving them. But though the guilty persons voluntarily left the church, the haughty bishop, notwithstanding, pronounced *excommunication* on the entire family of the Comes. Augustin, on the other hand, received the Comes into his own communion, telling him that he had nothing to fear from an unjust excommunication; and he wrote to the bishop: "Believe not that we may not be hurried on by an unjust anger, because we are bishops; but let us rather think, that we live in the greatest danger of being caught in the snares of temptation, because we are men."

[1] Here follow two examples. A man of some consequence and influence, owing to his connection with the vicar-general of Pontus, with whom he acted as assessor judge, wished to compel a noble widow to marry him. She fled to the asylum of the church at Cæsarea. That governor, who was besides an enemy of the bishop Basil, gladly availed himself of this opportunity to make him feel his power. But Basil refused to deliver up the widow. The vicar caused him to be arraigned before his tribunal; but the people were excited, by this course of proceeding, to such violent agitation, that the governor, struck with fear, finally himself implored Basil to use his influence in soothing them. See Greg. or. Naz. orat. 20, p. 353. In like manner, the bishop Synesius of Ptolemais, in the early part of the fifth century, had to contend with a governor, Andronicus, who dealt in an arbitrary manner with the lives and property of the citizens, sacrificing everything to his avarice and his passions. He caused an edict to be posted up on the doors of the church, in which he threatened every ecclesiastic who should give protection to his unhappy victims. He declared that not one should escape his hand, even though he clasped the feet of Christ. No asylum could afford shelter against such a man. The only course that was left for Synesius was to pronounce on him the sentence of excommunication, ep. 58. Yet Andronicus, who fell into disgrace with the court, and was plunged in misfortune, was forced himself to seek protection from the church, and Synesius received him. Ep. 90 ad Theophilum.

[2] See Cod. Theodos. l. IX. Tit. XLV. l. 3; which law, to be sure, is not expressed in general terms, but is properly directed only against those who were bound under some obligation to the state or to private persons, which they were wishing to evade. Yet the law, in the form in which it stood, might easily be further made use of also against the asylum.

the divine service; and when at length resort was had to force against them, they killed one of the ecclesiastics, wounded another, and then put an end to their own lives.[1] This and similar occurrences led finally to the enactment of the *first law* for the asylum of the church, in the year 431. It was here settled that not only the altar, but whatever formed any part of the church buildings, should be an inviolable place of refuge.[2] It was forbidden, on pain of death, forcibly to remove those who had fled thither *unarmed*. Resort might be had to force only against such as took refuge in those places with weapons in their hands, and who refused to give them up at the repeated solicitations of the clergy.[3] In a law, passed in the following year, it was ordered that whenever a servant fled unarmed to the church, the clergy should delay giving information of it to the master, or to the person whose vengeance he was endeavoring to escape, no longer than a day; and that the latter, out of regard to him to whom the fugitive had fled for refuge, should grant him full forgiveness, and receive him back without the infliction of any further punishment.

The state itself acknowledged this influence of the church in promoting the interests of humanity, and sought to cherish it. By a law passed in the year 409, it was made the duty of judges to inquire, every Sunday, of all prisoners, whether they had been kindly treated; it being, as a matter of course, assumed, that it belonged to the calling of bishops to admonish judges of their duty to see that prisoners were treated humanely.[4] A law by the emperor Justinian, enacted in 529, made it incumbent on bishops to visit prisons on Wednesdays and Fridays (days selected probably in memory of Christ's passion); to inquire carefully into the crimes for which each prisoner was kept in durance, and concerning the treatment which he received; and to report to the superior magistrates, whatever they might observe contrary to good order. They were also to see to it, that no person should be confined elsewhere than in the public jails.[5]

2. *Internal Organization of the Church.*

THE fact which contributed especially to modify the development of the church constitution in this period, was one which had already, in the period preceding, produced a great change in the shaping of the Christian consciousness, and exerted the greatest influence on church life, namely, the giving externality to the conception of the theocracy,

[1] Socrates, VII. 33.

[2] The reason alleged probably had some reference to the fact that those cases in which the violators of the asylum were subsequently visited by some great calamity, which was generally regarded as a divine punishment, particularly contributed to promote the feeling of reverence for the asylum: Ne in detrahendos eos conetur quisquam sacrilegas manus immittere; ne, qui hoc ausus sit, cum discrimen suum videat, ad expetendam opem ipse quoque confugiat.

[3] Cod. Theodos. l. IX. Tit. XLV. l. 4.

[4] Nec deerit antistitum Christianæ religionis cura laudabilis, quæ ad observationem constituti judicis hanc ingerat monitionem. Cod. Theodos. l. IX. Tit. III. l. 7.

[5] Cod. Justinian. l. I. Tit. IV. l. 22 et 23.

in giving externality to that of the church. A new element was now added — the confounding of the church with the state, of ecclesiastical with political concerns, as we have just now seen. This giving externality to the conception of the church, in connection with the external notion of the theocracy, formed, it is true, on one side, a counterpoise to that confounding of the church with the state, yet in another respect, it served to promote it; for the more the church aspired to outward dominion, the more liable would she be to commit the mistake of forgetting, in these external things, her own internal essence as a church of the spirit; and the more easily could she be brought under the influence of those outward considerations and motives; just as, on the other hand, she would be preserved from all secularization, in the same proportion as she possessed a clear consciousness of her innermost nature as a church of the spirit; and felt no temptation to strive after dominion except by the spirit, — by the power of the gospel.

The central point of the theocratic church system was the idea of a visible, outward priesthood, serving as the medium of connection between Christ and the church; of a sacerdotal caste distinctively consecrated to God, and requisite for the life of the church, — through which order alone the influences of the Holy Spirit could be diffused among the laity. This idea had, in the previous period, become already a dominant idea in the church, and had exerted the greatest influence in changing and modifying all ecclesiastical relations. Though this idea was employed by such church teachers as Chrysostom and Augustin, only for the purpose of setting in its true light the religious and moral dignity of the spiritual order, and of bringing it home to the hearts of such as were intending to form themselves for this order; and though such men *meant* by no means to disparage thereby the dignity of the universal Christian calling, yet injury to the latter resulted of itself; for no foresight can guard against the development, from any principle, of that which it contains in the germ. Hence the false antithesis now set up between spiritual and secular, which had so injurious an influence on the whole Christian life, and by which the lofty character of the universal Christian calling was so much lowered. Hence the delusive notion that the clergy, as super-earthly beings, must withdraw themselves from all contact with the things of sense; and hence the erroneous notion that the priestly dignity was desecrated, was too much drawn down to the earth, by the married life. It would be doing wrong to this period to assert that such an opinion was purposely invented, or set afloat, with a view to enhance thereby the dignity of the spiritual order. Ideas of this sort, which reign supreme over an age, are, in general, not the contrivance of a few; and what has been thus purposely contrived, can never acquire such vast influence in shaping human relations. As that idea of the priesthood had originated, as we have seen, in a declension from the primitive Christian mode of thinking; the same was true also of this opinion, which naturally grew out of the idea of the priesthood, — the opinion that the clergy, as mediators between God and men, as the channels through whom alone the influences of the Holy Spirit must flow to the rest of

mankind enchained to the world of sense, must hence, in their whole life, be elevated above that world, — must keep themselves free from all earthly ties and family relations. It is plain, indeed, that in many nations not Christian, the idea of such a priesthood led to the same conclusion of the necessity of celibacy in the priests; and already, in the previous period, we observed a tendency of the same kind among the Montanists.

This idea could not penetrate at once everywhere alike; the primitive Christian spirit still offered considerable resistance to it. The council of Elvira in Spain, which met in the year 305, and was governed by the ascetic and hierarchical spirit that prevailed particularly in the Spanish and North-African churches, was the first to announce the law, that the clergy of the three first grades should abstain from all marriage intercourse, or be deposed.[1] Some of the Greek councils which succeeded, were less strict. The council at Neocæsarea,[2] in the year 314, decreed that the presbyter who married should forfeit his standing; and the council of Ancyra,[3] in the same year,—that the deacons who, at the time of their ordination, had declared that they could not tolerate the life of celibacy, might subsequently be allowed to marry; while those who said nothing on this point at their ordination, yet afterwards married, should be deposed from their office. But when men of the same ascetic bent of spirit which had prevailed at the council of Elvira, were for making the law which was there published, a general law of the church, at the council of Nice, a bishop whose opinion may have had the more weight because it was unbiased, as he had himself led a strictly ascetic life from his youth upward, — the bishop and confessor Paphnutius, — opposed this motion, declaring that wedlock was also a holy estate, as Paul affirmed; and that the clergy who held that relation might lead, notwithstanding, a holy life. No yoke ought to be imposed on men which the weakness of human nature could not bear; and it would be well to use caution, lest the church might be injured by excessive severity.[4] Yet even Paphnutius, plainly as he saw the mischief which must accrue from such an ordinance universally imposed, was too much governed by the spirit of his time to speak generally against the practice of binding the spiritual order to celibacy. The old order of things was simply retained, that ecclesiastics of the three first grades, when once ordained, should no longer be permitted to marry; and the rest was left to the free choice of each individual.

The council held at Gangra, in Paphlagonia, about the middle of the fourth century, deserves notice also, as exhibiting one of the reactions against that growing spiritual tendency from which proceeded the demand for celibacy among the clergy. Its fourth canon pronounces sentence of condemnation *on those who would not hold communion with married ecclesiastics*. The practice became continually more preva-

[1] Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis, presbyteris et diaconibus, vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis. Can. 33.

[2] Canon 1, ed. Bruns, I. p. 71.

[3] Canon 10, ed. Bruns, I. p. 68.

[4] Socrat. I. 11.

lent, it is true, in the Eastern church, for the bishops at least, if they were married, to abandon the marriage relation: yet we still find exceptions, even in the fifth century; as in the case of a Synesius. When he was elected bishop of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, he declared, "God, the law, and the consecrated hand of Theophilus (bishop of Alexandria), have given me a wife. I say now, in the presence of all, and I call you to witness, that I will never either separate from her, nor dwell with her privately, as if in a forbidden union; for the first is altogether contrary to piety, the latter to the laws; but I would have by her many and good children."[1] Notwithstanding this declaration he was made bishop.[2]

It was different with the Western church, where the law which Paphnutius had turned aside, at the council of Nice, succeeded, nevertheless, in establishing itself. It had hitherto been nothing more than a fundamental principle in the usages of the church, when the Roman bishop Siricius decreed the first ecclesiastical law on the subject. The occasion of it was this: Spanish presbyters and deacons resisted the unmarried life; and, as the whole idea of the church, concerning priests and sacrifices, was derived from the Old Testament, they appealed in their defense to the fact that the Old Testament priests lived in the state of wedlock. Himerius, bishop of Tarraco, in a letter to the Roman bishop Damasus, which treated of various other ecclesiastical affairs, had also mentioned this circumstance, and asked for advice. Siricius, who in the mean time had succeeded Damasus in the episcopal office, replied in a letter of the year 385, in which, by a singular perversion of holy writ, he endeavored to prove the necessity of celibacy in priests; and in which letter, moreover, the connection of this error with the unevangelical idea of the priesthood, and the unevangelical idea of what constitutes holiness, is very clearly brought to view. The requisition to be holy (Levit. 20: 7) is here confined solely to the priests, and referred simply to abstinence from marriage intercourse; and the bishop appeals for proof to the fact that the priests of the Old Testament, during the period of their service in the temple, were obliged to dwell there, and to abstain from all marriage intercourse; — that Paul (Rom. 8: 8, 9,) says, they that are in the flesh cannot please God. And he adds: "Could the Spirit of God dwell, indeed, in any other than holy bodies?" as though true holiness, accordingly, were incompatible with the marriage estate, and the clergy were the only ones in whom the Spirit of God resided. Although this law came forth, as a legitimate result, from a prevailing tendency in the church life, yet it was long before the principle established in theory, could be generally adopted also in practice.

We notice, also, even in these last times of the fourth century, sev-

[1] *Προαγορεύω τοίνυν ἅπασι καὶ μαρτύρομαι, ὡς ἐγὼ ταύτης οὔτε ἀλλοτριώσομαι καθάπαξ, οὔτε ὡς μοιχὸς αὐτῇ λάθρα συνέσομαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἥκιστα εὐσεβὲς, τὸ δὲ ἥκιστα νόμιμον.* Ep. 105, ed. Basil.

[2] Jerome may perhaps have expressed himself, in his zeal, too generally, when he says, in the beginning of his book against Vigilantius: Quid facient orientis ecclesiæ, quid Ægypti et sedis apostolicæ, quæ aut virgines Clericos accipiunt, aut continentes, aut si uxores habuerint, mariti esse desistunt.

eral reactions against this constraint laid upon the clergy, — reactions springing from another tendency of the ethical spirit. A Jovinian, and perhaps also a Vigilantius, are to be named here. Jovinian appealed to the fact that the Apostle Paul would have such persons as had wives and children, appointed as bishops, presbyters, and deacons. (See the Epistle to Titus, and the First to Timothy.)[1] And Jerome mentions bishops, among the friends of Vigilantius, who, because they feared the pernicious consequences to morals of a constrained celibacy, *would ordain no others as deacons but those who were married.*[2]

This idea of the priesthood was bad, also, in its influence on the prevailing notions with regard to the training necessary for those who were preparing for the spiritual order. As many placed implicit confidence in the magical effects of the priestly ordination, whereby the supernatural powers, of which the priest was to be the channel, were communicated at once ; as they held the outward acts of the church, by which the priest was supposed to set in motion the higher energies communicated to him, to be the principal thing in the administration of his office ; they were, for this very reason, led to suppose that no special previous culture was necessary for this office.[3] It is true, the more eminent teachers of the church — such men as Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom,[4] and Augustin[5] — combated this delusion, and laid down many wholesome and judicious rules for the education of the spiritual order ; yet these injunctions, proceeding from individuals, could produce no adequate effects, as they were not sufficiently sanctioned and upheld by the decrees of councils.[6] There was, moreover, a great want of institutions for the theological education of the spiritual order. The school at Alexandria was at first the only one. This became distinguished under the superintendence of the learned Didymus, who, although blind from his youth, was one of the most accomplished church teachers of his time. Then arose, at the end of the fourth century, the theological school of Antioch, the formation of

[1] Jovinian against the zealous advocates of celibacy : Frustra hæc loqueris, quia et episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi unius uxoris viri, et habentes filios, ab apostolo constituuntur. Hieronym. adv. Jovinian. lib. 1, § 34.

[2] Hieronymus contra Vigilantium c. I. where he says of Vigilantius : Proh nefas, episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes, qui non ordinant diaconos, nisi prius uxores duxerint, nulli cœlibi credentes pudicitiam, where he adds, after his manner of drawing invidious conclusions : imo ostendentes, quam sancte vivant, qui male de omnibus suspicantur. The frequent complaints about the *συνείσακται* of the clergy — against whom canon 3 of the Nicene council is directed (see above, vol. I. § 2, p. 277), — prove the bad effects which the rules of celibacy had on morals.

[3] Gregory of Nazianz sarcastically denounces this erroneous notion in his satirical poem against the bishops, v. 503 : *Εἶποι τάχ' ἄν τις ὡς ἐπισκόπων χέρες | τότ' ἐν μέσῳ κήρυγμα* (the public proclamation of the choice made, in the church) ; *λουτροῦ τις χάρις* (the ordination, a second baptism) *ἂς τ' ἐκβοῶμεν, ὡς ἀνάξιοι μέσας | φωνάς, διδόντες τὴν κάθαρσιν τῇ κλίσει* (prayer over the candidate who was kneeling) *καὶ τῷ τυρανήσαντι δῆθεν πνεύματι* (as if the Holy Ghost at the ordination wrought with irresistible power) | *κρίσει δικαίων καὶ σοφῶν ἐπισκόπων.*

[4] In his work, *περὶ ἱερωσύνης.*

[5] In his work, de doctrina Christiana.

[6] In an old collection of ecclesiastical laws, belonging to the fifth century, falsely called the decisions of the fourth synod at Carthage, Can. 1, we find the only decree of this sort, which is itself, however, very generally expressed : Qui episcopus ordinandus est, antea examinetur, si sit literatus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus. Ed. Bruns, I. p. 140.

which had been already prepared, a century earlier, by the learned presbyters of that church. This school rendered itself particularly distinguished by diffusing a taste among the clergy for the thorough study of the Scriptures. From this, as the mother, several others sprung up in the Syrian church, whose salutary influence on that church continued long to be felt.[1] In the Greek church, it was the practice, as we may see in the examples of Basil of Cæsarea, and Gregory of Nazianzus, for such young men as were destined, by the wish of their families, to consecrate themselves to the service of the church, to visit the schools of general education, then flourishing at Athens, Alexandria, Constantinople, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Cæsarea in Palestine. Next, they passed some time in pursuing the study of the ancient literature, either with particular reference to their own improvement, or as rhetorical teachers in their native towns; until, by the course of their own meditations, or by some impression from without, a new direction, of more decided Christian seriousness, was given to their life. In this case, it now became their settled plan to consecrate their entire life to the service of the faith, and of the church; whether it was that they entered immediately into some one of the subordinate grades of the spiritual order, or that they preferred, in the first place, in silent retirement, by sober collection of thought, by the study of the Holy Scriptures, and of the older church-fathers, either in solitude or in some society of monks, to prepare themselves for the spiritual office. That previous discipline in general literature had, in one respect, a beneficial influence; inasmuch as it gave a scientific direction to their minds in theology,—freeing them from many limitations,—and thus fitted them also for more eminent usefulness as church teachers; as becomes evident when we compare the bishops so educated with others. But, on the other hand, the habits of style thus contracted, the vanity and fondness for display which were nourished in those rhetorical schools, had on many an influence unfavorable to the simplicity of the gospel, as may be seen, for example, after a manner not to be mistaken, in the case of Gregory of Nazianzus.

The cloisters, moreover, are to be reckoned in the Greek church, among the seminaries for educating the clergy; and, indeed, among those of a healthful influence; in so far as a practical Christian bent, a rich fund of Christian experience, and an intimate acquaintance with Holy Scripture, was to be acquired in them: but, on the other hand,

[1] Hence the Nestorian seminaries for the clergy were at the beginning particularly distinguished; as, for example, their school at Nisibis in Mesopotamia, which had a settled course of studies, and was divided into several classes. The teachers and students enjoyed special privileges in the Nestorian churches (see Assemani Bibl. Vat. T. III. P. 2, f. 927). The North-African bishop Junilius, about the middle of the sixth century, describes this school, in the preface to his work, de partibus divinæ legis, as one "where the Holy Scriptures were expounded by teachers publicly appointed, in the same manner as grammar and rhetoric were among the Romans." The well-known East-Gothic statesman and scholar Cassiodorus, who was troubled to find that in the West there were no public teachers of the right method of scriptural exposition, as there were of the right method of understanding the ancient authors, entered into an understanding with the Roman bishop Agapetus, that such a school should be founded at Rome; but the stormy times prevented the execution of that plan. See præfat. l I. de institutione div. Script.

it is true, also, that a certain narrowness of theological spirit was engendered in the cloisters, injurious in its influence on the education of church teachers, as may be perceived in the case of an Epiphanius; and those that received their education there were often at a loss how to adapt themselves to wider spheres of spiritual activity, especially when they were transferred at once to the great capital towns, as the example of Nestorius shows. The awkwardness of their movements, amid the intricate relations into which they were thrown, operated not seldom to hinder and disturb them in their labors.

An excellent seminary for the ecclesiastics, not merely of a single church, but of an entire province, was often the *clerus* of a pious and well-informed bishop. Young men, in this case, were first admitted into the body as church readers or copyists (lectores or excerptores); they were trained up under his eye, formed after his example, his counsels, his guidance; they availed themselves of his experience, and were thus introduced, under the most favorable auspices, into the field of practical labor. Many pious bishops, such as Augustin and Eusebius of Vercelli, endeavored, by drawing still closer the bond of union among their clergy, and inducing them to live together in common, to carry still further this disciplinary influence of theirs on the younger members of their order,— the first germ of the *canonical* life, afterwards so called.

We have already observed that, by the temporal advantages connected with the spiritual profession, many who had neither the inward call nor any other qualifications for this order, were led to aspire after church offices; so that, in fact, numbers became Christians solely with a view of obtaining some post in the church, and enjoying the emoluments therewith connected. Several synods of these times endeavored to suppress this abuse. Already the Nicene council, in its second canon, ordered that no one, after being instructed for a short time, and then baptized, should for the future, as had been done before, be ordained a presbyter or a bishop; for some time was necessary for the probation of a catechumen, and a still longer trial was requisite after baptism; and the council of Sardica, in its tenth canon, directed that if a person of wealth, or from the arena of the forum, wished to become a bishop, he should not attain to that office until he had gone through the functions of a reader, deacon, and presbyter, and spent sufficient time in each of these offices to make proof of his faith and temper. Yet these and similar laws availed but little to diminish the evil; as it ever proves true that abuses, grounded in the wrong character of general relations, are not to be fundamentally cured by single prohibitory laws, but only by the improvement of these general relations themselves. The confounding of spiritual and worldly things was the source of these abuses. Hence it happened that the spiritual offices presented so many attractions to those who would have been the last men to be drawn by the essential character of the spiritual calling itself; and hence, in the choice of candidates to spiritual offices, especially the most elevated, more attention was paid to every one of the others than to the spiritual qualifications. Men considered what they had to

expect, not so much from the spiritual qualifications of the candidate to care for the good of souls, as from his political influence to promote the external splendor of the church, the temporal well-being of the community.[1] As the source of these abuses continued ever to remain the same, these ecclesiastical laws were often enough violated; and in the Eastern church, the evil was increased by the disorders growing out of disputes on matters of doctrine. Greater strictness on this point prevailed, in the main, with individual exceptions, in the church of the West, where the Roman bishops took ground decidedly against the practice by which laymen were elevated at once from worldly professions of an altogether different character to the highest stations in the church.[2]

This method of appointment to spiritual offices was not only attended with the mischievous consequence that, by these means, when such offices came thus to be filled by men altogether unworthy of them, every sort of corruption was introduced into the church; but also, in the most favorable cases, when men having the inward call for the spiritual standing were chosen at once, from some entirely foreign circle of action, to spiritual offices, without any preparatory training, it was natural that such persons, owing to their want of an independent theological education, instead of guiding, by a clear theological consciousness, the existing ecclesiastical spirit of their time, instead of separating the true from the false in the existing church tradition, rather suffered themselves to be unconsciously borne along by the spirit of the church for the time being; and thus contributed, by their instruction and by their course of procedure, to confirm and give wider spread to those errors which had been transmitted from earlier times.

As regards the participation of the laity in the election to church offices, traces are still to be found in this period, of the share which the communities had once taken in this proceeding. It continued to be the prevailing form, that the bishop, in the first place, named to the community the persons whom he proposed as candidates to fill the vacant offices, and demanded if any one had aught to object to the choice; and, the acquiescence of the church being publicly expressed, an official instrument (gesta ecclesiastica) was drawn up accordingly. Through the preponderating influence of the bishops, this, it is true, might often be no more than a mere formality; but it was precisely in

[1] The abuses in the appointment to episcopal offices, the methods by which men of the most alien occupations and modes of life found their way into them, are set forth by Gregory of Nazianzus in the caricature description, of his carmen de episcopis, v. 156. He names *collectors of the tribute*, seamen, people who came from the plough and from the army. Although it is his object in this poem to expose the faults of the Eastern church in the most vivid light, yet his picture is assuredly not without truth. And the same writer says, in his remarkable farewell discourse before the church assembly at Constantinople, in the year 381 (Orat. 32, f. 526): "People at present are on the lookout, not for priests, but for rhetoricians; not for those who understand the cure of souls, but for those who are skilled in the management of funds; not for those who offer with a pure heart, but for powerful intercessors."

[2] Thus the Roman bishop Siricius, in his letter ad Gallos episcopos, declares himself very emphatically against the practice of elevating to episcopal offices, by the favor popularis, those qui, secularem adepti potestatem, jus seculi exercuerunt.

the case of appointments to the highest offices of the church that this influence still often proved to be greatest. Before the provincial bishops could introduce a regular choice according to the ecclesiastical laws, it sometimes happened that by the voice of the whole community, or of a powerful party in it, some individual, standing high in their confidence, was proclaimed bishop. But as, in the then existing state of the church, the most pious, and they who had a right conception of the essence of the spiritual office, and who had at heart the spiritual interests of the community, did not constitute the majority and the most powerful party; but rather, particularly in the more considerable towns, it was often those very persons with whom impure motives and a worldly interest mainly predominated, who, as the most reputable of the citizens, possessed the greatest influence; the elections, accordingly, which were made after this manner, were not always the best; and cases are to be met with in which bishops and ecclesiastics, who had at heart the true interests of the church, were brought into conflict with the boisterous demands of some popular party, governed by a bad influence.[1] This abuse of the influence of the communities in the choice of church officers furnished some good reason for restricting it.

Worldly interest, ambition, and the love of rule, frequently led bishops of the provincial towns, in the Eastern church, to aspire after the vacant bishoprics of the chief cities. Mischievous quarrels and disputes must often have arisen from this source, and the erroneous notion obtained, which was justly denounced by the emperor Constantine, that the large cities had greater claims than others to a bishop who was solicitous for the cure of souls.[2] Soon after the church in the East had become the dominant church of the state, it was deemed necessary to find some preventive against these abuses; but whatever measures were adopted, these, for the reasons already mentioned, proved of little avail. The council of Nice, in its fifteenth canon, for-

[1] Thus in the year 361, the popular party at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, supported by the garrison of the place, insisted on having for their bishop one of the civil magistrates, Eusebius, who had as yet not been baptized; and the provincial bishops, many of whom perhaps had a better man in mind, allowed themselves to be forced to ordain him. A similar schism arose again on the demise of Eusebius, in choosing his successor. Basilius possessed without doubt, so far as spiritual qualifications were concerned, the best claims to the office; but he was opposed by a party to whom his spiritual strictness and his purely spiritual mode of thinking were not acceptable. As Gregory of Nazianzus affirms (Orat. 20, f. 342), the most considerable persons of the province were against him, and these had the worst men of the city on their side. Gregory says (Orat. 19, f. 310) on this occasion, that the election ought to proceed particularly from the clergy and from the monks; but not from the most wealthy and powerful, or the blind impetuosity of the populace. In the negative part of his remark, he is undoubtedly in the right; but, with regard to the positive part, it may be questioned whether, if the whole choice was made to depend on the classes mentioned, other impure motives might not equally enter in. In the letter which Gregory of Nazianzus wrote, in the name of his father, to the collective inhabitants of Cæsarea, he spoke against those elections which were decided by combinations and clanships (*κατὰ φρατρείας καὶ συγγενείας*). As the ill health of Basil had been made use of as an objection to his appointment, he wrote to them that it became them to consider they were not choosing an *athlete*, but a spiritual teacher. See Gregor. Naz. ep. 18 (22), et 19 (23).

[2] See vit. Constant. III. 60.

bade the transfer, not only of bishops, but of presbyters and deacons, from one church to another, on account of the many disorders and schisms resulting from this practice, which, contrary to the laws of the church, prevailed in some districts. But although this law, which, in reference to the bishops, was sanctioned anew by the twentieth canon of the Antiochian council, A. D. 341, was adhered to in all cases where there was a particular interest that it should be; yet it was often enough violated in the Eastern church, and treated in the same way, in fact, as if it had no existence; as, indeed, we find that Gregory of Nazianzus, about the year 382, could reckon it among the laws *which had long been defunct*.[1] In the same period, on the other hand, the Roman bishop Damasus declared it — and, on the principles held by the Western church, very justly — a law of the fathers which had always been in force, that no officer ought to be transferred from one church to another, because it gave occasion for disputes and divisions.[2] True, it was for the most part ambition that led to the violation of this law of the church; but there were cases, too, where this measure might conduce to the best interests of the church; as, for example, when the peculiar gifts of an eminent individual, whose place of labor in some smaller town might be easily made good, were peculiarly needed in some wider field of action.

We remarked above, that the bishops were often under the necessity of interceding at the court in behalf of oppressed cities or individuals; but this description of labor would often furnish a pretext for worldly minded men, who preferred residing at court rather than with their flocks, and who more willingly busied themselves with secular than with spiritual matters, to absent themselves from their communities. This restless and meddlesome activity of the bishops beyond the limits of their calling, proved the source of many disorders in the Eastern church. To counteract the evil, the council of Antioch, in the year 341 (canon 11), ordained that every bishop, or ecclesiastic generally, who, without permission and a recommendatory letter on the part of the provincial bishops, and particularly of his metropolitan, presumed to visit the emperor, should be excommunicated from the church, and deposed from his office. Hosius, bishop of Cordova, complained at the council of Sardica, because the bishops repaired to the court so frequently, and often so unseasonably, with demands having no connection with their calling; leaving their dioceses, not, as it became them, to plead the cause of the poor and the widows, but for the purpose of securing places of honor and profit for this or that individual, and to manage for them their worldly concerns, — a practice which injured not a little the good name of the bishops, and which hindered them from speaking out with the same boldness where necessity called for it. Upon his motion it was resolved that in future, no bishop, unless he had been specially summoned by the emperor, should visit the court; but,—as it was the case that persons deserving compassion, who had been condemned for some offense to exile, to transportation, or to

[1] Πάλαι τεθνηκότας νόμους.

[2] See Damasi epistola IX. ad Ascholium Thessalonicensium episcopum, ed. Schoenemann, p. 369.

some other punishment, often took refuge in the church, and the latter must not refuse its aid to such individuals, — it was on his motion resolved that the bishops, in such cases, should transmit their petition in behalf of such offenders by the hands of a deacon, and that the metropolitan should assist him by letters of recommendation.

The foundation having been already laid in the preceding period for distinguishing the bishops above the presbyters, and for gradually maturing the monarchical power of the episcopacy, this relation was carried out still further, according to the same principles, in the present period. Men were accustomed, indeed, already, to consider the bishops as the successors of the apostles, as the necessary intermediate links of connection between the church and the original apostolic foundation, through whom the influences of the Holy Spirit were to be transmitted to all the other grades of the *clerus*, the latter being organs for their wider diffusion. It followed as a natural consequence from this idea, that the bishops alone could impart spiritual ordination. Again, it was in the Western church considered as the distinctive mark of the bishops, that they alone were empowered to administer the rite of *confirmation* (σφραγὶς, signaculum),— (see vol. I., section III., p. 316). Hence at certain periods they visited the different parts of their dioceses, for the purpose of imparting this seal to those who had been baptized by their presbyters.[1] It was held that they alone could consecrate the holy oil, used in the rite of baptism ; and that the presbyters could not, unless empowered by them, even bestow absolution.[2] Yet a Chrysostom and a Jerome still asserted the primitive equal dignity of the presbyters and the bishops ; very justly believing that they found authority for this in the New Testament.[3]

As, from the idea of the bishops considered as the successors of the apostles, everything else pertaining to the primacy of these over the presbyters followed as a matter of course ; so, from the idea of the priesthood, necessarily proceeded the distinction of the presbyters above the deacons. The deacons continued, in the main, to be the same as they were in the preceding period ; they attended on the bishops and the presbyters, while performing their official functions, and they had various liturgical services of their own. It devolved on them to recite the church prayers, and to give the signal for the commencement of the different portions of divine service. In the Western churches, the gospels, as containing our Lord's discourses, were distinguished from the other selections of Scripture, in that they were read, not by the prelectors, but by the deacons, at the

[1] See Hieronym. adv. Lucif. T. IV. f. 295, ed. Martianay. Qui in castellis aut in remotioribus locis per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, *quam ab episcopis inviserentur*.

[2] Ut, sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi. Comp. Innocentii I. epistola ad Decentium, § 6. Codex canonum ecclesiæ Africanæ, canon. 6, et 7 : Chrismatis confectio et puellarum consecratio a presbyteris non fiat, vel reconciliare quemquam in publica missa presbytero non licere.

[3] See Chrysostom. Hom. XI. on Timoth. at the beginning. Jerome in his commentary on the Epistle to Titus, and ep. 101 ad Evangelum : Quid facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat : where perhaps he only had in mind the usage of the East.

public worship.[1] The office of deacons having been rightly derived from those seven deacons appointed by the apostles at Jerusalem, it was held, through a superstitious notion of the unchangeableness of the form, that even in large churches there should be but seven deacons; and hence, in large cities, the great number of presbyters singularly contrasted with the small number of deacons.[2] Later, it came about in large cities that the original number was greatly exceeded, so that in the sixth century, in the time of the emperor Justinian, the principal church in Constantinople could count a *hundred deacons;*[3] and it was now attempted to obviate the objection that this was a deviation from the apostolic usage, by maintaining that the deacons of this period ought not to be compared with those of the apostolic institution. The latter were only a temporary order, designed for the dispensation of alms to the poor; and, in support of this view, an argument, on an insufficient basis, was drawn from the changes which, since those times, had taken place in the business of the deacons, and in the management of the church funds.[4]

Although the *deacons*, according to the original institution, were to occupy a position far below that of the presbyters, yet it so happened in many districts that they sought to exalt themselves above the latter,[5] and it became necessary for the synods to make laws by which they should be once more confined within the appropriate bounds of their order.[6] The reason of this was not, as Jerome [7] supposes, that the deacons, being fewer in number, were, like other rare things, more highly esteemed; but rather because, owing to their closer connection with the bishops, they enjoyed special regard as the confidential agents of the latter. Hence, this was particularly the case with the *archdeacons*, who stood at the head of the order, just as the arch-presbyters stood at the head of the presbyters; for, as the former were often employed by the bishops as their deputies and plenipotentiaries, they thus obtained a predominant influence, which, doubtless, under weak bishops, they sometimes abused.[8]

The institution of *deaconesses* had, as we remarked in speaking of the origin of this office in the preceding period, its special reason in the circumstances of those times. When these circumstances changed, the office would also lose its significance. Originally the deaconesses were looked upon as the female part of the *clerus;* and ordination

[1] See Hieronym. ep. 93 ad Sabinian. vol. IV. f. 758. Concil. II. Vasense (at Vaison) 529, canon 2.

[2] See Euseb. H. E. VI. 43. Hieronymus, ep. 146 or 101 ad Evangelum: Diaconos paucitas honorabiles facit. The order of the council of Neocæsarea, c. 15, that even in large towns not more than seven deacons should be appointed.

[3] See Justinian. Novell. I. I. N. III.

[4] See Chrysostom, H. 14, act. ap. and Concil. Trullan. II. can. 16.

[5] Jerome, for instance, complains of this, particularly in reference to the Roman church, ep. 145 ad Evangelum.

[6] Concil. Nic. c. 18, and Concil. Laodicen. c. 25.

[7] L. c.

[8] Thus Isidorus of Pelusium objects to a certain Lucius of Pelusium, an archdeacon, that, by his wicked arts, he kept the bishop, who blindly followed him (*τὸν πειθόμενόν σοι ἀκρίτως ἐπίσκοπον*), in the dark; that he made traffic of ordination. He calls here the deacons, *ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπισκόπου;* the archdeacon should therefore *ὅλος ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπάρχειν*. Isidor. Pelusiot. l. IV. ep. 188.

was given them for the purpose of consecrating them to their office, in the same sense as it was given to the other clergy.[1] The Nicene council seems still to have recognized this also to be right.[2] But now, when exaggerated notions about the magical effects of ordination and the dignity of the clerical order became continually more predominant, men began to conceive something offensive in the practice of ordaining deaconesses, and associating them with the *clerus* — which practice was, perhaps, already forbidden by the council of Laodicea in their eleventh canon.[3] The Western church, in particular, declared very strongly against this custom.[4] Western synods of the fifth and sixth centuries forbade generally the appointment of deaconesses. Where ordained deaconesses were still to be found, it was ordered that they

[1] We see this from Tertullian. ad uxorem, l. I. c. VII. viduam *allegi in ordinem*. Also the apostolic constitutions still know of no difference between the ordination of deaconesses and other clerical ordinations. The ordinary prayer of the bishop should, according to the same authority, l. VIII. c. 20, run thus: "Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of man and of woman; thou who didst fill with thy Spirit Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, and Huldah; thou who didst vouchsafe to a woman the birth of thy only begotten Son; thou who didst, in the tabernacle and in the temple, place female keepers of thy holy gates; — look down now also upon this thy handmaid, and bestow on her the Holy Ghost, that she may worthily perform the work committed to her, to thy honor, and to the glory of Christ."

[2] Connected with this matter is the obscure passage in the 19th canon of this council, where, moreover, the reading is disputed. The subject of discourse in this canon relates to the *Samosatenean* clergy, who, if they joined the Catholic church, and were found qualified and able, were to be permitted to retain their places; and it is then added, according to the common reading, "The same rule shall hold good with regard to the *deaconesses;*" and it is accordingly presupposed that the latter belonged to the spiritual order. Shortly afterwards, from the proper deaconesses are distinguished the (*abusivè*) so-called widows, who, *as they had not received the χειροθεσία, belonged generally to the laity*. According to this, the proper deaconesses received clerical ordination. Following the other reading, it would in the first place run as follows: "The same rule shall hold good with respect to the *deacons*." And in this case, what comes after would relate to the proper deaconesses; and it would follow from this, that they had received no ordination whatever, and were reckoned with the laity. The whole connection, however, seems chiefly to favor the first reading; for it is difficult to see any reason why, after the whole body of the clergy had been mentioned in general, anything should now be said with regard to the deacons in particular.

[3] This canon is likewise of doubtful interpretation: Μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβύτιδας ἤτοι προκαθημένας ἐν ἐκκλεσίᾳ καθίστασθαι. It may be, that the canon had no reference whatever to deaconesses generally, but only to the oldest of them, who, according to Epiphanius (hæres. 79), were styled distinctively, πρεσβύτιδες. The phrase, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, might then be connected either with the preceding or with the following word, and the passage explained thus: "As the oldest of the deaconesses have arrogated to themselves a special authority over the female portion of the church, the synod forbids the appointment of such." But since it was required generally, according to the ancient rule, that the deaconesses should be sixty years old, and since they were the presiding officers over the female part of the community, nothing forbids us to suppose that the name stands for the *deaconesses generally*. Now, if we suppose, what to be sure is not impossible, that the synod forbade the appointment of deaconesses generally, then this would conflict with the usage of the Greek church during this whole period. Or we might lay a particular emphasis on the phrase ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, and, connecting it with the word that follows, understand the sense to be, that *ecclesiastical consecration* or *ordination* only was forbidden to the deaconesses. The *article* in the passage would favor this last explanation.

[4] Hilarius (called the Ambrosiast) says of the Montanists: Etiam ipsas diaconas ordinari debere vana præsumptione defendunt. But the Montanists adhered in this case simply to the ancient usage of the church; for, as to the rest, they, too, followed the general rule which excluded women from speaking publicly before the church.

should in future receive the blessing of the bishop along with the laity — another proof that before this they were reckoned as belonging to the clergy.[1] Those prohibitions came, however, only from French synods; and it cannot be inferred from them that the appointment of deaconesses in the Western church ceased at once, and in all the districts alike. In the East, the deaconesses maintained a certain kind of authority for a longer period. We find among them widows possessed of property, who devoted their substance to pious works and institutions; like Olympias, known on account of her connection with Chrysostom. They there had it in charge also, by private instruction, to prepare the women in the country for baptism, and to be present at their baptism.[2] It was considered the privilege of the wives of bishops, who, by common understanding, separated from their husbands after the latter had bound themselves to a life of celibacy, that, if found worthy, they might be consecrated as deaconesses;[3] and thus the female church-office continued to be preserved in the East down into the twelfth century.

Without any change in the grades of the clerical order hitherto existing, to the church-offices already established, many new ones, of greater or less importance, were added, which had been rendered necessary in part by the great increase of ecclesiastical business in large towns. As the chief wealth of the churches consisted in landed estates, and the care of improving and farming these estates required much labor and attention, the management of these matters was specially intrusted to one of the clergy, under the name of "steward" (οἰκονόμος),[4] and this officer obtained by degrees the supervision generally over the income and expenditures of the church. This method of procedure was not, however, everywhere followed alike; and, for this reason, the council of Chalcedon directed, in its 25th canon, that all bishops should appoint such "stewards," who, intrusted under their authority with the management of the church revenues, could be witnesses of the manner in which they were administered. Thus the malappropriation of the property of the churches by the bishops, as well as the suspicion of any such thing, was to be provided against. But, inasmuch as the management of property, and the protection of the poor who were supported by the church, might sometimes lead to lawsuits; and inasmuch as the conducting of such suits did not seem com-

[1] The first council of Orange (Arausicanum), in the year 441, c. 26. Diaconæ omnimodis non ordinandæ: si quæ jam sunt, benedictioni, quæ populo impenditur, capita submittant. So, too, the council of Epaon, in the year 517, c. 21; the second council of Orleans, in the year 533, c. 18. Yet this council attributed to such an ordination a certain validity; since, in its 17th canon, it directed that the ordained deaconesses who had remarried, should be excluded from the fellowship of the church.

[2] See Pelagius on Romans 16: 1. This custom must have existed also in other places besides the East; for in a collection of *Western*, perhaps North African, church ordinances, which are wrongly quoted as coming from a fourth council of Carthage, a canon (c. 12) occurs: Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore, quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant et qualiter accepto baptismate vivant.

[3] Concil. Trull. s. Const. II. 692, canon 48.

[4] Vid. Basil. Cæsar. ep. 285 and 237.

patible with the standing of the clergy, and they were wanting, moreover, in the requisite legal knowledge; the expedient was finally adopted, that the church, like other corporations, should have, for the management of its affairs, a person skilled in the law, who should always stand prepared to defend its rights. This individual was called the ἔκδικος, defensor.[1]

Again, the drawing-up of the protocols, or reports of the public acts of the church (the gesta ecclesiastica), which were prepared with great exactness, rendered necessary the appointment of trustworthy secretaries, familiar with short-hand writing, out of the body of the clergy (the notarii, exceptores). The choice in this case, as in that of the prelectors, was made, by many of the churches, out of the class of young men who were to be trained up for the service of the church.[2]

As we observed in the preceding period, the spirit of Christian charity and tenderness was shown, from the first, in the care of providing for the sick, and in the attention bestowed on the burial of the dead. Yet perhaps no particular church offices were, till now, instituted with reference to these objects: it had been a voluntary work of Christian love.[3] But, as in this period general hospitals had been established under the direction of the churches, it became necessary that particular individuals should be appointed in the churches to take care of the sick. They were called *Parabolani*.[4] At Alexandria they formed, in the fifth century, a distinct order or guild, which might legally consist of *six hundred* members. But, it must be admitted, the same abuse seems to have crept in here which infected so many of the institutions of the churches in the principal cities. Wealthy citizens, who of course kept aloof from actual attendance on the sick, obtained admittance into this guild, merely for the sake of enjoying the exemptions to which it was entitled; and the ambitious prelates of Alexandria sought, by the multitude of these *Parabolani*, to form around them a body of men devoted to their interests, whom they could employ for purposes which were not always the purest. Hence it became necessary to provide by civil statues against the abuses to which this institution was liable.[5]

The burial of the dead was also committed to the care of a particu-

[1] The council of Carthage, of the year 401, resolved to petition the emperor, that persons might be assigned to the churches, with the approbation of the bishops, who should be prepared to defend the poor against the oppressions of the rich. See canon 10, in the Cod. canon. eccles. Afr. c. 75; the council of Carthage, in the year 407, c. 3, Cod. Afr. c. 97, ut dent facultatem defensores constituendi scholasticos (advocates). Which was granted: see Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. II. l. 38; comp. Possid. vit. Augustin. c. 12. Different from these defensores were the stewards and agents of the bishops, occurring under the same name in the Roman church. These latter the bishops chose from their clergy; and they are frequently mentioned in the letters of Gregory the Great.

[2] Epiphanius, afterwards bishop of Ticinum (Pavia), in the fifth century, after having been prelector when eight years of age, was admitted, as soon as he had made some proficiency in the art of short-hand writing, among the exceptores of the church. See his life by Ennodius.

[3] In respect to burial, comp. Cyprian's behavior during the pestilence, vol. I. sect. I.

[4] Parabolani, from the Greek παραβάλλεσθαι τὴν ζωὴν, ψυχὴν, since these people, in cases of contagious disease, exposed their lives to danger.

[5] Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. II. l. 42, 43.

lar class of men, retained in the service of the church (the κοπιάται, copiatæ, fossores [1]).

In respect to the constitution of the episcopal dioceses, the country bishops (χωρεπίσκοποι), (see vol. I. p. 202), who probably had their origin in very early times, first appear in conflict with the city bishops in the fourth century. The former name was borne by such as presided over the church of a principal village, and to whom a certain number of village churches, which had their own presbyters or pastors, were subjected.[2] As the episcopal system connected with the city churches had at so early a period become already matured, this system would now, as a matter of course, be extended also to the relation of the churches subordinated to the rural or chor-bishops; and these latter themselves provoked the restriction of their power by the abuse which they made of it.[3] By synods of the fourth century it was settled that the chor-bishops should only have power to nominate and ordain without consulting the city bishop, ecclesiastics of the lower grade.[4]

The council of Sardica, and the council of Laodicea, at length forbade wholly the *appointment of chor-bishops*. The former, indeed, prohibited the appointment of bishops in those smaller towns where one presbyter would suffice as presiding officer over the church. The reason given for this ordinance was one which grew out of a perverted hierarchical pride; namely, "*that the name and the authority of the bishop should not be degraded.*" [5] The council of Laodicea ordained moreover, that in place of the country bishops, *visitors* (περιοδεῦται) should be appointed; that is, probably, that the bishops should nominate certain presbyters of their own clergy to made visitations of the country churches in their name; and thus, in respect to general oversight and other business, to supply the place of the chor-bishops.[6] Yet

[1] Vid. Hieronymi ep. 17 ad Innocent. Clerici, quibus id officii erat, cruentum linteo cadaver obvolvunt (of one who had been executed), etc. Cod. Theodos. l. XIII. Tit. I. l. 1, and l. XVI. Tit. II. l. 15.

[2] Such a circle of village churches under a chor-bishop, was called a συμμορία. Οἱ προστησάμενοι τῆς συμμορίας. Basil. ep. 290, and ep. 142. The several places subordinate to the episcopal main village were denominated ἀγροὶ ὑποκείμενοι or ὑποτελοῦντες τῷ . . . Basil. ep. 188, or canonica I. canon 10.

[3] Basil of Cæsarea learned that his chor-bishops had received into the service of the church many unworthy men, who were only seeking to escape the military service by procuring themselves to be ordained as ecclesiastics. For this reason he required them to send him an accurate list of all the ecclesiastics in their dioceses, and directed them to ordain no one for the future without informing and consulting him. He asserted, however, that this had been the ancient usage. Basil. ep. 54.

[4] See the 13th canon of the council of Ancyra. Concil. Antiochen. canon. 9. The council of Laodicea directed, indeed, in its 57th canon, that they should have power to do nothing without consulting the city bishop.

[5] Concil. Laodicen. c. 57. Concil. Sardic. c. 6.

[6] The word περιοδεύειν is employed to denote those tours of visitation which the bishops, accompanied by a number of clergy and laity, made through the several parts of their dioceses. Athanas. Apolog. c. Arianos, § 74, according to ed. Patav. T. I. P. I. f. 151, a. We might accordingly suppose that those presbyters whom the bishops empowered, in their stead, to make such tours of visitation in particular portions of their dioceses, would be designated with the name περιοδεῦται. Accordingly, such occur in the times of the Diocletian persecution, who, during the absence of the captured Egyptian bishops, were invested with full powers to make the visitations in their dioceses. The bishops say: Multi euntes et redeuntes ad nos, qui poterant visitare. See the letter of the Egyptian bishops to Meletius, in Maffei Osservazioni letterarie, T. III. p. 15. At the same time, the notion of a person travelling about as a visitor, is by no means necessa-

chor-bishops are still to be met with, at later periods, in the churches of Syria, and in the West.

But the practice became continually more general of substituting, in the place of the chor-bishops, presbyters placed by the city bishops over the country churches, which presbyters stood in a relation of more immediate dependence on the latter.[1]

In respect to the city churches, it was absolutely necessary, it is true, in this period, that, besides the old episcopal and principal church, other churches should be founded; in which, since all could not be conveniently accommodated with room in the principal church, the portions of the community dwelling at a distance might hold their assemblies on Sundays and feast-days. Still it was by no means as yet a general regulation that in the cities, as in the country, separate filial communities arose under the supervision of the episcopal head-church. Epiphanius cites it as a peculiarity of the Alexandrian church, that there, on account of the wants of the inhabitants, different churches under particular presbyters, as parish clergymen, were founded, to which the residents in adjacent streets belonged.[2] At Constantinople, each church had also its own particular clergy. The founders of churches determined, at the same time, the number of clergy for them, and the proportional amount of revenue. The three filial churches of the mother church at Constantinople formed here the only exception; these had no separate body of clergy; but a certain number taken interchangeably, according to a certain routine, from the clerus of the principal church, were sent on Sundays and feast-days to conduct the public worship in these churches. We are not warranted, however, from this fact, to determine anything as to the regulations of the other churches in this great capital.[3] At Rome the relation of *all* the other churches to the episcopal head church seems to have been very nearly like the relation of those three filial churches to the head church at Constantinople; but perhaps with this difference, that though all the clergy were incorporated with the clerus of the episcopal head church, yet they did not conduct the public worship in the other churches by

rily implied in the term *περιοδεύτης*. It might also signify simply an *inspector*, who, the name only being changed, was the same as the chor-bishop before him; for *περιοδεύειν, περιοδεύτης*, are terms which sometimes occur in the sense, to attend upon, to heal, physician. See the Homily, erroneously ascribed to Athanasius, in cœcum, § 9 and § 12. The former signification is, however, the more probable one. The predicate *περιοδεύτης* is given to a presbyter: Σέργιος *πρεσβύτερος καὶ περιοδεύτης*, in the acts of the council under the Patriarch Mennas, at Constantinople, in the year 536 actio I.

[1] The term *παροικία* denoted originally each church: *Ἐκκλησία ἡ παροικοῦσα*, Euseb. III. 28, subsequently the greater divisions of the church, which in the political phraseology were denominated *διοικήσεις*, Basil. ep. 66; so also a smaller ecclesiastical whole, the city church, with its filial country communities; and finally the country communities in particular, Basil. ep. 206 and 240. Hence the Latin Parœcia, Parochia, Presbyter regens parochiam, Sulpic. Sever. dial. l. I. c. 8. And hence Parochus.

[2] Hæres. 29, Arian. *Ὅσαι ἐκκλησίαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὸ ἕνα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον οὖσαι· καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ταύταις ἐπιτεταγμένοι εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας τῶν οἰκητόρων, πλησίων ἑκάστης αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμφοδῶν ἤτοι λαβρῶν ἐπιχωρίως καλουμένων.*

[3] Justinian. I. T. III. Novell. III. *Οὐκ ἰδιάζοντας κληρικοὺς, οὐδὲ εἰς τούτων ἔχει τῶν τριῶν οἴκων, κοινοὶ δέ εἰσι τῆς τε ἁγιοτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους ἅπαντες περινοστοῦντες κατά τινα περίοδον καὶ κύκλον, τὰς λειτουργίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦνται.*

turns; but its own particular presbyter was constantly assigned to each one of these churches (tituli).[1] The Roman presbyters, who conducted the public worship in the filial churches had not, however, the right of consecrating the holy supper; but bread which had been consecrated by the bishop was sent to them from the principal church: this they simply distributed,[2] — the holy symbol serving at the same time to denote the unbroken ecclesiastical bond between them and the bishop of the principal church.

The *metropolitan constitution* which we saw growing up in the preceding period, became in this more generally diffused and more perfectly matured and consolidated. On the one hand, to the metropolitans was conceded the superintendence over all ecclesiastical affairs of the province to which their metropolis belonged; it was decided that they should convoke the assemblies of provincial bishops, and preside over their deliberations; but, on the other hand, their relation to the entire *collegium* of the provincial bishops, and to the individuals composing it, were also more strictly defined, so as to prevent any arbitrary extension of their power, and to establish on a secure footing the independence of all the other bishops in the exercise of their functions. For this reason, the provincial synods, which were bound to assemble twice in each year, as the highest ecclesiastical tribunal for the whole province, were to assist the metropolitans in determining all questions relating to the general affairs of the church; and without their participation, the former were to be held incompetent to undertake any business relating to matters of general concern. Each bishop was to be independent in the administration of his own particular diocese, although he could be arraigned before the tribunal of the provincial synods for ecclesiastical or moral delinquencies. No choice of a bishop could possess validity without the concurrence of the metropolitan: he was to conduct the ordination; yet not alone, but with the assistance of at least *two* other bishops; and all the bishops of the province were to be present at the ordination of the metropolitan.

We noticed already, in the preceding period, that the churches in some of the larger capital cities of entire great divisions of the Roman empire, from which cities also Christianity had extended itself in wider circles, had attained to a certain preëminence and peculiar dignity in the estimation of Christians. This, by force of custom, passed over also into the present period; yet without any distinct expression, at

[1] That the presbyters of the filial churches at Rome did not quit their connection with the clerus of the principal church, seems to follow from the words of the Roman bishop Innocent in his letter to the bishop Decentius of the year 416, § 8: Quarum (ecclesiarum) presbyteri, quia *die ipso*, propter plebem sibi creditam, nobiscum convenire non possunt (where seem to be understood the words, — sicuti cæteris diebus nobiscum conveniunt), as also in the words, — ut se a nostra communione, maxime illo die, non judicent separatos. But that the presbyters were usually appointed, in the case of these filial churches, to minister for some considerable length of time, seems evident from the designation of a church of this sort at Rome: Ἔνθα Θέιτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος συνῆγεν (the church where he was accustomed to conduct the worship). Athanas. Apolog. c. Arian. § 20.

[2] In the above-cited passages from the letter of Innocent: Fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt.

first, of the views of the church on that point. The council of Nice, in its sixth canon, which, by its vague, indeterminate language, gave occasion for many disputes, was the first to attempt to settle some definite rule on this point, particularly with reference to the *Alexandrian* church; having been led to do this, perhaps, by occasion of the Meletian controversies in Egypt. It is here said: "Let the ancient custom which has prevailed in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the bishop of Alexandria should have authority over all these places, be still maintained; since this is the custom also with the Roman bishop. In like manner, at Antioch, and in the other provinces, the churches shall retain their ancient prerogatives."[1] Afterwards, this canon goes on to speak of the rights of the metropolitans generally; from which, however, we are not to infer that the bishops first named were placed in the same class with all the other metropolitans: on the contrary they are cited as metropolitans of higher rank, though nothing was yet definitely said respecting their precise relation to the other metropolitans. As in the provinces here named, which were to be subordinate to the Alexandrian church, there were also particular metropolitans, it is plainly evident that some higher rank must have been intended, in this case, than that which was attributed to the ordinary metropolitan. The whole relation having been in the first place of political origin, it was designated at first by a name borrowed from the political administration of the empire. As the magistrates that presided over the political administration in these main divisions of the Roman empire were denominated *Exarchs* (ἔξαρχοι), this appellation was transferred also to those who presided over the ecclesiastical government.[2] Subsequently, choice was made of the more ecclesiastical name of *Patriarchs*.[3] Originally, it was the churches of the three great capital cities of the Roman empire, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, which held this prominent rank. In these churches, which were

[1] Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

[2] See Concil. Chalc. canon 9: Ὁ ἔξαρχος, or ὁ ἔπαεχος τῆς διοικήσεως, and canon 16. Doubtless many eminent bishops were then still reckoned among the exarchs, who subsequently were not recognized as patriarchs.

[3] This name occurs first at the council of Constantinople, in the year 381, in an application somewhat different from that which it afterwards received. When, in consequence of the preceding controversies concerning doctrines, many schisms arose in the Eastern church, and it became necessary to correct various disorders, it was determined, for the sake of restoring unanimity and order in the church, to appoint — besides the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, who were already, through their churches, possessed of a peculiar precedence of rank — certain individual bishops that had acquired this distinction by virtue of their personal character; and these were intrusted with a supervisory power over several dioceses and provinces of the Roman empire, — as Asia Minor, Pontus, and Cappadocia, — under the name of *Patriarchs*. In particular, it was decided that none but such as stood on terms of church fellowship with these individuals should share in the common rights of the Catholic church (see Cod. Theodos. l. XVI. Tit. 1. l. 3. Socrat. Hist. V. 8). To this arrangement, and the quarrel among the bishops which sprung out of it, Gregory of Nazianzus alludes in his carmen de episcopis, v. 797, where he says to the bishops: ὑρόνους μὲν ἔχοιτε καὶ τυραννίδας | ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρῶτα ταῦθ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ· | χαίροιτε, ὑβρίζοιτε, πατριαρχίας | κληροῦσθε· κόσμος ὑμῖν εἰκέτω μέγας.

regarded, moreover, as ecclesiæ apostolicæ, ecclesiastical and political considerations were conjoined. But to these there was now added another church, which had in its favor neither antiquity of political nor of ecclesiastical dignity; while many churches which were subordinated to it, as for instance the church of Ephesus, had precedence over it, as by ecclesiastical character, so by its political relation in the ancient constitution of the Roman empire. When the city of Byzantium, which in earlier times was itself subordinate to the metropolis at Heraclea in Thrace, became, under the name of Constantinople, the seat of government for the whole of the Roman empire in the East, and the second capital of the entire Roman world, it was necessary that its church also should be distinguished as the church of the second imperial residence, and should receive the rank of a patriarchate. Accordingly the second œcumenical council of Constantinople directed already in 381, in its third canon, that the bishop of Constantinople should take rank next after the Roman bishop, since Constantinople was New Rome;[1] and the council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), in its last canon but one, confirmed this decree, with the following noticeable comparison between the church of the ancient and that of the new Rome: "*The fathers rightly conceded that rank to the episcopate of ancient Rome, because Rome was the mistress city;*" and following out the same principle, the fathers of this council of Constantinople attributed equal rank to the episcopate of the new Rome, because they rightly judged that the city which was the seat of the imperial government and of the senate, enjoyed equal dignity with ancient Rome, had the same precedence in ecclesiastical affairs, and must take the second place after the latter; so that the bishop of Constantinople ought to ordain the metropolitans of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia Minor, and Thrace, and also the collective bishops of the barbarian tribes within those dioceses. Finally, after many disputes with the church of Antioch, there was added still the fifth patriarchate, of a church distinguished simply in a spiritual respect, enjoying originally not even the rank of a metropolis, the patriarchate of Jerusalem.[2]

This division of the whole Roman church jurisdiction into four or five patriarchates, intimately connected as it was, in part, with the political constitution of the Roman empire, would naturally have respect, in the first place, to those churches only which lay within the bounds of the Roman empire; although it naturally exerted some indirect influence also on those churches without the empire, which had been planted by the churches within it. But it did not apply in the same sense, and in the same way, even to all those parts which belonged to the empire. A peculiar spirit of freedom distinguished, from the earliest times, the church of North Africa. The church at Carthage had, it is true, enjoyed by custom particular consideration as the church of the principal city of North Africa; her bishop presided in all the general assemblies of the North African church;[3] yet

[1] Ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.

[2] Concil. Chalc. act. VII.

[3] Concilia plenaria Africæ.

he by no means stood in the same relation to the bishops of the other five North African churches, as the patriarchs did to the bishops of their greater church dioceses; and even the bishop of Rome did not properly possess the authority of a patriarch in the North African church. This church, in a council at Hipporegius (now Bona in the district of Algiers), A. D. 393, protested expressly against such a title as the patriarchs bore in other countries, and would recognize the validity of no other title than that of bishop of the first church.[1]

This patriarchal constitution served to unite the great divisions of the church in the Roman empire in one closely cohering organism, and thereby to introduce more unity and order into all the affairs of the church. But a unity of this kind, produced merely from without, is not suited to the spirit of Christianity, which requires a free outward development of its characteristics from within; and it could only operate as a hindrance and a limitation. The history of the church in the fifth century, in particular, teaches how oppressive the despotism of the patriarchs at Alexandria and at Antioch sometimes became. If such an external unity is to be consistently carried through, one head must be placed over the whole. Four or five coördinate heads will soon fall into strife with each other, and that which was to result in unity must become the source of contentions and schisms. So it happened in the Greek church of this period. How much of impure, worldly interest became diffused in the church, through the eager thirst and strife of the bishops for precedence of rank; what mischievous disputes sprang out of the mutual jealousies of the patriarchs, — particularly the jealousies of the patriarchs of Alexandria towards the patriarchs of Constantinople! This state of things contributed to check the oppositions of the different tendencies of the dogmatic spirit in their free evolution, and to intermingle with them worldly and party passions; so that, by the impure motives which made use of the doctrinal interest as a pretext, this interest itself was smothered. Very justly could Gregory of Nazianzus say, as he did at Constantinople, in 380, when lamenting over the evils of the church, which he had learned from his own experience: "Would to Heaven there were no primacy, no eminence of place, and no tyrannical precedence of rank; that we might be known by eminence of virtue alone! But, as the case now stands, the distinction of a seat at the right hand or the left, or in the middle; at a higher or a lower place; of going before or aside of each other, has given rise to many disorders among us, to no salutary purpose whatever, and plunged multitudes in ruin."[2]

The principle of *outward* unity would of necessity be seeking to bring the five heads under one sole head of the church, — could only be satisfied with the monarchical form, as it afterwards turned out in the perfected primacy of the Roman church. But in reference to this church, regard must be had to two different points of view; *the Roman bishop considered as one of those four patriarchs* in his relation to the

[1] Canon 39, in Cod. Canon. eccles. Afr. Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos (ἔξαρχος τῶν ἱερῶν), aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus.

[2] Orat. 28, f. 484.

more extended church jurisdiction which was subordinate to the Roman church in an especial manner; *and the Roman bishop in his relation to the entire church*, or *particularly to that of the West*. As it respects the first: it is to this the above-cited sixth canon of the Nicene council has reference; and probably Rufinus[1] gives, in this case, the most correct explanation of the matter, when he expounds this canon as implying that the diocese of the Roman bishop embraced the whole circle or district which belonged to the administration of the vicarius urbis Romæ (the provincias suburbicarias, i. e., the major part of middle Italy; all lower Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica[2]). Add to this, that the Roman church had become possessed, by donations and legacies, of many landed estates lying without these limits, which gave her opportunity of knitting firmly to her interests many influential connections. Again, as the whole constitution of the church in the Roman empire hung closely connected with the political constitution, the Roman church necessarily possessed *this* advantage over all the patriarchal churches,—that it was the church of the ancient capital of the Roman empire. This politico-ecclesiastical point of view was always made of prominent importance by the Orientals, as is shown in the above-cited decrees of the Constantinopolitan and of the Chalcedonian councils. Theodoretus, bishop of Cyros, says, in a letter in which he solicited the aid of the Roman bishop, Leo the Great,[3] that everything conspired to give the church of Rome the primacy: those advantages which, in other cases, were found distributed among different churches, and whatever distinguishes a city, either in a political or in a spiritual respect, were here conjoined; — and he then proceeds to notice first the political superiority. Rome was the largest, the most splendid, the most populous city: from her proceeded the existing magisterial power; from her the whole empire took its name. Finally, the great distinction of the Roman church, in respect to religion, was, that she had been honored by the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul, and possessed their tombs, which were objects of reverence also to the East.[4] All this taken together might create even among the Orientals a peculiar veneration for the Roman church.

With the people of the West, all this was made to rest on such dogmatic grounds as converted it into something entirely different. We observed already, in the preceding period, how, from confounding the ideas of the visible and the invisible church, from the notion of a necessary outward unity of the church, the idea had there sprung up of an uninterrupted outward representation of this unity, necessarily existing at all times; and how this idea had been transferred to the cathedra Petri in the Roman church. This idea, handed down, in its

[1] Rufin. I. 5, *ut suburbicariarum* ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat.

[2] See Notitia Dignitatum imperii Romani, sectio 45, and the letter of the council of Sardica to the Roman bishop Julius, § 5. Ut per tua scripta qui in *Sicilia*, qui in *Sardinia*, et in *Italia*, sunt fratres nostri, quæ acta sunt cognoscant.

[3] Ep. 113.

[4] Theodoretus, in the letter above referred to, expresses himself on this subject as follows: Ἔχει καὶ τῶν κοινῶν πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων τῆς ἀληθείας, Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, τὰς ϑήκας, τῶν πιστῶν τὰς ψυχὰς φωτιζούσας. So an illuminating influence, which issued from their proximity.

yet vague and unsettled shape, to the present period, in connection with its root, the false and grossly conceived Old Testament view of the Theocracy, contains within it the entire germ of the papacy, which needed nothing more than to unfold itself, under favorable circumstances, in the congenial soil of the spirit of an age in which the confusion of the outward form with the inner essence became continually more inveterate.

As in the former period, so also in this, it is especially the North African church in which we see this principle expressed; which is not to be understood as though this church, in holding to this principle of external unity, had distinguished herself from other Western churches. It merely belongs to the peculiar character of this church, that, as the dogmatic and systematic spirit here prevailed, and as what unconsciously animated the life of the Western church was expressed and unfolded by her with dogmatic consciousness, so she gave a form of this kind for the manifestation of the principle of church unity. Optatus of Mileve, who wrote in the last half of the fourth century, represents the Apostle Peter as the head of the apostles, — as the representative of the unity of the church and of the apostolic power, who alone had received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, for the purpose of giving them to the others. He finds it worthy of remark, that Peter, notwithstanding that he had denied Christ, yet continued to hold this relation to the rest of the apostles, so that the objective side of the unity of the church, which was thus incapable of being invalidated by any human fault, appears in its unchangeable constancy. In the Roman church he perceives the indestructible cathedra Petri. This stands in the same relation to the other episcopal churches as the Apostle Peter stood to the rest of the apostles. The Roman church represents the one visible church, the one episcopate.[1] There was one apostolic power in Peter, from which the apostolic powers of the others issued forth, as it were, like so many different streams; and, in like manner, there is one episcopal power in the Roman church, from which the other episcopal powers are but so many different streams. How much might be derived out of this idea, so apprehended? Far more than the individual who thus expressed himself was aware of. It contains already, in the germ, the whole papal system of the Middle Ages. Augustin would be led by his thoroughly Christian character; by the prevailing tendency in his inner life and in his system of faith to the objectively godlike; by that spirit of protestation against all deification of man which actuated him, to more correct views of the words of our Lord in their reference to Peter. He rightly perceived, that not Peter, but Christ himself, is the Rock on which the church has been founded; that this word of our Lord, therefore, has reference not to the person of Peter in itself, but to him as representative of that faith

[1] See Optatus Milevitan. de schism. Donat. l. VII. c. 3. Bono unitatis Petrus cui satis erat, si post quod negavit, solam veniam consequeretur, et præferri apostolis omnibus meruit, et claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris, solus accepit. And l. II. c. 2: In urbe Roma Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne cæteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent.

through which he was the man of rock; and that consequently the whole church, which rests on this faith, is represented by Peter. "He was," says Augustin, "in this case, the image of the whole church, which in the present world is shaken by divers trials, as by floods and storms; and yet does not fall, because it is founded on the rock from which Peter received his name. For the rock is not so called after Peter, but Peter is so called after the rock; just as Christ is not so denominated after the Christian, but the Christian after Christ; for it is on this account our Lord declares: On this rock I will found my church, because Peter had said: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. On this rock, which thou hast confessed, he declares, I will build my church; for Christ was the Rock on whose foundation Peter himself was built; for other foundation hath no man laid than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus."[1] Had Augustin made himself clearly conscious of what he here expressed, and prosecuted it to the end, he would have arrived at the conception of the church as the community of the believers in Christ—a community forming itself from within outwardly; and consequently this passage would no longer have retained with him the sense which men would fain give it in reference to the visible church, to the episcopal power, and to the relation of the Roman church in particular to the church universal. Having once been led, however, by the whole course of his religious and theological training, into the habit of confounding together the visible and the invisible church, and having allowed this error to become firmly rooted in his doctrinal system, his views became thereby narrowed; and, instead of holding fast by the purely spiritual conception of the church which must have here presented itself to him, he involuntarily substituted for it the conception of the visible church, which had already been firmly established in his system; and so it may have happened that even in his mind too, with the notion of Peter as a representative of the church, there came to be associated the idea of a permanent representation in the Roman church.[2] Thus we find here in the case of this great church

[1] Ecclesia non cadit quoniam fundata est super petram, unde Petrus nomen accepit. Non enim a Petro petra, sed Petrus a petra; sicut non Christus a Christiano, sed Christianus a Christo vocatur. Ideo quippe ait Dominus: Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, quia dixerat Petrus: Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi. Super hanc ergo petram, quam confessus es, ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Petra enim erat Christus, super quod fundamentum etiam ipse ædificatus est Petrus, 1 Cor. 3: 11. Ecclesia ergo, quæ fundatur in Christo, etc. In Johann. Evang. Tractat. 124, § 5. The other exposition of this passage, by which it is referred only to the person of Peter, Augustin himself had presented in his work contra epistolam Donati, which has not come down to us; but in his criticism of his own writings,—his retractationes, l. I. c. 21, he set aside the above-cited explanation.

[2] In the book de utilitate credendi, § 35, he traces the development of the church as a divine institution, endowed with divine authority, ab apostolica sede per successiones episcoporum. This book he wrote, to be sure, before he had come to deviate, as he did afterwards, from the ordinary exposition of this passage, as it was understood at Rome and in North Africa; but the fact is explained in the way above described, that, by this change of views as to the exegetical meaning, nothing was changed in Augustin's doctrinal system. He distinguishes, in the place above referred to, a threefold relation of Peter;—the same person being considered in respect to his individual nature as a man, in respect to his nature by divine grace as a Christian, and at the same time as abundantiore gratia primus apostolorum. Those words, it is true, ought properly to refer to the second relation of Peter, inas-

teacher that confusion of two different points of view, in consequence of which he exerted an influence on two sides, and in two different directions, upon the development of the religious and dogmatic spirit in the following centuries.

But if the systematic elaboration and carrying out of the idea of a representation of the church unity, constitutes a prominent characteristic of the North African church, still the spirit of ecclesiastical freedom among the North Africans was the farthest possible removed, as we shall see hereafter, from any inclination to concede all the consequences, which there was already a disposition, in the Roman church, to derive from these notions.

In the minds of the Roman bishops we perceive the idea beginning already to develop itself more clearly and distinctly, that to them, *as the successors and representatives of the Apostle Peter*, belonged the sovereign guidance of the whole church. Although it may be observed, doubtless, here and there, in occasional instances, that the idea of universal dominion, associated with Rome, was transferred from its political meaning, and clothed in a spiritual dress;[1] yet nothing was to them more offensive than that confusion of the political and spiritual provinces which they believed they discovered, whenever their higher dignity and authority, instead of being suffered to rest on the foundation of the divine institution, was attempted to be derived from the political superiority of Rome. The delegates of the Roman bishop, Leo the Great, protested emphatically against the above-mentioned decree of the council of Chalcedon, which on this ground attributed to the bishopric of Constantinople the same rights as to the episcopate of Rome. When this decree came to be made known to Leo, he despatched various letters to the emperor, to Anatolius the patriarch of Constantinople, and to the whole council, in which he strongly declared his disapprobation of what he pronounced to be a usurpation. In the letter to the emperor he says:[2] "The case is quite different with worldly relations, and with those that concern the things of God; and without that rock which our Lord has wonderfully laid as the foundation, no structure can stand firm. Let it satisfy Anatolius that, by your assistance, and by my ready assent,[3] he has attained to the bishopric of so great a city. Let not the imperial city be too small for him, which yet he cannot convert into an apostolic see" (sedes

much as he represented the person of all Christians; but it is easy to see, how, in substituting the notion of the church in the place of Christians, he might be led to connect the second and the third with each other. Thus Peter was distinguished as the first of the apostles by the very circumstance that he was to represent the visible church in his own person, and that its development was to proceed forth from him. And what was considered true of Peter, was transferred to the church of Rome.

[1] In the remarkable work, de vocatione gentium, which was probably written by Leo the Great, while he was still a deacon, l. II. c. 6, it is said: Roma, quæ tamen per apostolici sacerdotii principatum amplior facta est arce religionis quam solio potestatis; and Leo M. p. 80: Civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram b. Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsidens religione divina, quam dominatione terrena.

[2] Epist. 78.

[3] Which refers to Leo's approval of the choice of Anatolius, which had been sought after in consequence of certain disputes as to matters of doctrine. The Roman bishops well understood, however, how to take advantage of every occasion which could be interpreted into the recognition of a right appertaining to them.

apostolica). Leo appealed to the inviolable authority of the Nicene council: he alluded very probably to the above-cited sixth canon of that council, which really stood in necessary contradiction with this new arrangement only on the principle that the dignity of the church stood wholly independent of political relations. He contended for the rights of the Alexandrian and of the Antiochian churches, which would be impaired in case that the church at Constantinople claimed to itself the primacy over the entire East; he contended for the rights of the metropolitan bishops, which would be jeopardized by the patriarchate which Anatolius assumed over Asia Minor, Pontus, and Thrace. And he contrived, in the end, to trace back the higher inviolable dignity of the Alexandrian and Antiochian churches also to the Apostle Peter;—of the former, namely, to Mark, the disciple of the Apostle Peter; and of the second, immediately to Peter himself, since he was the first to preach the gospel in that place. Anatolius having appealed to the authority of the second ecumenical council, which had adjudged this rank to the church of Constantinople, Leo replied, that no assembly of bishops, whether large or small, could decide anything against the authority of the Nicene council. He speaks on this occasion with singular contempt of a council which was afterwards generally reckoned, both in the Western and in the Eastern church, among the number of ecumenical councils. The canon drawn up by that body he declared to be null and void; and would allow it no validity, if for no other reason, because it had never been communicated to the Roman church.[1]

It is impossible to doubt as to what the popes, even as early as the fifth century, believed themselves to be, or would fain be, in relation to the rest of the church, after having once listened to the language which they themselves hold on this subject. When a North African council at Carthage had sent a report of their conclusions, in the decision of a controverted point of doctrine, to the Roman bishop Innocent, and demanded his assent to these conclusions: in his answer of the year 417, he first praised them because they had considered themselves bound to submit the matter to his judgment, since they were aware what was due to the apostolical chair; since all who occupied this seat strove to follow in the steps of that apostle from whom the episcopal dignity itself, and the entire authority of this name, had emanated. With good right had they held sacred the institutions of the fathers, who had decided, not according to human, but according to the divine counsels, that whatever was transacted in provinces, let them be ever so remote, should not be considered as ratified, until it

[1] Ep. 80, c. 5. Persuasioni tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur quorumdam episcoporum ante sexaginta (ut jactas) annos facta conscriptio, nunquamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad apostolicæ sedis transmissa notitiam, cui ab initio sui caducæ dudumque collapsæ sera nunc et inutilia subjicere fundamenta voluisti. It hardly answers the purpose to attempt, as has been done, to make out that the authority of this council was recognized by Leo, and thus to bring the latter into agreement with the opinion of the later Roman church, by referring this disparaging judgment of Leo, without any regard to the natural sense of the passage, *simply* to this *single canon* of the council.

had come to the knowledge of the apostolic chair; so that, by its entire authority, every just decision might be confirmed, and the other churches (as the pure streams should be distributed from the original, undisturbed source, through the different countries of the whole world[1]) might learn from *this* church what they had to ordain, whom they had to pronounce innocent, and whom to reject as irreclaimably wrong. Leo the Great declares in a letter to the Illyrian bishops, in which, after the example of the Roman bishop Siricius, he names the bishop of Thessalonica the representative among them of his apostolic power (vicarius apostolicus), "that on himself, as the successor of the Apostle Peter, on whom, as the reward of his faith, the Lord had conferred the primacy of apostolic rank, and on whom he had firmly grounded the universal church, was devolved the care of all the churches, to participate in which he invited his colleagues, the other bishops."[2]

The favorable situation of the Roman church in its relation to the Eastern churches, brought along with it, during this period, many circumstances which might be turned in support of this assumption of the Roman bishops. As we have already had occasion to observe, the Eastern church stood in far greater dependence on political influences than the Western; and what, in some respects, stood connected with this fact, there was in the former no church possessed of such decided external preponderance as the Roman church enjoyed in relation to the West. On the contrary, the oppositions and jealousies among the patriarchal churches, as we have said, were the source of many disputes; and the higher authority of the recently promoted Byzantine church, in particular, was, at all times, a thing extremely offensive to the ancient patriarchal church of Alexandria. Again, the Western church, by reason of its predominant Roman spirit, so unbending and practical, and by reason of its characteristic life, which was not so restlessly scientific, preserved greater tranquillity in the course of its doctrinal development. On the other hand, the more excitable and actively scientific spirit of the Greeks, the speculative bent of mind, the manifold spiritual elements which here came in contact with each other,—all this was a source of manifold disputes in the Greek church, which, through the disturbing interference of the state, were still further promoted, and at the same time rendered more intricate and perplexing. Now, while in the Western church the greatest tranquillity prevailed, contrasted with this agitated condition of the Greek church, it came about that the contending parties of the latter, and especially those who had against them the dominant power, sought to

[1] The thought is plainly implied, that all the churches could hold fast to the pure doctrine only by remaining steadfast in their connection with the Roman, as the common mother church,—the original, invincible fountain-head of the transmitted, divine doctrine, as well as of all spiritual power.

[2] Quia per omnes ecclesias cura nostra distenditur, exigente hoc a nobis Domino, qui apostolicæ dignitatis beatissimo apostolo Petro primatum fidei suæ remuneratione commisit, universalem ecclesiam in fundamento ipsius soliditate constituens, necessitatem, sollicitudinis, quam habemus, cum his, qui nobis collegii caritate juncti sunt, sociamus. Leon. ep. 5, ad Metropolitanos Illyr.

obtain on their side the voice of the Western church, and especially of the Roman, as the most influential, and the one which gave the tone to all the rest; and that those who were persecuted by the dominant party, took refuge at Rome. Now, as it was of the utmost importance to such persons to gain in their favor the voice of the Roman church, so this interest influenced them in the choice of their expressions; and, to show their respect for the Roman church, they made use of such expressions as they would not have employed under other circumstances. But the Roman bishops, who were already in the habit of passing judgment on all the relations of the church from that once established and settled point of view which we have just described, found, accordingly, in such expressions, looking as they did at nothing but the letter, an acknowledgment of that point of view, without concerning themselves to inquire what the persons who used these expressions really had in their minds. Protestations undoubtedly sometimes followed from the dominant party of the East, when the decisions of the Roman bishops ran contrary to their interests. Thus, for example, when the Roman bishop Julius, instead of concurring with the dominant party of the Eastern church, which had deposed from his office the bishop Athanasius of Alexandria, had invited both parties to present the matter, by their delegates, before an assembly of the Western church; the Eastern bishops, convened at Antioch, declared that it did not belong to him, a foreign bishop, to set himself up as a judge in the affairs of the Eastern church; that every synod was independent in its decisions; that he, as bishop of a larger city, was no more than the other bishops; that it had, in truth, just as little entered into the minds of his predecessors to interfere in the interior affairs of the Eastern church, to set themselves up as judges over the decisions of the Eastern synods in the Samosatenian disputes, as it had occurred to the older bishops of the East to constitute themselves judges in the controversies of the West; as, for example, the Novatian.[1] But the party in whose favor the Roman bishops had decided, finally obtained the victory; and they could accordingly, taking advantage of this fact, declare that protestation to be null, and maintain the validity of their own judicial sentence. Under such favorable circumstances they received many public testimonials of their supreme juridical authority, which in the sequel became of importance to them. To this class belong the *three* following decrees of the council of Sardica:[2] "I. When a bishop is condemned in a matter, and he believes that injustice has been done him, the synod which judged him shall write to the Roman bishop Julius; so that, if necessary, the investigation may be renewed by the bishops of the neighboring province, and he himself name the judges. II. That, in such a case, no other person shall be nominated to fill the place of the deposed bishop, until the Roman bishop shall have received notice of it, and decided on the point. III. If, in such a case, the deposed bishop appeal to the bishop of Rome, and the latter considers a new investigation to be advisable, he may commit such in-

[1] Vid. Julii epist. I. adv. Eusebianos, § 4 et 5. Socrat. l. II. c. 15. Hilarii opus historicum Fragmentum, III. § 26. [2] Canon. 3, 4 et 5.

vestigation to the bishops of the neighboring province, and may also send to it presbyters, out of the body of his clergy, to assist in the inquiry." Thus this synod, no doubt, assigned to the Roman bishop a certain supreme power of jurisdiction, a right of revision in the affairs of the bishops. But it admits also of being easily explained how they came to do this. Besides the Western bishops, those only from the East were present at this council who had been condemned and deposed there by the party hostile to them. It was the interest of the dominant party in this council, that the judgment of the Eastern synods with regard to Athanasius should be reversed, and the latter restored to his place again. The council of Sardica was intended, it is true, in its first arrangement, to be an ecumenical one. But as the Orientals had in a great measure separated from it, it could lay no just claims to this character; and it seems that its canons, in the next succeeding times, stood in no very high authority even in the Western church itself. But, very naturally, these canons must have been highly acceptable to the Roman church; and in this church, therefore, they could not be forgotten. So much the more easily might it here happen that these canons, to which a peculiar importance must have been attached, would be unconsciously confounded and given out for the same with those of the Nicene council. A second declaration, by which, in the year 373 or 381, a certain supreme authority of jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs was conceded to the Roman bishop Damasus, proceeded, however, only from an emperor, Gratian; and had reference simply to a schism which had arisen in Rome, in which the Roman bishop was particularly interested. (See below, History of Schisms.)

A third case was this: The bishop Hilarius of Arles, whose zeal in discharging the duties of his spiritual office, whose life of strict piety and active benevolence commanded universal respect, had proceeded, on a certain occasion, while visiting the churches as metropolitan bishop of this part of Gaul (Gallia Narbonnensis) — which authority the bishops of Arles had exercised for a long time, though not without its being disputed, — to depose from his office, with the consent of a synod, a certain bishop by the name of Celidonius.[1] The latter, however, applied to Rome, and succeeded in persuading Leo that injustice had been done him. Hilarius himself hastened to Rome, and openly defended his cause. But when he perceived that Leo was already committed on the side of Celidonius and determined to take his part, he judged it advisable to leave Rome again. At this proceeding, Leo was still more exasperated: it appeared to him a very punishable act of disobedience, that Hilarius ventured to withdraw himself from his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He, without further ado, reinstated Celidonius in his office: though, even according to the decrees of Sardica, it simply belonged to him to direct that a new investigation of the

[1] It is disputed, whether this bishop belonged to the metropolitan diocese of Hilarius, or whether zeal for church discipline, or passion, led him to the wrong step of stretching his power beyond the limits of that diocese, and thus to violate ecclesiastical forms.

matter should be instituted in the province itself, by the neighboring bishops, in which he himself might participate by means of his delegates. He went so far as to declare that, as the metropolitan authority had been conferred by his predecessors on the bishop of Arles only by a special grant, Hilarius had forfeited this power by his abuse of it, and that it should again be transferred to the bishop of Vienna. His unspiritual mode of apprehending the idea of the church, and the hierarchical arrogance so easily combined therewith, carried him to such an extreme that he could say: "He who thinks himself called upon to dispute the primacy of the Apostle Peter, will find himself in nowise able to lessen that dignity; but, puffed up by the spirit of his own pride, will plunge himself into hell."[1] Leo, when he said this, might have applied to himself what he addressed to the Gallic bishops: "That the fellowship of the church was not to be forbidden to any Christian by the arbitrary will of an angry priest; that a soul for which Christ has shed his blood, must not be excluded from the privilege of church communion on account of some insignificant word." The young emperor, Valentinian III., who was at the beck of the Roman bishop, issued thereupon a law in the year 445, in which he says: "The primacy of the apostolic seat having been established by the merit of the Apostle Peter, by the dignity of the city of Rome, and by the authority of a holy synod,[2] no pretended power shall arrogate to itself anything against the authority of that seat. For peace can be universally preserved only when the whole church acknowledges its ruler." Resistance to the authority of the Roman bishop is declared to be an offense against the Roman state. It is established as a settled ordinance for all times, that as well the Gallic bishops, as the bishops of all the other provinces, could not properly undertake anything without authority from the Pope of the eternal city (Papa urbis æternæ). What the authority of the apostolic seat ordained, should be law for all, so that every bishop who, when summoned before the tribunal of the Roman bishop, declined to appear, should be forced to do so by the governor of the province.

The emperor, by whom the spiritual and the political points of view were here confounded together, willed that the *church* of his empire, just as the *latter itself*, should have one acknowledged principal head; but the whole previous constitution of the church could not possibly be overthrown by an imperial edict. Hilarius seems, notwithstanding, to have remained in possession of his metropolitan dignity; he maintained the rights of his church, although he sought by a respectful deportment to become reconciled with the Roman bishop.[3]

The North African church, which most distinctly expressed the principle from which these consequences were derived, was, however,

[1] Vid. ep. 9 and 10.

[2] The council of Nice or of Sardica.

[3] It is to be regretted, that there are no remaining records of these transactions between Hilary and Leo. The words which the city præfect (præfectus urbis), Auxiliaris, who sought to make himself mediator, addressed to Hilary, are worthy of notice: Impatienter ferunt homines, si sic loquamur, quomodo nobis conscii sumus. Aures præterea Romanorum quadam teneritudine plus trahuntur, in quam si se Sanctitas tua demittat, plurimum tu nihil perditurus acquiris.

the farthest removed from conceding these latter. That spirit of ecclesiastical freedom which had already, in the time of Cyprian, opposed itself to the Roman assumptions, was here ever predominant. As cases were frequently occurring in which members of the clerical body that had been deposed on account of their offenses, took refuge with the Roman church, and were there received; the councils of Carthage, in the years 407 and 418, ordained[1] that whoever thereafter, instead of appealing to the jurisdiction of the North African church itself, appealed to one beyond the sea, should be excluded from the fellowship of the church. Yet it subsequently happened that a deposed presbyter, Apiarius, appealed to the Roman bishop Zosimus. The latter was disposed to bring the matter before his tribunal; and when this met with some resistance, he fell back for support on the cited canons of the council of Sardica; which, however, he caused to be presented by his delegates at the council of Carthage in the year 419, as Nicene canons. To the Africans it appeared extremely strange that these canons, which were wholly unknown to them, were nowhere to be found in their collection of the doings of the Nicene council. They resolved that they would assume them for the present to be valid; yet cause inquiry to be made by consulting the genuine ancient manuscripts of the doings of the Nicene council, preserved in the Eastern churches at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they really belonged to them. This they gave notice of to the Roman bishop Bonifacius, who had meanwhile succeeded Zosimus. They invited him also to make inquiries of the like nature; but at the same time they declared that, even according to these laws, the affairs of other ecclesiastics besides bishops must be settled only within their own provinces. "Now although these laws were observed in Italy, yet they should not be compelled to submit to such intolerable encroachments. Yet they hoped that under his ecclesiastical rule they would not have to suffer from such arrogance."[2] Amid the doctrinal disputes of the fifth and sixth centuries, the Pelagian controversy and that concerning the edict *de tribus capitulis*, we often see the Africans maintaining their doctrinal principles even when in contradiction with the Roman; and we see, in fact, the Roman bishop Zosimus finally yielding to the decisions of the Africans.

We must accordingly hold fast to this as the result of the church development of this period, — that the idea of an external church theocracy under one sovereign head was already present in the minds of the Roman bishops; and although a spirit of ecclesiastical independence, which flowed from the earliest Christian antiquity, still presented many obstacles to the realization of this idea, and the Eastern church ever remained disinclined to acknowledge it, yet important germs of such a realization were already existing in the Western churches, from which, under favorable circumstances, in later times, might spring much greater results.

[1] Cod. Afr. c. 28.

[2] Non sumus jam istum typhum passuri.

To represent the outward unity of the church, another important institution came in during this period, which, it is true, originated also in that general, fundamental idea of the external, visible church; yet, if the Christian doctrine had not first evolved itself into precisely this form of a universal monarchy, could not so easily have shaped itself in the way it did; — we mean the *general assemblies of the church*, concilia universalia, *συνόδοι οἰκουμένικαι* (by *οἰκουμένη* was understood, originally, the Roman empire). But the way for this was already prepared through the previous development. It was only necessary to carry over to these greater assemblages of the bishops, in an application more general and more suitable, the principle already established with reference to the provincial synods. The latter being then customarily regarded as organs of the Holy Spirit for the guidance of the churches of a certain district, so now this was applied to the relation of universal councils to the whole church. These universal councils had a twofold aim, — to decide disputes concerning doctrines, and to determine the constitution, the forms of worship, and the discipline of the church; to which latter, the canons of these assemblies had reference.

It was not possible, at these councils, to arrive at a calm understanding of disputed points of doctrine. Each party was fettered to its system already made out, and judged everything by it, without entering at all into the examination of the notions entertained by others. It was a strife of party passions; and the result of the proceedings was already predetermined by the relation of the contending parties to the dominant power. Gregory of Nazianzus, who expressed the result of a large and various experience, gives the following remarkable account of the mode of proceeding at such assemblies:[1] "I am so constituted," he writes, "that, to speak the truth, I dread every assembly of bishops; for I have never yet seen a good end of any one, — never been at a synod which did more for the suppression, than it did for the increase, of evils; for an indescribable thirst for contention and for rule prevails in them, and a man will be far more likely to draw upon himself the reproach of wishing to set himself up as a judge of other men's wickedness, than he will be to succeed in any attempts of his to remove it."

Yet, despite of the many impure human motives which intruded themselves into these councils, men regarded them as the organs by which the Holy Ghost guided the progressive movement of the church, — as the voice by which the Holy Ghost determined what had before been doubtful, and to which every man was bound, therefore, to submit his own fallible, subjective judgment. The *theory* of Augustin on this subject was, that "the decision of controverted questions does not proceed in the first instance and directly, from the transactions of these councils; but is, rather, prepared by the theological investigations which have preceded. The decisions of councils simply give the expression of public authority to the result at which the church, in its development thus far, has arrived. Hence it may happen that a con-

[1] Ep. ad Procop. 55.

troverted matter, at a particular time, cannot as yet be decided, even by a general council; because the previous investigations have not as yet sufficiently prepared the way for a definitive, a settled, result." According to this theory, general councils should express and settle firmly the universal Christian consciousness, up to that point of its development which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, who is the actuating principle of the whole life of the church, it has reached at a certain period of time. The universal Christian consciousness is thus merely fixed in a determinate expression, — the sum and contents of Christian truth more clearly and distinctly evolved in opposition to the latest errors. Hence an enlightened church teacher may, at a particular period, be in error on some one important point, without therefore falling into heresy; since, in respect to this one point, there may as yet have been no general decision of the Christian consciousness, by which controversy is set aside. But when, by continual investigation, the evolution of the universal Christian consciousness has reached this point, and expressed itself on the matter in question through the voice of a general council, a proper humility requires it of the individual that he should submit his own subjective judgment to that general decision guided by the Holy Ghost. It is the pride of self-will only, which revolts against lawful authority; in truth, it is a principle grounded in nature, that the part should subordinate itself to the whole. According to Augustin's theory, however, earlier councils might be corrected and improved by later ones; since each council gives only that decision which answers to the stage of development the church has reached in each several period. Yet it may be questioned whether Augustin really supposed that a council could express positive errors; or whether his opinion was, that a later council should correct the decisions of the earlier only so far as to define what the other had left undetermined; just as the more advanced development of the church might require, in its opposition to new forms of error.[1]

These ideas, scattered through the writings of Augustin, were systematically unfolded by Vincentius, a monk connected with the monastery on the island of Lerina near Provence, in his Commonitorium, or Tractatus peregrini adversos hæreticos, a work which he published some years after Augustin's death, in 434, and which forms an epoch in the history of the idea of tradition. We here observe how, to the conservative element in the notion of tradition, had been added that of progressive development, as one without which it would have been impossible to preserve intact the original truth, in the impure current of time. The true thing in Montanism (though wrongly applied by this sect, in that they regarded progressive development as a growth from without by means of superadded revelations) had passed over to the

[1] Augustin. de baptismo contra Donatistas, l. II. c. 3. Ipsa plenaria concilia sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat et cognoscitur quod latebat, sine ullo typho sacrilegæ superbiæ, sine ulla inflata cervice arrogantiæ, sine ulla contentione lividæ invidiæ, cum sancta humilitate, cum pace catholica, cum caritate Christiana. But where did ever such a spirit prevail in a council? Compare with this the above-cited words of Gregory Nazianzen.

church, and was now transferred to that development which belongs to the essence of Christianity, and which proceeds from Christianity itself. Of this Vincentius pertinently remarks: "A progressive development must assuredly be predicated of Christian truth; since everything in the world has its progressive steps of age.[1] But this progress of development supposes persistence in the peculiar essence of the thing. The contrary would not be growth, but change into something else. Those primitive doctrines of heavenly wisdom must, with the progress of time, become more exactly determined, but they ought not to be altered or mutilated. They must be brought out into greater clearness and distinctness; but they should lose nothing of their pure and perfect original essence.[2] It is the opposition of new errors which superinduces this sharper determination and clearer unfolding of the truth. By virtue of this opposition, that which, in earlier times, was matter of tacit tradition, becomes expressed in a written word.

But in place of the *Montanistic* growth from without was here substituted *another*. The progressive development, as it is here apprehended, is, of necessity, connected with a specific organ. It expresses itself by means of general councils; and to this progress, so expressed, all individuals must submit their own judgment. Thus the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, — which were acknowledged as being the only complete source of knowledge concerning the truths of faith, — and the deduction of the doctrines of faith from them, were made to depend on this kind of ecclesiastical authority. It is this only, which can enable us to find out that which is right amidst the infinite contrarieties of human opinion.[3] The lack of any such art of interpretation, on the basis of scientific principles, as would keep men from falling into arbitrary explanations, must be supplied by the constraining force of a positive outward rule. And instead of relying on the intrinsic force of truth, and the free working of the Holy Spirit in the church, Christians must place their reliance on such an outward guidance from the church, as was calculated to check the free development of each individual mind.[4] It was through the mediation of this human government of the church, that the never-ceasing influence of Christ must continually pass, as through its necessary channel. Facundus of Hermiane says:[5] "To his priests, when assembled in his name, Christ can never be wanting, because he, being almighty truth, can in no way prove false to his promise." But the condition here supposed, without which that promise could not be realized, was precisely the

[1] Nullusne ergo in ecclesia Christi profectus habebitur religionis? Habeatur plane, et maximus. Nam quis ille est tam invidus hominibus, tam exosus Deo, qui istud prohibere conetur? C. 28.

[2] Accipiant licet evidentiam, lucem, distinctionem, sed retineant necesse est plenitudinem, integritatem, proprietatem. C. 30.

[3] See c. 2. Multum necesse est propter tantos tam varii erroris anfractus, ut propheticæ et apostolicæ interpretationis linea secundum ecclesiastici et Catholici sensus normam dirigatur.

[4] Thus the excellent bishop Facundus of Hermiane — a man who shows great freedom within certain limits — says, about the middle of the sixth century (Defens. trium capitulorum, l. V. c. 5): Neque enim est alia conciliorum faciendorum utilitas, quam ut quod intellectu non capimus, ex auctoritate credamus. Opp. Sismondi II. p. 407.

[5] In the VIII. vol. of his work, Defens trium capitulorum, c. 7, p. 483.

thing so often absent in these assemblies. Almost anything else might, in many cases, be affirmed of them, than that they were assembled in the name of Christ. What warrant had men to believe that they who had not brought with them the temper which was required in order to hear the voice of the Divine Spirit, ought to be considered as its organs for the rest of the church? In things spiritual and divine, it cannot hold good that the individual must subordinate himself to the whole; for the individual spirit may, in truth, by its freedom and by the purity of its will, outrun, in its own course of development, the whole multitude chained to that spirit of the age which is not the spirit of truth. The individual may have fought his way to freedom, where the multitude are in bondage. Errors are often propagated without design, when they have made good their dominion over the consciousness of men. Individuals who surrender themselves to the spirit of truth, which speaks not barely to the masses, but also to each individual according to the recipient temper of his mind, attain by clear consciousness to the separation of the true from the false; and how could they possibly be under any obligation to subject themselves to the dominant spirit of untruth? But even in case the Spirit of truth had spoken through a general council, still this expression could be binding only on him who, by the same Spirit of truth, had recognized the same as true, from the divine word. Thus there was substituted here a cringing to human authority, and consequent servility of spirit, in place of that true humility which gives all the honor to God, the Spirit of absolute truth, alone; and which, therefore, in freeing men from bondage to human opinions, makes them free indeed.

By these general councils, not only was a check put to the free process of the development of doctrines; but, in addition to this, the movable element in the outward life of the church, in the church constitution, in the ritual, — in fact, everything which is conditioned on the changing forms of culture, and which is liable to alteration in consequence of the different necessities of different times, was subjected to a stiff law of dead uniformity.

In this manner was gradually formed a legislative tribunal over the whole church; and the materials were now at hand for constituting a general ecclesiastical legislation.

The Roman abbot, Dionysius Exiguus, presented to the Western church, in the early times of the sixth century, a book of ecclesiastical laws, consisting of a collection which he had made from the written decisions (decretales) of the Roman bishops, given in answer to ecclesiastical questions which had been proposed to them, from the time of Siricius, or from the year 335, and onward, and also from decrees (canones) of the general, and of the more important provincial councils. This work soon obtained paramount authority; and it had an important influence in giving shape to the papal monarchy in the Western church, that he had assigned so prominent a place to the papal decrees.

II. Discipline of the Church.

The principle was transmitted from the preceding to the present times, that they who had, by gross transgressions, violated their baptismal vows, should be excluded from the fellowship of the church, and from participating in the communion; and not till they had given satisfactory proofs of repentance were they to receive absolution from the bishop, and to be admitted again to church fellowship. During the Novatian controversies of the preceding period, men had agreed on certain common principles respecting the nature of penitence. It was agreed that to no one, of whatever offense he might have been guilty, provided that by his conduct thus far he had shown the marks of sincere repentance, should be refused the communion in the hour of death.[1] Gradually the penitents came to be distributed into different classes, after the same manner as the catechumens, according to their different degrees of fitness for being restored back to the fellowship of the church. The first class was formed of those who were not yet allowed to enter the church.[2] They were bound to stand without the doors of the church, and to implore, with weeping, the intercession of the members of the community as they entered, at the same time prostrating themselves to the earth; hence they were called προσκλαίοντες.[3] Next followed those who were permitted to listen, with all the unbaptized, in the outer area of the church (the νάρθηξ, the ferula) to the sermon and to the reading of the Scriptures. Then followed those in whose behalf a special prayer of the church was offered; on which occasion they fell on their knees, and hence were called ὑποπίπτοντες, substrati. Finally, those who were allowed to be present at all the prayers and transactions of the church, but yet could not themselves bring a gift to the altar, or participate in the communion (χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνοῦντες τῶν προσευχῶν).[4]

A regular confession of sin, to be made at stated intervals before a priest, was a practice which had no existence in this period. The only cases which could occur were, either that the bishop excluded from church fellowship those whose transgressions had become sufficiently notorious, and granted to them the privilege of readmission only *on condition* of subjecting themselves to a church penance, fixed upon by himself, in some proportion to their crime; or else that they voluntarily made confession of their sins to the bishop, which act was

[1] See Concil. Nic. canon 13. If such a person subsequently recovered, he was to be placed back once more in the fourth class of pœnitentes.

[2] Ἀπειργόμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας they are called, in Gregory Nyssen. epistola canonica ad Letojum.

[3] Basil. ep. canonica, III. Ambros. de Pœnitentia, l. II. c. 10.

[4] It is uncertain what is meant in the 17th canon of the council of Ancyra by εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους εὔχεσθαι, — whether it denotes those among the first class of catechumens without the doors of the church, where they were exposed to all weathers, or whether it stands for those in the class vexed by evil spirits, in the same place with Energumens. The first is the more probable.

considered in itself a token of repentance, and therefore had some influence in mitigating the penance of the church.[1]

Still, in carrying out the principles which had been established on the subject of admission to the communion, and of penance, the church, since it no longer constituted, as in the preceding period, a body subsisting by itself and independent of all others, found many difficulties which could not exist in the foregoing period, at least in the same degree. Cases occurred in which the bishop, by rigidly carrying out these principles, must necessarily fear that a schism would be produced in the church. The Donatists, of whom we shall presently speak, maintained that in such cases, in order to keep the church pure, no regard should be paid to consequences; although even their own bishops, it was alleged, could not always proceed in exact accordance with this principle. Others, on the contrary, — as, for instance, Augustin, — maintained that men should be content simply to rebuke many of the evils which were widely spread. Much, they said, must be reserved to the judgment of God. At the same time it was necessary to proceed with wisdom and patience, so as to avoid a worse evil, and not to root up the good fruit with the tares.[2] The second difficulty was, to carry out these principles in their application to the great men of this world, who, even in the church, could not be forgetful of their worldly rank. It was everywhere an acknowledged principle, that here, before the tribunal of God's word, no respect of persons ought to be admitted. Chrysostom, in requiring the deacons to debar the unworthy from participating in the Lord's supper, says: "Though the commander of an army or the governor of a province, though one decked with the imperial crown, should approach, yet, if he is unworthy, refuse him."[3] But there must also have been men, like Chrysostom, who spoke thus and acted accordingly; who did not fear to sacrifice everything temporal, in rigidly carrying out what they owned to be their duty as shepherds of the flock. In the Western church, the example of an Ambrose of Milan, who declared to several emperors, that, if they proceeded to execute a purpose which appeared to him in violation of the duty of a Christian emperor, he could not admit them to the communion, showed how much could be effected, in these times of despotism, by the firmness of a bishop deeply penetrated with a sense of the elevation and responsibleness of his calling. The emperor Theodosius I., incensed at a seditious tumult which broke out in the year 390 at Thessalonica, abandoned thousands, the innocent with the guilty, to the blind fury of his soldiers. When the emperor came afterwards to Milan, Ambrose, who had taken advantage of a sickness to retire into the country, at first avoided an interview with him, supposing

[1] Chrysostom says of those who came to the communion as impenitent sinners: Τοὺς μὲν ὄχλους ἡμῖν αὐτοὶ πάντως ἡμεῖς ἀπείρξομεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀγνώστους ἡμῖν τῷ θεῷ καταλείψωμεν, τῷ τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα τῆς ἑκάστου διανοίας εἰδότι. See the Homily on the feast of Epiphany Benedict II. f. 374. The same holds the deacons accountable if they should admit to the communion a person whom they knew to be guilty of any sin which was punishable with exclusion from the fellowship of the church. Hom. 82, Matth. near the end.

[2] See Augustin. c. Parmenian. l. III. c. 13, et seq.

[3] Hom. 82, Matth. near the end.

that passion left in his soul no room, as yet, for the lessons of religion. He thought that a letter which the emperor might find time to peruse silently, by himself, might make a more salutary impression on him. He placed before him the example of the penitent king David, and wrote: "Sin can be removed only by tears and repentance. No angel or archangel can forgive sin; and the Lord himself, who only *is able* to say to us, *I* am with you, when we sin, forgives the sins of those only who come to him with repentance. Add not to the sin already committed, still another — that of presuming to partake of the holy supper unworthily, which has redounded to the ruin of many. I have no occasion to be obstinate with you; but I have cause to fear for you. I dare not distribute the holy elements, if you mean to be present and receive them. Shall I venture to do that which I should not presume to do if the blood of *one* innocent individual had been shed, where the blood of so many innocent persons has been shed?"[1] These words of Ambrose made such an impression on the heart of Theodosius, that, penetrated with the deepest anguish, he subjected himself to the public penance of the church, having first laid aside his imperial robes; and, as Ambrose says, not a day of his life passed afterwards in which he did not remember with pain that cruel transaction.[2] Ambrose, it is said, did not give him absolution until, to prevent the like effects of his irascible disposition for the future, he had renewed a law of the emperor Gratian, which forbade any sentence of death pronounced by the emperor to be executed short of an interval of thirty days; so that the sentence might be recalled, if, after the subsiding of passion, he found occasion to repent of it. The excellent bishop Facundus of Hermiane observed subsequently to the emperor Justinian, who was distracting the church by his despotic conduct: "Would God but raise up another Ambrose, there would be no want of another Theodosius."[3]

But there were yet powerful individuals who bade defiance to all the tribunals of the church. One means then still remained in the hands of the bishops; that of solemnly excluding them from the church by the anathema, and making this, together with the crimes committed by such individual, known to all their colleagues in a circular letter. This means was employed by Synesius against Andronicus, the worthless governor of Pentapolis, who had oppressed the poor in the most cruel manner,

[1] Paulinus, in his life of Ambrose. Theodoretus and Rufinus speak, it is true, of a personal interview of Ambrose with the emperor, whom he met at the threshold of the church.. In this case we must suppose that the emperor, notwithstanding the written representations in this letter, still ventured to come to the communion; which is not probable. And as those writers make no mention at all of Ambrose's letter, but make Ambrose say orally to the emperor nearly the same things which are written in this letter, it is quite probable, that what was contained in the letter came to be transferred to an oral interview which never took place. How is it conceivable, that the emperor, as Paulinus states, should have adduced, in his defense on this occasion, that very example of king David which Ambrose, in the letter, had already used against him!

[2] Ambrose, in his funeral discourse over this emperor: Stravit omne, quo utebatur, insigne regium, deflevit in ecclesia publice peccatum suum, neque ullus postea dies fuit, quo non illum doleret crrorem.

[3] Quia si nunc Deus aliquem Ambrosium suscitaret, etiam Theodosius non deesset. Pro defens. trium capitulorum, l. XII. c. 5, p. 584.

and had scoffed with outrageous blasphemy at all the intercessions of the bishop, — all the representations he made in the name of Christianity. This means was afterwards attended with a happy result.

In the large cities, especially within the Greek church, a special presbyter was appointed for the purpose of attending to the duty of confession, and of determining for the penitents their due proportion of church penance. But when the patriarch Nectarius of Constantinople was led, by the scandal created by the crime of an ecclesiastic thus made publicly known, to rescind this office (about the year 390); the consequence of this was, that the whole system of confession and penance, as it had till now existed in the Greek church, came to an end; and it was left free to each individual, according to his conscience, to partake in the communion.[1] Still, bishops — even in the Greek church, as examples of the next succeeding times teach us — ever reserved to themselves the right of refusing the communion to vicious men. That abolition, however, of the ancient system of church penance had, if we may believe the church historian Sozomen, an injurious influence on the general state of morals.

III. History of the Schisms of the Church.

As in the preceding period, so also in this, we have concluded to separate the history of church schisms from that of the disputes concerning doctrine; the former standing closely connected with the history of the development of the idea of the church, and the history of the church constitution, and hence finding here its most natural place.

1. *The Donatist Schism.*

The most important and influential church division which we have to mention in this period is the Donatist, which had its seat in North Africa. This schism may be compared in many respects with that of Novatian in the preceding period. In this, too, we see the conflict, for example, of Separatism with Catholicism; and it is therefore important, in so far as it tended to settle and establish the notion of the visible, outward unity of the church, and of the objective element in the things of religion and of the church. That which distinguishes the *present* case is, the reaction, proceeding out of the essence of the Christian church, and called forth, in this instance, by a peculiar occasion, against the confounding of the ecclesiastical and political elements; on which occasion, for the first time, the ideas which Christianity, as opposed to the pagan religion of the state, had first made men distinctly conscious of, became an object of contention within the Christian church itself, — the ideas concerning universal, inalienable

[1] Socrates, V. 19. Sozom. VII. 16. Comp. Morin. de Pœnitentia, l. VI. 22. The homilies of Chrysostom, which still presuppose the ancient usage, were preached by him at Antioch.

human rights; concerning liberty of conscience; concerning the rights of free religious conviction. The more immediate and local occasion of these disputes lay in a certain spirit of fanaticism, which, ever since the spread of Montanism, had prevailed in North Africa, and also in various circumstances superinduced by the Diocletian persecution.

We observed already, in our account of the persecution under Diocletian, that, as there were many at that time who had been induced, by force or by fear, to deliver up the sacred writings in their possession (the traditores); so too, there were many accused of this, against whom the accusation could by no means be proved. Such a charge might easily be converted into a weapon for the gratification of personal malice: the propensity to mistake inferences for facts rendered it no difficult matter to prove the accusations. When, for example, an individual who had been arrested by the pagan magistrates, found means, through some favorable circumstances or other, to deliver himself without denying; yet men were prone to draw the conclusion that if he had remained true to the faith, he would assuredly, like other true confessors, have suffered martyrdom, — he could have escaped only by denying. Again, as we have also remarked already in the history of that persecution,[1] the same principles were not held by all with regard to the proper mode of conduct on these occasions. Two parties stood opposed to each other; a prudent and a fanatical one. At the head of the prudent party was the bishop Mensurius of Carthage; and, as it was common, especially in the Western church, for the archdeacons to be the confidants of the bishops, and to take pains that the regulations ordained by them should be carried into effect, and that the discipline of the church should be maintained; so it happened that his archdeacon Cæcilianus stood in this relation to Mensurius. The two seem to have been united in a mutual understanding to oppose superstition and fanaticism.

There were many who, with broken credit, having become weary of life and anxious to get rid of it, hoped in martyrdom to find a death honorable among the Christians, and meritorious in the sight of God; or who, persecuted by the consciousness of guilt, hoped in this way to free themselves at once from all their sins; or who were eager to be thrown into prison as confessors, that they might there be loaded with honor, kind treatment, and presents of all kinds, by their fellow-Christians. Mensurius could not endure that such persons should be confirmed in their knavery or their delusion, and that other Christians should be deceived and abused by them. He was desirous also of preventing the scandal which would thus be given to the Pagans. He therefore endeavored to put a stop to the expressions of honor and respect which were paid to such men in their prisons, as well as to the reverence shown them as martyrs after their death. In general, this prudent man was unwilling to allow that fanatics who, without being accused or called for, surrendered themselves to the pagan authorities, and though unasked, yet publicly declared they had Bibles in their

[1] See vol. I. p. 151.

houses, but that they would not deliver them up, — that such enthusiasts should be reverenced as martyrs. Since the Christians, moreover, without reflection or prudence, thronged in crowds to their dungeons, and uneasiness and alarm might in this way be easily excited among the Pagans, he directed his archdeacon to take precautions against such results. As Mensurius disapproved of everything like fanatical imprudence, so he considered it his duty to do everything for the preservation of his own life, and for the external quiet of his community, which could be done without directly or indirectly denying the faith. When he heard that a church at Carthage was to be searched by the Pagans, he caused all the manuscripts of the Bible to be removed from it to a place of safety, and writings of heretics to be substituted in their stead, which the inquisitors were satisfied to find there, and asked no farther questions.[1] Mensurius, as a natural consequence, made all with whose superstition and fanaticism, or with whose selfish interests, his own prudence and firmness came in conflict, his fiercest enemies; and these persons took pains to propagate the most infamous stories of his conduct. Whether in this matter he and Cæcilianus were *wholly* innocent, or whether, misled by a well-meant but over-earnest zeal against fanaticism, they failed of showing sufficient honor to Christian feeling and Christian zeal, even in its extravagances, — whether they allowed themselves to be drawn into various acts of violence which might furnish grounds for just crimination, cannot, for the want of impartial sources of information, be certainly known. Suffice it to say, that the antagonists of Mensurius accused him of concealing the truth, and of asserting that none but writings of heretics were surrendered to the Pagans, for the purpose of clearing himself from the charge of giving up the sacred Scriptures. And even if the pretense were well grounded, yet, declared they, it was not allowable for a Christian to use such deception. Again, they accused him of having caused the most harsh and violent measures to be adopted by Cæcilian, for the purpose of hindering the Christians generally from testifying their love and their sympathy for the imprisoned confessors.[2]

The fanatical party was patronized by the then primate of Numidia, Secundus, bishop of Tigisis. In a letter to Mensurius, he disapproved the manner in which that bishop had censured the fanatical confessors;

[1] Vid. Augustin. breviculus collationis cum Donatistis diei III. c. 13, § 25, and the monumenta vetera ad Donatistarum historiam pertinentia in Optat. Milevitan. de schismate Donatistarum, p. 174.

[2] See the representation of this matter by a Donatist, in the collection of Du Pin, above referred to, f. 155 et 156. The fanatical, fact-perverting hatred of the Donatists, the language of unbridled passion, which is not to be mistaken even in this representation itself, inspire the reader with but little hope of finding here any historical truth. Thus among other things it is said: Et cædebantur a Cæciliano passim, qui ad alendos martyres veniebant, sitientibus intus in vinculis confessoribus, pocula frangebantur ante carceris limina, cibi passim lacerandi canibus spargebantur, jacebant ante carceris fores martyrum patres matresque sanctissimæ, et ab extremo conspectu liberorum excussi, graves nocte dieque vigilias ad ostium carceris exercebant. Erat fletus horribilis, et acerba omnium, qui aderant, lamentatio, prohibere pios martyrum complexus et divelli a pietatis officio Christianos, Cæciliano sæviente tyranno et crudeli carnifice.

and declared that all those who had suffered martyrdom rather than deliver up their Bibles, deserved to be honored as martyrs. Following the prevailing style of allegorical exposition peculiar to that age and country, he appealed to the example of Rahab, who refused to surrender up the two spies; for these were a symbol of the Old and New Testaments. "When the soldiers of the police," as he reported, "came also to *him*, and demanded copies of the Bible, he said to them: I am a Christian and a bishop; I am no *traditor*. And when they asked only for a few useless pieces as a show (such as writings of heretics), he refused to give them even these, — imitating the example of the Maccabee Eleazar, who would not consent even to appear as if he partook of the swine's flesh, lest he might set an example of apostasy to others."[1]

It is certain that the opinion was still prevailing with many in the North African church, which had maintained its ground from the time of Cyprian,[2] that the validity of all sacerdotal acts depended on the subjective character of the persons who performed them, and that therefore they were valid only in case they were performed by members of the true Catholic church; that consequently a sacerdotal act executed by an excommunicated person was wholly without force. When, therefore, in the year 305, the Numidian provincial bishops, under the presidency of the above-named Secundus, assembled at Cirta in Numidia for the purpose of ordaining a new bishop for this city, the president opened the meeting by declaring that they ought first to examine themselves, and make sure that there was no traditor among them (since a person of this description, excluded by the fact itself from the communion of the church, was unfit for the performance of any sacramental act). Several among the existing bishops were accused by rumor; several could excuse themselves on the ground of having given up other writings (e. g. on medicine) instead of the Bible; one, who plainly had no such excuse to offer, but, though he had surrendered a copy of the Bible, yet remained steadfast in the confession of the faith, said to the bishop Secundus: "You know how long Florus (the police officer) sought me, that he might force me to scatter incense, and God delivered me from his hands, my brother; but since God has forgiven me, do you also leave me to the judgment of God." Hereupon Secundus, in a way characteristic of his fanatic, spiritual pride, exclaimed: "What are we to do, then, with the *martyrs?* Because they did not give up their Bibles, was the very reason for which they have been crowned." The accused said: "Leave me till I appear before the judgment-seat of God; there I will render my account." A certain bishop, Purpurius, of irascible temperament, — against whom a far weightier charge was pending, which doubtless required to be more carefully looked into, — instead of speaking in his own defense, cast suspicion on Secundus himself: "How could it be believed that when he had been seized, and had declared that he pos-

[1] Augustin. breviculus collat. cum Donatistis, d. III. c. 13, § 25. Monumenta in Du Pin l. c. f. 174.

[2] See above, the disputes concerning baptism by heretics, vol. I. sect. 2.

sessed copies of the Bible, and yet did not deliver them up, the officers of police would quietly receive such a declaration and allow him to go free, while so many others who had declined to surrender their Bibles, were compelled to suffer severe tortures and death?" Since, however, the conduct of the pagan authorities varied so much according to their different tempers; and since so many particular circumstances might procure for one a better lot than fell to the others, this conclusion, which was intended to bring suspicion on Secundus, was at least a very unsafe one. Another Secundus among the assembled bishops, nephew of the one first mentioned, begged the latter to consider what danger threatened the peace of the church, if men should be disposed to push the matter further. All the accused would in the end unite against him; and consequently a schism was inevitable. Therefore it was finally resolved, for the preservation of the quiet of the church, to leave all that was past to the judgment of God.[1]

We have brought together these characteristic traits out of the times that preceded the Donatist schism, because it is in the excitement of temper which here betrays itself, and in the hostile relations betwixt the prudent party of Mensurius of Carthage, and the opposite fanatical party of the Numidian bishops, we must look for the original causes of this schism.

The bishop Mensurius died soon after the Diocletian persecution was ended, in the year 311, by the edict of Galerius. Having been called, on some special business, to appear before the emperor Maxentius at Rome, he died on the way when he was returning home. It was frequently the case, on the demise of a bishop, that his archdeacon was chosen to fill the vacancy; because, having possessed the confidence, and been often vested with the full powers of the bishop, he had al-

[1] See the transactions of this assembly in Augustin. contra Cresconium, l. III. c. 27, § 30, and the monumenta in Du Pin, f. 175. The Donatists declared, it is true, at the religious conference in Carthage, A. D. 411, that these documents were interpolated (vid. Augustin. brevicul. collat. d. III. c. 17, § 31, and l. c. Du Pin, f. 321); but their assertions can be regarded no otherwise than as very suspicious, as they were inclined to deny everything that conflicted with the interests of their party; and the reasons alleged by them against the genuineness of these writings have no decisive weight whatever. *One* reason was the definite statement of the date and of the consuls, which common practice in civil transactions was contrary to the ecclesiastical custom. Without doubt this was censured too by Athanasius, as an unchurchlike thing, in the Sirmian formulas of faith; yet it was, in the instance where he censured it, an entirely different affair, — it related there to a determination of doctrines, which could not be so bound to a particular time; but here, on the other hand, it related to a judicial investigation, and an external act of the church, where dates were of more importance. At all events, enough has not been left us of the older synodal transactions to render it possible to decide, whether this was really so unprecedented. The other party could, however, adduce an example of the contrary. To the Donatists, who pushed their opposition to the confounding of ecclesiastical and political matters to the extreme of fanaticism, such a determinate date was in itself a hateful thing, because it looked like such confusion. It is worthy of remark, that they even required an example of such an ecclesiastical determination of date from the Holy Scriptures, — a proof of the very narrow character of their criticism. The *second* reason was, that at the time of the persecution no such assembly could have been held. This reason, Marcellinus, the president of the religious conference, who rejected the first as amounting to nothing, declared to be more weighty. But the bishops of the other party could easily cite examples out of the history of the persecutions, by which the possibility of such an assembly, even under these circumstances, might be proved.

ready acquired the greatest influence in the church. But, inasmuch as the archdeacon was inferior in rank to the presbyters, this practice would easily become an occasion of jealousies and divisions. Cæcilian had particularly against him that party in the Carthaginian community, and in the Numidian church, which disputed the *principles* of Mensurius. At the head of his enemies in Carthage stood a bigoted widow by the name of Lucilla, a person of wealth, and, by means of her wealth, of power. This individual attached great importance to certain fragments of human bones which she had obtained from some quarter or other, and which she gave out to be relics. These pretended relics she was in the habit of kissing every morning previously to partaking, as was customary in this country,[1] of the consecrated bread.[2] She usually took them along with her also to the early morning service, and here too kissed her relics previously to partaking of the communion. The archdeacon, whose duty it was to look after the order of the church, reprimanded her for this superstitious custom, and threatened her, in case she did not desist from it, with ecclesiastical censures. It was undoubtedly necessary that some check should be given to the spreading superstition with regard to relics, and perhaps Cæcilian found it particularly offensive that she seemed to attribute a higher sanctifying power to her relics than to the sacrament of the supper.[3] Many indications go to show, that the Numidian bishops endeavored to anticipate the choice of Cæcilian, and immediately after Mensurius' death, to secure for themselves a party in the community, and to oppose this party to Cæcilian. *Donatus*, bishop of Casæ Nigræ in Numidia, is said to have been busy even at this early stage.[4] Secundus of Tigisis, primate of Numidia, the zealous antagonist of the Cæcilian party, sent certain ecclesiastics to Carthage, who held separate assemblies in the house of Lucilla, and placed a provisionary superintendent, under the customary title of visitor (περιοδευτής), over the entire affairs of the church.[5] The more resistance the party of Cæcilian had to fear against his choice, the more urgent reason had they for hastening the whole thing to a conclusion. But, without doubt, it was difficult here to hit upon the right course for preserving

[1] See vol. I. sect. 2, respecting the daily communion in the church of North Africa.

[2] See Optatus Milevit. de schismate Donatistar. l. I. c. 16. In this place it is said: Ante spiritalem cibum et potum; which cannot refer to the domestic communion alone, for in this the second had no place. Probably Lucilla observed the same custom in the church communion which she had been in the practice of at home, and thus her superstitious observances became known to Cæcilian. The opinion of Aubespin (Albaspineus), that she had been led by the custom of the mutual kiss of brotherly love preceding the communion, to transfer this form to her relics, for the purpose of maintaining thereby the communion with her patron saint, is not sufficiently well-grounded, since the practice of kissing relics, especially with females, existed elsewhere also.

[3] Optatus: cum *præponeret* calici salutari os, etc.—although the *præponeret* may be referred also simply to time.

[4] By the investigations of the tribunal which sat subsequently at Rome, under the Roman bishop Melchiades, it is said to have been proved: Donatum a Casis Nigris adhuc diacono Cæciliano schisma fecisse Carthagine. See Augustin. breviculus, l. c. and Du Pin, f. 319.

[5] Thus says Augustin, Sermo 46, § 39, T. V. ed. Benedict. Paris, f. 146, D. The assertion of Augustin, a violent opponent of the Donatists, is testimony, indeed, which cannot be wholly relied on. Yet the thing is, in itself, not improbable; and all these preceding circumstances place the origin of the Donatist schism in a clearer light.

unanimity and quiet; for if they waited until the arrival of the Numidian provincial bishops, who were in the practice of assisting at the ordination of the bishop of Carthage, it was to be foreseen that these would oppose the election. Should the ordination be completed before their arrival, new cause would be given them for dissatisfaction and complaint; but still they could not pronounce the episcopal consecration, after it had once been solemnized, null and void; since, although the Numidian provincial bishops might often be invited to assist on these occasions, yet nothing had been expressly settled on this point in the ecclesiastical laws.[1] The election and ordination were therefore hastened to a completion, and the latter office was performed by a neighboring bishop, Felix of Aptungis.[2] Against the new bishop, the powerful Lucilla, with her party, now took her stand; and to this party belonged the elders of the Carthaginian church.[3]

The primate of Numidia came afterwards, with his bishops, to Carthage, either without being sent for, or, as the other party alleged, at the invitation of Lucilla and those connected with her. They met from the latter with a very friendly reception; and they manifested, from the first, hostile feelings towards Cæcilian, whom they refused to acknowledge as a bishop. Cæcilian now challenged his adversaries to produce their charges, if they had any against him: but they began by accusing as a traditor the bishop who had ordained him; and, in conformity with that old principle of the North African church, they refused to recognize as valid an ordination which had been performed

[1] The opponents of the Donatist party, at the religious conference in Carthage, affirmed that it was by no means a common custom for the bishop of Carthage to be ordained by a Numidian Metropolitan bishop, cum aliud habeat ecclesiæ Catholicæ consuetudo, ut non Numidiæ, sed propinquiores episcopi episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginis ordinent, sicut nec Romanæ ecclesiæ ordinat aliquis episcopus metropolitanus; sed de proximo Ostiensis episcopus. Augustin. breviculus d. III. c. 16, § 29, in Du Pin monumenta, f. 321. According to Optatus, I. 18, there were two individuals, Botrus and Celestius, probably presbyters in the Carthaginian church, who hastened the election in hopes that the choice might fall on one of themselves. The fact that so many reasons were hunted up from one quarter and another to invalidate that objection of the Donatist party, renders it probable, that the ordination of the bishop of Carthage was, according to the more common practice, solemnized in the presence and with the coöperation of the Numidian bishops. Optatus, however, introduces that remark of his only as a report (dicitur). Perhaps the truth at bottom was simply this, that those two presbyters aspired after the episcopal dignity, and, having been disappointed, were for this reason led to foster the division.

[2] The name of this town is written variously: Aptugnensis, Aptungitanus, Autumnitanus.

[3] The seniores plebis, according to the system of organization which prevailed in the North African church (see vol. I. § 1). The adversaries of the Donatists explain this as follows: When the bishop Mensurius, uncertain as to the issue of his business, left Carthage, he intrusted the precious movables of the church to the care of these elders, with the charge to deliver them over, in case he died before his return, to his successor in the bishopric. But, as these seniores wished to retain the whole in their own possession, it grieved them to be obliged to deliver them over into the hands of Cæcilian, and this was the cause of their enmity to him. Optatus, I. 18: Qui faucibus avaritiæ commendatam ebiberant prædam. Cum reddere cogerentur, subduxerunt communioni pedem. But how was this known to be the fact? For these persons certainly could not decline giving up what had been intrusted to them; and, at all events, must have been obliged to give up the whole to the *new* bishop, whoever he might be. It is quite evident that, as often happens in similar cases, such motives, the existence of which could not possibly be proved, were falsely imputed to these persons, — after they became hated as the promoters of Donatism.

by a traditor. Cæcilian went still further: he offered to resign his office, and return to his former post as a deacon, so that he could be ordained anew by the Numidian bishops.[1] But the latter were too far committed against him to enter into any such compromise. They now proceeded to accuse Cæcilian himself; and, as they did not acknowledge him to be a regular bishop, they chose in his stead the reader Majorinus, a favorite of Lucilla. An assembly of seventy Numidian bishops at Carthage excommunicated Cæcilian, because he had allowed himself to be ordained by a traditor.[2] The fanaticism which prevailed already at this assembly is characteristically shown by the following expression of one of its members: "As unfruitful weeds are mown down and cast away, so the thurificati and traditores,[3] and those who are schismatically ordained by traditors, cannot remain in the church of God, except they acknowledge their error, and become reconciled with the church by the tears of repentance."[4]

Thus was laid the foundation of the schism in the North African church. According to the usual mode of proceeding in such cases, each of the two parties now endeavored to secure for itself the recognition of other churches; and thus the breach would necessarily be extended. The emperor Constantine, who just at the present juncture had obtained the sovereignty over this part of the Roman empire, must have been prejudiced from the beginning against the party of Majorinus; for, in the very first laws by which he bestowed various privileges on the Catholic church in this quarter of the world, he expressly excluded that party from all share in them, and declared himself decidedly opposed to it; although this proceeding was in direct contradiction to those principles of universal toleration which Constantine had avowed in the laws enacted about the same time. The fanaticism which we find prevailing in this party at its very origin, may doubtless have furnished occasion enough for representing it to the emperor as composed of dangerous men, without his knowing anything more about the character of these disputes.[5] The party of Majorinus, which saw itself condemned without a hearing, presented to the emperor, then residing in Gaul, a petition, entreating him, by his love of justice, to name judges in that country itself for the purpose of inquiring into the nature of the controversy which had arisen in the North African church.[6] They probably chose to have their judges from Gaul, because these would be least liable to suspicion; inasmuch as this country had escaped the last persecutions of the Christian church, and therefore no traditors were to be found there, as in the other churches. The emperor thereupon directed that Melchiades (Miltiades), bishop of Rome, with five other Gallic bishops, should inquire

[1] Optat. I. 19. Cæcilian would hardly have been induced to consent to this, had he not at that time conceded the principle, that an ordination performed by a traditor was invalid.

[2] Augustin. breviculus d. III. c. 14, § 26.

[3] See vol. I. § 1.

[4] Liber c. Fulgentium Donatistam, c. 26. Du Pin monumenta, p. 176.

[5] In a rescript, issued in the beginning of the year 313, addressed to Cæcilianus, bishop of Carthage, and cited in Eusebius, X. 6, the adherents of the other party are styled μὴ καθεστώσης διανοίας ἄνθρωποι; mention is made of their μανία.

[6] The petition is to be found in Optatus, I. c. 22.

into the affair; that Cæcilian should appear before them, with ten bishops who were to present the charges against him, and ten other bishops who were to defend him. The trial was holden in the year 313; and Melchiades came attended with fifteen other Italian bishops. The bishop Donatus of Casæ Nigræ in Numidia, with whom, as we remarked above, the germ of the schism began, now also stood at the head of Cæcilian's accusers; as indeed he seems generally to have been at that time the soul of the whole party. His charges against the latter were found to be unsustained; but he himself was declared guilty of various acts contrary to the laws of the church. The party of Majorinus having declared, as was to be expected, that injustice had been done them by this decision, Constantine directed, in the year 314, that the charges against the ordainer of Cæcilian, the above-named bishop Felix, should be examined according to the usual judicial form at Carthage, where access could be had to all the records and witnesses that might be needed in the trial; and that an ecclesiastical convention at Arles should hear delegates from the two parties, and so enter into a new investigation of the whole matter. The result of the first inquiry was, that Felix was declared innocent. The council of Arles decided likewise against the party of Majorinus, and established at the same time three canons which in part were opposed to the conduct of *this* party, and partly were designed to prevent the occurrence of similar divisions for the future. As the charge of denying the faith in the Diocletian persecution had been one of the principal occasions which led to this schism, and such accusations, repeated over merely on the ground of vague report, might often result in similar consequences, it was decided in the *thirteenth* canon that those only *who could be convicted by public documents* of having delivered up copies of the Holy Scriptures or property of the church, or of having informed against other Christians before the tribunals, should be deposed from their spiritual offices. No other accusation but those which could be thus substantiated, should be received. As, moreover, the party of Majorinus held fast to the ancient principle of the North African church, that the validity of a sacramental act depended on the fact that the performer of it was a member of the Catholic church, it was established as a rule, in reference to ordination, that, although this ceremony had been performed by a person who could be legally convicted of those transgressions, it should still remain valid in case nothing else was to be objected against it. The same principle of the objectivity of sacramental acts was, moreover, in the *eighth* canon, so defined,— probably with reference to the proceedings of the North African schismatics,— that baptism was always to be considered valid if it had been performed in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.[1] For the rest, it may well be inferred from the passionate tone of the report drawn up by this council and sent to the Roman

[1] According to one reading, this canon would be pointed, not against these North Africans, but against the Arians. But the other is most probably the original reading. What possible occasion could there be, at that time, especially in the Western church, for the expression of any such opposition to the Arians?

bishop Silvester, that the spirit which prevailed in it was not calculated to dispose the other party for peace. The party of Majorinus appealed from this decision to the judgment of the emperor himself. We have observed before, how very strange it then appeared to Constantine, that an appeal should be made from an episcopal decision on ecclesiastical matters to his own tribunal. In his reply to the bishops, he manifests his displeasure against the party of Majorinus by the most violent expressions.[1] Yet he accepted the appeal, and listened himself to the delegates of the two parties at Milan, in the year 316; his decision also went in favor of Cæcilian. From this time the whole matter took another turn; laws of the state now appeared against the party of Majorinus; they were deprived of their churches, and the places where they assembled were confiscated.[2] They were treated as transgressors of the imperial laws. The force by which it was sought to destroy them, proved, as usually happens, only the means of giving them a new impulse, and pushed the spirit of enthusiasm, already existing among them in the bud, into full development. Majorinus, indeed, died in the year 315; but with him the schism, which had struck deeper root, by no means ceased. Besides, he had rather served to give an outward name to the party, than really constituted the head and soul of it. The latter had till now been Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ in Numidia, who stood in the same relation to Majorinus as, under similar circumstances, Novatus had done to Novatian at the beginning of the Novatian schism. But henceforth the other Donatus, the successor of Majorinus, became the head and soul of the sect. And he was well suited to stand at the head of a party, being a man of fiery, untutored eloquence, of great firmness of principle, and of great energy of action. The excessive admiration of his party converted him into a worker of miracles, and gave him the title of *the Great*.[3] From him, too, they received their name, *the Donatists;* and by this name we shall henceforth call them.[4]

[1] See this letter in Du Pin acta, f. 184.

[2] Aug. ep. 88, § 3. Contra lit. Petiliani. l. II. c. 92, § 205.

[3] It went to such a pass that they were in the habit of swearing per canos Donati. August. Enarrat. in Ps. X. § 5.

[4] One might be doubtful, whether the names pars Donati, Donatistæ, Donatiani, were derived originally from Donatus a Casis Nigris, or from Donatus Magnus. The explanation given by Donatists themselves points, it is true, quite distinctly, to the latter derivation (see the words of Petilianus, bishop of Cirta in Numidia, which will presently be quoted, collat. c. Donatist. N. 32, f. 296). But it may be that although this name was taken originally from Donatus a Casis Nigris, yet this person was afterwards forgotten among his party, in consequence of the far greater influence of the second Donatus. The title pars Donati actually occurs already in the petition of the Donatist party addressed to the emperor Constantine, in the year 313 (in Optatus, l. I. c. 22); and, if this citation is perfectly correct, no further doubt could exist about the correctness of the derivation of the name from Donatus a Casis Nigris. But it is certain that Optatus does not give us the original title of this petition, but has modified it by the name which the Donatist party then bore. The original title we find rather in the relatio Anulini proconsulis Africæ, where it is said, libellus traditur a parte Majorini. Thus the party was styled, till the time when the name of Majorinus became wholly eclipsed by that of Donatus Magnus. Yet there is one other possible supposition, — that Donatus a Casis Nigris and Donatus Magnus were one and the same individual; that the former, on account of having so greatly distinguished himself by his activity in behalf of the interests of his party, had, after the death of Majorinus, obtained the first bishopric of his party. In favor of this would be the fact, that Optatus of Mileve seems to have

The Donatists, in their public declarations, must, of course, apply to themselves some appropriate title in order to distinguish their own sect from the party of their opponents, and from the dominant church in North Africa. They therefore called themselves by a name wholly inoffensive in itself, the "pars Donati," as the most convenient way of making themselves known in their relation to another determinate human party. This other party, it is true, following the unjustifiable practice of imputing inferences of their own as facts against their adversaries, argued from this party name, that they were for being something else than the church of Christ and the Catholic church; that they thus set themselves off as a mere human party. The Donatists by no means admitted the thing which was assumed in these accusations; they declared that they called themselves after the name of Donatus, not as the founder of a new church, but as one of the bishops of the ancient church derived from Christ.[1] And not without reason could they say that they might rightly call their adversaries, precisely after the same manner, Mensurists and Cæcilianists.[2] The name *Donatists*, which was applied to them by their opponents, may, in its intended meaning, perhaps, have implied, from the beginning, something that was offensive; they themselves would never acknowledge it.[3]

Ursacius, a count of the empire, had been directed to carry the laws against the Donatists into effect; and a person of this description, accustomed to military despotism, was certainly not calculated to proceed in an affair of this kind with that spirit of kindness and forbearance, without which the enthusiastic spirit, already in existence, might easily be fanned into a fiercer flame. The forcible measures to which Ursacius resorted,[4] for the purpose of compelling the Donatists to unite with the dominant church, produced the most violent ferment of spirits. There existed in North Africa a band of fanatical ascetics,

knowledge of only one Donatus; but against it is the fact, that the Donatists expressly distinguished one of these two Donatuses from the other (see Augustin. breviculus collat. c. Donatistis d. III. c. 20, § 38. Du Pin, f. 323); and, moreover, the Catholic bishops recognized, at the religious conference in Carthage, this distinction as a correct one; and Augustin — who at an earlier period, as he says in his Retractions, had confounded together the two Donati—expressly distinguishes them, c. Cresconium Donatistam, l. II. c. 1, § 2. Again: the translation of bishops, forbidden by the laws of the church, was by no means so common in the Western church as it was in the Eastern; and, had Donatus M. incurred the charge of an act so contrary to the laws of the church, his adversaries could hardly have failed to make use of such an advantage against him.

[1] The words of the Donatist Cresconius are: Quod Donatus non auctor et institutor ecclesiæ, quæ antea non fuerat, sed a Christo deductæ et antiquæ unus ex episcopis fuerit. In Augustin. c. Cresconium Donatistam, l. IV. c. 6, § 7.

[2] The words of the Donatist bishop Petilianus at the conference in Carthage: Ego eos dicere possum, immo palam aperteque designo Mensuristas et Cæcilianistas, l. c. f. 296, N. 30.

[3] The Donatist grammarian Cresconius affirmed that, according to the Latin grammatical use, they ought at least to be called, not Donatistæ, but Donatiani, c. Crescon. Donatist, l. II. c. 1, § 2.

[4] The Donatists were persuaded that the death of this man, who was killed sometime afterwards in an affray with the barbarians, was a divine judgment in punishment for his crimes. But the logic of fanaticism, as usual, argued from one or two cases to all, and hence the Donatist bishop Petilianus said: Periit Macarius, periit Ursacius, cunctique comites vestri Dei pariter vindicta perierunt. Augustin. c. literas Petiliani, l. II. c. 92, § 208.

who, despising all labor, wandered about the country among the huts of the peasants (whence they were called by their adversaries *circumcelliones*), and supported themselves by begging. They styled themselves the Christian champions, *agonistici*. These people could easily be excited to any species of fanaticism: while the Pagans were still in power, parties of these circumcelliones had often, to no useful purpose, demolished the idols on their estates, and thus exposed themselves — which was in fact their object — to martyrdom.[1] It is no more than natural that these persons, stimulated perhaps by the discourses of their bishops, and roused by the persecutions against the Donatist party, should be easily hurried on to every species of fanaticism and violence.

The emperor Constantine, who had in this affair suffered himself to be induced to swerve from his usual principles of toleration, must certainly have perceived, after so mournful an experience, the disadvantages arising from such a change. As early as the year 317, he sent a rescript to the North African bishops and communities, in which he exhorted them to forbear retaliating with wrong the wrong which they suffered from the Circumcellions. They ought not, with foolish hands, to intermeddle with the vengeance which God had reserved to himself; especially in a case where what they suffered from the rage of such men, would, in the sight of God, be equivalent to martyrdom. If they adhered to this principle, they would soon see the fanaticism perish of its own accord.[2] When now the Donatists, in addition to what they had done already, transmitted to the emperor, in the year 321, a petition, in which they declared that nothing would induce them to enter into church fellowship with that scoundrel, his bishop;[3] that they would rather suffer everything he might choose to inflict on them;[4] Constantine became convinced, doubtless, still more than ever, by the tone of this document, of the dangerous consequences which must follow, if violent measures for the restoration of the peace of the church were pursued any further. In a rescript addressed to the Vicar Verinus in North Africa,[5] he granted to the Donatists full liberty to act according to *their own* convictions, declaring that this was a matter which belonged to the judgment of God.[6]

To these principles Constantine remained firm to the end. When the Circumcellions, with force of arms, demolished a church which he had caused to be erected for the Catholics in the town of Constantina,

[1] That it was by their opponents alone these people were called *circumcelliones*, while they gave themselves the name of *agonistici*, is clear from Augustin. enarrat. in Ps. 132, § 6. They sprang from the ancient ascetics, and hence were opposed to the more recent monasticism. Augustin describes them as follows: Genus hominum, *ab utilibus operibus otiosum*, crudelissimum in mortibus alienis, vilissimum in suis (fanatical contempt of life) *maxime in agris territans, ab agris vacans, et victus sui causa cellas circumiens rusticorum*, unde et *circumcellionum* nomen accepit. C. Gaudentium Donatistam, l. I. § 32.

[2] See Constantine's rescript in the *monumenta*. Du Pin, f. 138.

[3] Nullo modo se communicaturos antistiti ipsius nebuloni.

[4] In Augustin. breviculus collationis diei III. c. 21, § 39.

[5] Epistola Constantini, qua libertatem agendi tribuit Donatistis. Index Collationis III. cap. 549. Du Pin, f. 189.

[6] In expressions, it must be allowed, which were wounding to the Donatists, since he does not avoid such terms as *eorum furor*.

the emperor ordered it to be rebuilt at his own expense, and demanded no indemnification of the Donatists.[1] If men had only remained true to these doctrines of toleration, and simply punished the acts of violence committed on both sides, according to the laws; had the emperor always acted as emperor only, as the political interests demanded of him, — without making his subjective opinion on a matter of controversy, a law for others, — the North African church would probably never have been exposed to any such distractions as afterwards ensued.

The Western emperor, Constans, to whom North Africa fell after the death of his father, was not actuated, even at the beginning, by the principle to which his father had finally returned, although he was not at first inclined to use any measures of constraint against the Donatists. He by no means withdrew himself from any interference in the controversies. He simply employed those means which were then frequently resorted to on the part of the court for the purpose of making proselytes.[2] He directed his two commissioners, Ursacius and Leontius, in the year 340, to endeavor, by the distribution of money under the name of alms, to win over the Donatist churches.[3] As he

[1] The rescript in Du Pin, f. 189, composed, it must be admitted, in too theological a style for an emperor.

[2] See above, in the cases of Constantine and Julian.

[3] Optatus represents this as having been done *first* by Macarius. He mentions, indeed, the preceding persecutions by Leontius, Ursacius, and Gregorius. But, as he gives no precise dates, it is nevertheless quite possible that the whole ought to be referred to the first persecution under the emperor Constantine; and consequently the persecution under the emperor Constans would have first commenced after the death of the bishop Cæcilian of Carthage, and under the new bishop Gratus. But the discourse (sermo) in memory of the two Donatist martyrs, Donatus et Advocatus, first published by Du Pin in the collection of *monumenta* (l. c. fol. 190), represents the persecution as having begun already, under Leontius and Ursacius, in the attempt to win over the Donatist churches by means of the distribution of money. It is here said (c. 3): "Mittit (viz. diabolus, salutis inimicus) pecunias, quibus vel fidem caperet, vel professione legis occasionem faceret avaritiæ (foster avarice under the pretext, that nothing more was desired than a profession of divine truth, — the *professio* being in this case nothing more nor less than a means of receiving money from the emperor)." But this hardly agrees with the first beginning of the persecution under the emperor Constantine; for then the Donatists were attacked at once with severe measures, as violators of the imperial decree. The question now arises, whether we ought rather to follow the representation of the case in the *sermo*, or that of Optatus; or whether we should seek to unite them both together. In the first case, it might be assumed that everything said by Optatus, relative to the distribution of money, and the measures taken by Donatus against it, should be transferred to an earlier time than that which he assigns, — namely, to the first part of the reign of Constans; that what he relates of Macarius should be ascribed to Leontius and Ursacius; and that in place of the bishop *Gratus* of Carthage should be substituted his predecessor *Cæcilian*. Thus Optatus must have wholly confounded the times, — as indeed he is not remarkably exact in such matters. At the same time, however, we cannot be certain that we are justified in attributing to the unknown author of the "Discourse," although it is highly probable that he did not live at a period far remote from the time of these events, so much higher authority as an historical witness. It may furthermore be supposed, on the other side, that the author of the "Discourse" might himself have confounded times and names; and that thus the persecution under the emperor Constans began first with Macarius, in the year 347. But still it is not probable that the bishops of the Catholic party would have quietly observed, for so long a time, the toleration with which the Donatists were treated, without making any attempt to draw from the emperor Constans some new measures for the suppression of the schism. The reports of the "Discourse" and of Optatus may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that *three* separate attempts

issued at the same time an edict whereby he called upon the North African Christians to return back to the unity of the church, which Christ loved,[1] it was the less possible that the object of these measures should remain concealed from the Donatist bishops. This covert attack served only to exasperate them: they excited their communities to the most determined resistance. More forcible measures soon succeeded; — the Donatists were to be deprived of their churches; — they were fallen upon by armed troops while assembled for the worship of God. Such acts could not be committed without the effusion of blood; those that fell victims to the persecution were honored by their party as martyrs;[2] and the annual celebration of the days of their death furnished new means for enkindling the enthusiasm of the Donatist party.

The second attempt was made by a count of the empire, named Gregorius. The bishop Donatus wrote to him in a wild, insurrectionary spirit,[3] with abusive language little becoming the character of a bishop. But the most furious persecution began in the year 347. The imperial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, traversed, in the first place, the whole of Northern Africa, distributed money to the poor, in the name of the emperor, presented costly church utensils to individual communities, and, at the same time, exhorted all to offer no resistance to the unity of the church. In this connection, the object of these presents was perfectly clear to every one. The bishop Donatus of Carthage repelled the advances of the imperial officer with the remark: "What has the emperor to do with the church?"[4] He sent admonitions to all the Donatist churches, charging them to receive none of the money. Judging from the character of Donatus, it may well be presumed that he betrayed a great want of Christian reflection and prudence, — qualities most needful at this time to prevent the worst excesses of fanaticism, when parties of enthusiastic Circumcellions were wandering about through the country.

The principle expressed in those words of Donatus, that church and state should be kept wholly distinct from each other, had, at that time, through the reaction which began to manifest itself against the dominant church party, become universally recognized among the Donatists. In their sermons, the Donatist bishops spoke of the corruption of the church, which had originated in the confusion of the church and the state. "The evil spirit, before openly combated in the church," said they, "was now a still more dangerous enemy in its covert attacks,

were made in the reign of Constans, — the first by Leontius and Ursacius, the second by Gregorius, and the last by Macarius. In the case of the first and of the second of these attempts, the beginning may have been made by the distribution of money. It cannot assuredly be affirmed to be improbable, that Constans would have resorted twice in succession to the same means with such unhappy results; since we are but too well aware, how slow the Byzantine emperors were to grow wise by experience.

[1] Christus amator unitatis est, unitas igitur fiat. l. c. Passio Donati et Advocati, § 3.

[2] Thus it was with Honoratus, bishop of Siciliba, whose life is related in the tract above referred to.

[3] Gregori, macula senatus et dedecus præfectorum; words quoted by Optatus, l. III. c. 3.

[4] Quid est imperatori cum ecclesia? Optat. l. III. c. 3.

since it made a pretext of religion itself, and strove to insinuate itself into men's heart by flattery.[1] Those whom it seduced to apostasy (the traditors), and who, by humbling themselves, might have been able to regain the divine favor, it now endeavored to make secure, by flattering them that they could still be Christians, and, in truth, bishops, and by tempting their ambition and their avarice with the favor of princes and worldly gifts." What impression must these and the like discourses have produced on the minds of the Circumcellions, inclined already to every fanatical extravagance! Accustomed to trace all corruption among the Christians to the influence of earthly power and grandeur, and to the abundance of worldly goods, this ruling idea mounted with them to a fanatical spirit, that breathed hatred against all who possessed power, rank, or wealth. They roved about the country, pretending to be the protectors of the oppressed and suffering, — a sacred band who were fighting for the rights of God. Perhaps they rightly perceived that there was a great deal in the relation between the proprietors and their oftentimes heavily oppressed boors,[2] between masters and slaves, that was at variance with the spirit and doctrines of Christianity. But in the way in which *they* were disposed to better the matter, all civil order must be turned into confusion. They took the part of all debtors against their creditors: their chiefs, Fasir and Axid, who styled themselves the leaders of the sons of the Holy One,[3] sent threatening letters to all creditors, in which they were ordered to give up the obligations of their debtors. Whoever refused to obey was attacked on his own estate by the furious company, and might congratulate himself if he could purchase back his life by the remission of the debt. Whenever they met a master with his slave, they obliged the former to take the place of the latter. They compelled venerable heads of families to perform the most menial services. All slaves who complained of their masters, whether justly or unjustly, were sure of finding with them assistance, and the means of revenge.[4] Several of the Donatist bishops, desirous of clearing their party from the reproach of being the abettors or advocates of such atrocities, when they found themselves unable to produce any effect, by their representations, on the fanatics, are said themselves to have besought the interposition of the civil power against men who refused to be governed and set right by the church;[5] and this gave the first occasion for resorting to force for the purpose of checking the outrages of the Circumcellions.

Now came in those exhortations of Donatus, and other like-minded bishops, to excite the Circumcellions to revolt. Their ferocious deeds furnished a welcome pretext for resorting to other persecuting meas-

[1] In the Donatist sermon, quoted in Du Pin, f. 191: Blandæ deceptionis insidiæ, quæ sub obtentu religionis animas fraudulenta circumventione subvertunt.

[2] Of which oppressions the bishops by their *intercessiones*, and Libanius, frequently testify.

[3] The phrase: Deo laudes! constituted the watch-word of their fanaticism. Vid. Augustin. c. Petilian. l. II. § 146.

[4] See, among others, Augustin. ep. 185, ad. Bonifac. § 18.

[5] According to Optatus, l. III. c. 4, this appears to have taken place before the attempt of Macarius to restore union.

ures. It was determined that the unity of the church should be forcibly restored; the Donatists were to be deprived of their churches, and compelled to worship with the Catholics. It cannot be exactly determined, how much, in all that was done, proceeded from imperial edicts, and how much from the despotism, the passion, or the cruelty, of individual commanders. Force continually excited the fanatic spirit still more; the report spread, that the emperor's image was set up, after the pagan manner, in the churches, and the worship paid to it which is due only to God. Many Donatist bishops and clergymen, many Circumcellions, fell victims to the persecution. It is natural to suppose that the reporters of the facts, on the Catholic side, would seek to curtail, and those on the other side, to exaggerate the truth: hence an accurate statement is out of the question. Certain it is, that many Circumcellions sought only the glory of martyrdom. Finally it came to that pass, that they threw themselves from precipices, cast themselves into the fire, and hired others to kill them.[1] The most eminent bishops of the Donatist party, such as Donatus of Carthage, were exiled; and thus it was imagined a final check had been given to the resistance of the Donatists.

So much the more violent was the reaction when a change of political relations took place, and the party hitherto oppressed, thereby recovered once more its freedom. This came about under the reign of the emperor Julian, in the year 361. The Donatists, in conformity with their peculiar principles, were quite satisfied that Christianity should cease, under the pagan ruler, to be the dominant religion of the state. Their bishops transmitted to him a petition, in which they besought a ruler who regarded only justice, to rescind the unjust decrees that had been issued against them. There could be no difficulty in obtaining a favorable answer, since the petition perfectly agreed with the principles of this emperor (see Section I. p. 71). He therefore issued an edict by which everything which under the preceding reign had been unlawfully undertaken against them, was to be annulled. As they were now reinstated in possession of the churches which had been taken from them, their separatist fanaticism displayed itself in the wildest freaks. They regarded those churches, and the church furniture, as having been stained and polluted by the use which the profane had made of them while they were in their possession; they dashed the utensils of the church to pieces; they painted over the walls of the churches; they polished down the altars, or removed them entirely from the churches.[2]

Under the succeeding emperors, the situation of the Donatists again became worse; and they themselves did the most injury to their cause by their wild fanaticism. The passionate temper of their bishops naturally led to new divisions among themselves. A Donatist deacon in Carthage, by the name of Maximian, who had fallen into a quarrel with Primianus, the Donatist bishop of that city, and who had been excommunicated by the latter, finding followers, set up a separate

[1] Vid. Optat. l. III. c. 4 and 12.

[2] See Optat. l. II. c. 24, and l. VI.

party, which stood in precisely the same relation to the main body of the Donatists as the Donatists themselves did to the Catholic church. In this controversy, the Donatists were driven into many inconsistencies, of which their adversaries were not slow to take advantage.

It cannot be doubted that this schism was greatly injurious to the North African church. The destruction of all ecclesiastical order, the stirring up of all the bad passions, and especially a fanatical intolerance which banished all Christian charity, were the consequences. To what an extreme this was carried, may be seen from one example. When the Donatist party ruled in the city of Hippo, the Donatist bishop Faustinus would not allow any one of his community to bake bread for the Catholic inhabitants. A baker who lived as a tenant in the house of a deacon of the Catholic church, refused to perform this service for his landlord.[1]

The deplorable consequences of the Donatist schism might well arouse every one, who was actuated by a living zeal for the interests of the church, to do everything in his power for the restoration of its peace. In addition to this motive came another, namely, that narrow view of church unity, which led men to believe that all Donatists were shut out of the way to salvation. Hence, even a man like Augustin could suppose that he was promoting the salvation of souls by every successful effort of his to bring back individuals from the Donatist party into the Catholic church. This great teacher particularly distinguished himself, first as a presbyter, and then afterwards as bishop of Hipporegius in Numidia, by his polemical discourses against the Donatists, and by his labors to promote union. His confidence in the validity of his logical and dogmatic principles made him feel perfectly sure, that, if the Donatist bishops could only be induced to enter into a calm investigation of arguments, they might easily be led to an acknowledgment of their errors. But, — not to mention that a fundamental error in the notion entertained on both sides concerning the church, presented a great difficulty in the way of a mutual understanding between the two parties,—the chief obstacle of all, which prevented any hearty and permanent union, — the prejudices of party spirit and passion,— did not admit of being banished from the dispositions of men by any power of logic; but, on the contrary, it was far more natural that disputation should serve only to excite the passions to a fiercer flame, and to cause the differences to appear still greater on both sides.

The Donatist Cresconius regarded it as intolerable arrogance[2] in Augustin that he should suppose himself able to terminate a controversy so easily, in which, for so long, so much had been said and done on both sides.[3] This was doing injustice to Augustin. That confi-

[1] Augustin refers to a case of this sort, in his controversy with the Donatists: Nonne apud Hipponem, ubi ego sum, non desunt qui meminerint. Faustinum vestrum regni sui tempore, præcepisse, quoniam Catholicorum ibi paucitas erat, ut nullus eis panem coqueret, ita ut cujusdam diaconi nostri furnarius inquilinus domnædii sui panem incoctum abjecerit. C. lit. Petilian. l. II. § 184.

[2] Intoleranda arrogantia.

[3] Hoc velle finiri post tot annos, post tot judices atque arbitros, quod apud principes tot disceptantibus litteratis ab utrisque partis episcopis finiri non potuit. See Augustin. c. Cresconium Donatistam lib. I. § 4.

dence simply grew out of the consequentialness of his system-bound logical mind; and the same will hold good of all minds similarly constituted. Such minds, from assuming that it is merely the obstinate will of their opponents which refuses to yield to the convincing force of arguments, may easily be hurried to the employment of other than intellectual weapons. Augustin was far from doing any such thing at first.

It was a beautiful plan which Augustin proposed to the aged bishop Fortunius, — both of them were men distinguished, in their respective parties, for Christian love and moderation, — that they should come together, each of them accompanied by ten others, lovers of peace, and agreeing with them in doctrine, in some villa, where there was no church of either party, and where members of both parties dwelt; that each should prepare himself, by silent prayer to the God of peace, for the common investigation;[1] and that they should agree not to separate till they had come to the wished-for union. But where would it have been possible to find ten such men of both parties, who would be able constantly to maintain, even in the heat of dispute, that tone of mind which Augustin required? Since the Donatists contended as the oppressed party with the dominant one, they had reasons, not without some foundation, for mistrust with regard to any proposal coming from that quarter; and, besides this, they feared and hated the superior logic of Augustin.

They accordingly fell into the mistake of despising dialectics generally. They held it in suspicion, as a thing incompatible with Christian simplicity.[2] Dialectics and sophistry were to them one and the same thing. Accordingly, the Donatist Cresconius remarks of the church teachers of his party, that they regarded Augustin, that homo dialecticus, as a man rather to be shunned than to be refuted.[3] But he himself observes on the other side, that Christian doctrine has nothing to fear from this art which they call dialectics; since it can do nothing more than to demonstrate the consequences following from propositions, — true consequences from true premises, and false consequences from false.[4] He appeals to the example of Paul, who did not decline to enter into disputation with the dialectical Stoics; to that of Christ himself, who baffled the entrapping questions of the Pharisees (Matt. 22: 17), by a syllogism; and speaking to the Donatists, he says: "The Pharisees had not learned how to revile from you; else, perhaps, instead of calling him a Samaritan, they would have chosen to call him, with more bitterness, a *dialectician*."

At the general African council held at Carthage A. D. 403, a form was drawn up, whereby all the Donatist bishops were to be invited to choose delegates out of their own body, prepared to discuss the contested points with chosen men from the Catholic party. The forms of this invitation were conceived, it is true, in the spirit of love; yet it

[1] See Augustin. ep. 44, of the year 398.

[2] Quæ non congruat Christianæ veritati.

[3] C. Crescon. lib. I. § 16.

[4] Hanc artem quam dialecticam vocant, quæ nihil aliud docet quam consequentia demonstrare, seu vera veris, seu falsa falsis, nunquam doctrina Christiana formidat. L. c. § 25.

contained a good deal which was calculated to irritate the minds of the Donatists. The Catholic bishops could not consent to forget that *they* spoke, in the secure possession of the truth, with men who were *in error*, and whose errors it was *their* business to correct.[1] It was to be expected that the Donatists would refuse to comply with any such proposal. And when now, in addition to this, Augustin, in the name of the church, wrote a letter to the Donatist churches,[2] in which he exposed the inconsistencies of their party, and interpreted the conduct of their bishops in declining the invitation held out to them, as a token of distrust in the goodness of their cause, the effect could only be to increase their indignation. Hence it happened that the Circumcellions were stirred up to new fury, and that those ecclesiastics who had taken a zealous part in the disputation with the Donatists became the special objects of it. Such occurrences would furnish occasion for new penal statutes against the Donatist party; though influential voices already protested against the practice of applying to the emperors for the passage of such laws.

The man who, through so many devious ways and severe struggles, had been led to the knowledge of the truth in which he found rest, must doubtless have been, on account of this experience, more mildly disposed towards those who were in error; at least, so long as the living memory of his own course of development continued to operate with him. He may have learned, that errors were not to be expelled by force; that it required something else besides human wisdom to guide the development and purification of a human soul. The more deeply penetrated he was with the conviction that grace alone, working from within, could truly enlighten and sanctify men, the less would he be inclined to attempt bringing back the erring to the truth, by outward means.

In the meeting above alluded to, with the Donatist bishop Fortunius, it came about that the latter, as the Donatists were frequently in the habit of doing, urged against the Catholic church the violent measures of which it had been the occasion. Augustin, feeling compelled to say something in vindication of his party, was so far misled as to appeal to the example of Elijah, who slew with his own hand the prophets of Baal. But when Fortunius replied that a distinction was to be made in such matters between the times of the Old and of the New Testament, Augustin acknowledged that he was right.[3] Somewhat later, he published a work against the party of Donatus, in the first book of which he decidedly condemns all the measures which had been employed to force back the Donatists to the ruling church.[4] And when,

[1] De vestra correctione gaudere cupientes. Cod. canon. eccles. Afric. c. 92.

[2] Ep. 76.

[3] Ep. 44. § 9. Hic revera vidit, quod videndum erat, talia tum licuisse justis. Hæc enim *prophetico* spiritu auctoritate Dei faciebat, qui procul dubio novit, cui etiam prosit occidi.

[4] This work, contra partem Donati, has not come down to us; but its tendency has been thus described by Augustin, in Retractation. l. II. c. 5. He says, in this place, he had then so conceived it, because he had not as yet learned by experience how much sin the Donatists were bold enough to commit, while they went unpunished, or how much a severe course of conduct would contribute to their improvement. As if *one* wrong could justify another, or the end sanctify the means.

at the council of the North African church, held at Carthage A. D. 404, the question was agitated about requiring the emperor to pass new penal laws against the Donatists, by which numbers might be the more easily brought back to the Catholic church, Augustin, with several others of the younger bishops, declared against it. He said men must go forward simply with the word of truth, must seek to conquer by arguments, unless, instead of open and avowed heretics, they would have hypocritical Catholic Christians. Hence the council ought to be satisfied with merely providing for the safety of those who, by defending the cause of the Catholic church, exposed themselves to the fury of the Circumcellions.[1] This opinion was adopted in part by the council. It was proposed to the emperor Honorius by the deputies of the North African church, that the fixed pecuniary mulct of ten pounds of gold, which had been laid by his father Theodosius against the clergy of the heretics, or the owners of those places where they held their assemblies for worship, should be assessed only against those Donatist bishops and clergy, within whose dioceses acts of violence against the Catholic clergy should be perpetrated. Yet the attempt is said to have been made, at the same time, to procure that the law whereby heretics were excluded from the right of receiving donations and legacies, and of leaving legacies in their wills, should be expressly extended to the Donatists, who would not consent to be reckoned among the heretics.[2] When, moreover, to the proposal of the North African council were added the complaints of individuals who had been abused by the Circumcellions, there were enacted, in the year 405, against the entire Donatist party, as a heretical one, various laws which were still more severe than the council itself had required.

The North African bishops, of whom Augustin was the soul, labored incessantly to bring about a religious conference with the Donatists, where they might be brought over to the true faith by the force of arguments. The Donatists, generally, sought every means of avoiding so useless an experiment. But it so happened, in the year 410, that certain Donatist bishops who had been summoned before the higher civil authorities were, by some means or other, perhaps by some objection which was brought against them, led to assert for the first time that they would doubtless be able to prove the truth of their cause, were they but allowed a patient hearing.[3] They were immedi-

[1] Ep. 93, Augustini ad Vincentium, § 17, and epist. 185, ad Bonifacium, § 25.

[2] Cod. Afr. canon 93. If we compare these minutes of the proceedings of the council with the report of them drawn up by Augustin, in the letter already referred to, addressed to Boniface, we shall doubtless see, that the former report is not strictly correct; while perhaps the whole matter was no longer clearly present to Augustin's memory; for this council certainly required, as is evident from the appendix, a penal law against the Donatists generally, as such, but one by no means so severe; and such a spirit of mildness and liberality as is described by Augustin in the two letters above referred to, as peculiar to his earlier mode of thinking, by no means expresses itself in those minutes. Moreover, it may be gathered from many of the works against the Donatists which Augustin had at that time already written, and which we shall hereafter cite, that he had then actually made the transition from his earlier liberal principles, to more strict and rigid ones.

[3] In the letters missive of this conference, the fact was appealed to, that the Donatists themselves had demanded it (sic ante brevissimum tempus Donatistarum

ately taken at their word; and the Catholic bishops, urgently renewing their request that a religious conference might be appointed, appealed to the fact that the Donatists themselves were ready to acquiesce in that movement. And the emperor Honorius ordered a religious conference to be held between the two parties at Carthage, A. D. 411. If the Donatist bishops, after being three times invited, still declined taking any share in the religious conference, their conduct should be interpreted to signify a consciousness of being unable to defend their cause, and their communities should therefore be compelled to unite with the Catholic church. On the other hand, any who might comply with the invitation, should at some future time receive again the churches of which they were deprived. The imperial tribune and notary, Flavius Marcellinus, Augustin's friend, was appointed to preside over this religious conference as the emperor's commissioner, and to act as judge.

The Catholic bishops made such overtures to the Donatists as were intended to inspire confidence. They declared themselves ready to resign their bishoprics, and to surrender them into the hands of the Donatist bishops alone, in case the latter gained the victory in the conference. Such a proposition, it may be granted, required but little self-denial, since, beyond all doubt, they were well convinced that the case supposed could never happen. There was more in the other proposal, that if the cause of the Donatists was lost, and if their bishops would come over to the Catholic church, they should be recognized in their episcopal character, and stand on the same level with the Catholic bishops in the exercise of their functions. But if the communities were not satisfied with this, both should resign their dignities, and the Donatists and Catholics, now united, choose a new bishop. "Be brothers with us in the Lord's inheritance," said Augustin; "let us not, for the sake of preserving our own stations, hinder the peace of Christ."[1] Augustin preached in Carthage, before the commencement of the conference, two discourses, in which he endeavored to inspire the Catholics there with love and gentleness towards the Donatists, and called on them, sedulously to avoid everything which might be calculated to give offense to their excitable feelings, or to arouse their passions. "Their eyes are inflamed," said he: "they must be treated prudently and with forbearance. Let no one enter into controversy with any other, — let no one at this moment even defend his faith by disputation, lest some spark from the controversy kindle into a great fire, — lest occasion of offense be given to those who seek occasion for it. Do you hear reviling language, endure it; be willing not to have heard it; be silent. Do you say, He brings charges against my bishop, and shall I be silent? Yes; be silent at those charges; not that you are to allow them, but to bear them. You best subserve the interests of your bishop at the present moment, when you forbear

episcopos in judicio illustrium potestatum collationem postulasse non dubium est. Gesta collationis in Du Pin, f. 247), although the Donatists denied all knowledge of having demanded any such thing.

[1] Augustin. ep. 128, Sermo 358, § 4.

meddling with his cause. Repay not revilings with revilings, but pray for him." [1]

There met together at Carthage, A. D. 411, two hundred and eighty-six bishops of the Catholic, and two hundred seventy-nine of the Donatist party. The Donatists had evidently come to the conference with reluctance, and full of distrust: this was shown on all occasions. The tribune Marcellinus, in conformity with the imperial edict, made known to them the proposal, that, in case they wanted confidence in him, they were at liberty to choose another person of equal or of superior rank to preside along with him. The Donatist bishop Petilianus thereupon declared: "It is none of our concern to ask for another judge, since in fact *we* did not ask for the *first*. The business belongs to those who have been the contrivers of this whole affair." [2]

Amid such vast numbers on both sides, the transactions could hardly be conducted in a quiet and orderly manner. Marcellinus demanded, in compliance with the imperial letters missive, that, according to the common mode of judicial proceedings, deputies should be chosen from each of the two parties, seven in number, to advocate the cause of their respective sides in the name of the rest. But the distrustful Donatists, prejudiced against the whole business, at first positively refused to enter into such an arrangement. They declared that the judicial mode of proceeding was not applicable to this spiritual concern. Amid wearisome, fruitless disputes about this and other matters relating to the form of transacting business, the time of the meeting, during the greater part of the first day, was spent. At length the Donatists were obliged to yield, and to choose seven bishops. Augustin was the ablest speaker on the one side, Petilianus on the other.

When, on the second day of the assembly, the seven deputies of each party entered the hall, the imperial commissioner invited them to take their seats as he took his own. The Catholic bishops followed the invitation; but Petilianus said, in the name of the Donatists: "We do not sit in the absence of our fathers (the other bishops, who could not assist at the conference), especially as the divine law, Ps. 26: 4, forbids us to sit down with such adversaries." Marcellinus thereupon declared, that respect for the character of the bishops forbade that he should remain seated, if they chose to stand; and he ordered his chair to be removed.

The matters brought forward at this religious conference related to two disputed questions; the one, as to the fact whether Felix of Aptunga, and Cæcilian, were traditors; the other was a question of doctrine, namely, what belonged to the essence of the Catholic church, — whether the church, by communion with unworthy members, lost the predicate of the genuine Christian, Catholic church. The controversy on the first point can have no farther interest for us: in respect to the controversy on the second point, we shall treat upon it connectedly,

[1] P. 357, § 4.

[2] Gesta collat. f. 248.

when we come to survey the whole matter of dispute between the two parties.

The imperial commissioner decided, as was to be expected, in favor of the Catholic church. The decision was followed by severer laws, by which all the Donatist clergy were banished from their country, and the laity of the party were condemned to pecuniary fines. The fanaticism of the oppressed party was thereby excited to new and more violent outbreaks. When, in the year 420, the imperial tribune Dulcitius signified his intention to carry the laws against the Donatists into execution, Gaudentius, bishop of Thamurgade, who had been one of the seven speakers on the side of the Donatists at the conference of Carthage, declared that, if force were used to take away his church, he would burn himself up in it, together with his community. The tribune having written to him, that such a proceeding would not be in conformity with the doctrine of Christ; that, according to this, he must rather seek safety in flight; Gaudentius defended his premeditated suicide, and appealed, among other arguments, to the example of Razis, 2 Maccab. 14. This was the occasion of Augustin's writing his work against Gaudentius; a treatise important on account of its bearing on the question of suicide, and on other points connected with the history of Christian morals (see the fourth Section). When the Vandals, in the fifth century, made themselves masters of this country, the Donatists, as such, had to suffer no persecutions from them. It was only as adherents of the Nicene creed that they were persecuted, in common with other confessors of the same system. They continued to survive, as a distinct party, down to the sixth century, as may be seen from the letters of the Roman bishop Gregory the Great.

We now pass to consider the theological points of dispute between the two parties. The first point related to the doctrine concerning the *church*. The same remarks which we made on this subject, in speaking of the Novatian controversies in the preceding period, apply also to the Donatist disputes. Both parties were involved in the same grand mistake with regard to the conception of the church, by their habit of confounding the notions of the *invisible* and of the *visible church* with each other. Proceeding on this fundamental error, the Catholic fathers maintained that, separate from the communion of the one visible Catholic church, derived, through the succession of the bishops, from the apostles, there is no way of participating in the influences of the Holy Spirit and of obtaining salvation. On the other hand, the Donatists, owing to this same confusion of notions, held that every church which tolerated unworthy members in its bosom was itself polluted by the communion with them: it thus ceased to deserve the predicates of purity and holiness, and consequently ceased to be a true Christian church, since such a church could not subsist without these predicates.

As it concerns Augustin, it is easy to explain, from the course of his religious and theological development, how this notion of the church, as an outward institution, came to be considered by him of so much importance. Augustin had been carefully educated, by his pious

mother, Monica, in the faith, early implanted in his soul, that the way to heaven was to be found only in the Catholic church. From the years of his youth and upward, he had fallen into many errors of theory and practice, and into a series of violent conflicts. He passed, finally, from Manicheism, which had disappointed the expectations of many years, to Skepticism. Whilst he was in this state of skepticism, and whilst an inward impulse of his intellect and his heart compelled him still to believe in some objective truth, the thought took possession of his soul: Must not God have instituted an authority, capable of being known by sure and certain marks, to conduct the restless, doubting spirit of man, to the truth which he needs? From skepticism, the transition was here formed, in his case, — which was a case often repeated in history, — to the faith in the authority of a visible church, proved to be of divine origin by evidences not to be mistaken. Again, although the belief in the truth and divinity of the doctrines of Christ, which had attended him from his childhood, and never forsaken him, even when he embraced Manicheism, asserted its power in his soul more strongly as he grew older; yet he was in doubt as to the question where these doctrines of Christ were to be found, since each one of the sects claimed to be itself in possession of them. He failed of that knowledge and application of the right hermeneutical, exegetical, and critical principles, which would have enabled him to answer this question, as to what were the true doctrines of Christ, out of the sacred Scriptures alone. The hermeneutical and critical principles of the Manicheans had completely unsettled him: he wanted a stable authority, which could show him where the pure doctrines of Christ, the unfalsified collection of religious records, and the correct doctrinal exposition of them, were already present. This authority he believed he found in the tradition of the universal church. When Augustin considered that this church had come forth victorious out of all her conflicts with the powers that had assailed her from without, and with the manifold corruptions of Christianity in erroneous forms of doctrine; when he perceived what a revolution in the whole mode of human thought, and in the entire life of man, had been effected by means of this church; how the loftiest truths of religion had passed into the common consciousness of humanity, where this church had become dominant, — he no longer knew how to distinguish the immediate operation of Christianity itself, from what the church had effected as the destined organism which had served Christianity as the vessel and instrument for its diffusion and propagation. Christianity and the church, and, indeed, the church under this particular form of constitution, were confounded in his view. What he might justly regard as a witness for the divine, world-transforming power of the gospel, appeared to him as a witness for the divine authority of the visible, universal church; and he did not consider that the gospel truth would have been able to bring about effects equally great, by its inherent divine power, in some other vessel in which it could have been diffused among mankind; nay, that it would have been able to produce still purer and mightier effects, had it not been in many ways disturbed and checked

in its operation by the impure and confining vehicle of its transmission.[1]

As Augustin, at the time of his controversy with the Donatists, had already incorporated into his life, and woven into the very texture of his thoughts, this confused mixture of conceptions necessarily distinct; as this error, then universally prevailing in the Western, and particularly in the North African church, had thus passed over into his inmost habits of thinking,—it is easy to see of what weight this point must have seemed to him in the present dispute. Hence he could say:[2] "No one attains to salvation, and to eternal life, who has not Christ for his Head. But no one can have Christ for a Head, who does not belong to his Body, which is the church."[3] Hence the error, growing out of this confounding and mixing together of distinct notions, that the union of believers with Christ was necessarily brought about through the union with this visible church. And hence, in following out this principle, he asserts: "The entire Christ is the Head and the Body; the Head is the only-begotten Son of God, and the Body is the church. He who agrees not with Scripture in the doctrine concerning the Head, although he may stand in external communion with the church, notwithstanding belongs not to her. But, moreover, he who holds fast to all that Scripture teaches respecting the Head, and yet cleaves not to the unity of the church, belongs not to her."[4]

It is a fact particularly worthy of notice in the polemical writings of Augustin, that, whenever the Donatists made appeal to miracles, answers to prayer, visions, and to the holy lives of their bishops, as evidences that the true church was with them, *he*, on the other hand, will allow the validity of no other evidence than the objective testimony of the divine word. "Let them not try to prove the genuineness of their church," says he,[5] "by the councils of their bishops, by deceitful miraculous signs, since we have been warned and put on our guard against such proofs by the word of the Lord (Matth. 24: 25), but let them do it by the law and prophets, and by the word of the only Shepherd.[6] Neither do we ourselves affirm that men ought to believe us in maintaining that we are in the Catholic church, because this church is recommended by an Optatus of Mileve, or by an Ambrose of Milan, or other numberless bishops of our communion; or because it has been approved by the assemblies of our colleagues; or because such wonderful instances of answers to prayer, or of the healing of the sick, have been witnessed on sacred spots in the whole world, which have been visited by the members of our communion; or because this person has had a vision, and that other has heard in a trance, that he should not unite himself with the Donatist party, or that he should

[1] The authorities for this delineation are furnished by Augustin's confessions, by the works which he composed during the great crisis of his inner life, until the first years of his spiritual office, and especially the works de ordine, de moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ et moribus Manichæorum, de vera religione, and de utilitate credendi.

[2] De unitate ecclesiæ, § 49.

[3] Habere caput Christum nemo poterit, nisi qui in ejus corpore fuerit, quod est ecclesia.

[4] De unitate ecclesiæ, § 7.

[5] L. c. § 47.

[6] L. c. § 50.

forsake it." The same Augustin, to be sure, who, in disputing with the Donatists, allows validity to no evidence but that of the Scriptures, in favor of the true Catholic church; does yet, in his controversy with the Manicheans, make the authority of the gospel depend on that of the church. "I should not believe the gospel," he writes, "had I not been moved to do so by the authority of the Catholic church."[1] For the Catholic church had first pointed him from the errors of the Manicheans to the simple gospel, had made known to him the genuine documents out of which he might derive the doctrine of Christ. No other criterions were given him by which he might recognize these true records. All depended, with him, upon the testimony of this church, and therefore must his religious consciousness ever remain one subject to the church.

The Donatists maintained that the church should cast out from its body those who were known, by open and manifest sins, to be unworthy members. To prove this, they adduced the fifth chapter of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, where the apostle has given certain rules for the practice of church discipline. "When the church did not act in accordance with these rules," said they, "but tolerated such unworthy members in her communion, she lost the predicates of purity and holiness." All those passages of Holy Writ which bid us avoid the company of the wicked, they referred — confounding inward disposition with outward conduct — to the avoiding of external companionship with them. Augustin, taking the position of the Catholic church, replied that, it was true, church discipline should, by all means, be vigorously maintained; but that still such a complete separation from the rest, even of manifest transgressors, was, in the existing state of the church, impracticable; that the evil must be patiently endured, to avoid a still greater one, and to give opportunity for reformation to such as could be reformed, especially in those cases where the wickedness which was to be corrected by church discipline, was shared by too many. The Apostle Paul, he attempts to show, by what we must allow to be a rather forced interpretation,[2] was speaking only of *individuals*, whose vices were not common to many, and whose vices were universally known; so that the sentence of excommunication pronounced against such persons must have been acknowledged as just by all. But when the same disease had infected many, nothing was left to the good but pain and grief, that so, by the mark revealed to Ezekiel (Ezek. 9: 4), they might be preserved from the destruction with which all were threatened. Where the infection of sin had seized on the many, the severity of a divine chastisement was required; for the counsels of human separation were vain and mischievous; they proceeded from pride; they rather disturbed the weak among the good, than exerted any power of reformation on the boldly wicked.

[1] The well-known and remarkable words, contra epistolam Manichæi, § 6: Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.

[2] In the phrase, "si quis," he maintained, was implied one among many differently disposed; and in the words, "fratres nominantur," that his offense was generally known.

"Let man then punish," says he, "what he may punish, in the spirit of love. Where he may not, let him suffer patiently, sigh and mourn with love, until either chastisement and reformation come from above, or, at the general harvest, the tares be rooted out, and the chaff sifted away. Thus the good and faithful Christians, certain of their own salvation, may persevere to dwell in unity among the corrupt, whom it is beyond their power to punish, seeking to extirpate the sin which is in their own heart.[1]"

The Catholic party appealed to those parables of our Lord which treat of the separation of the good and bad, reserved unto the final judgment; the parables of the tares and the wheat,—of the draught of fishes. The Donatists replied, either that these passages referred simply to the mixing together of the good and the bad in the *world*, and not within the church; that by the *field*, the *net*, was to be understood, not the church, but the world; or they maintained that those passages referred simply to the mixing in of secret sinners with the saints; since even *they* allowed, that a complete separation was in this life impossible, and demanded only the exclusion of those who were manifestly vicious.[2]

By these proceedings, the two parties were drawn into a noticeable controversy touching the different application to be made of the scriptural phrase "the world," in which they might more readily have come to a common understanding, if they had started with defining more clearly the different relations embraced under the conception of "the church." While the Donatists made it appear that Christ himself, in explaining the parable, would have us to understand that the field is the world, Augustin maintained, on the other hand, that Christ, in this case, put the world for the church.[3] Accordingly, it was only by rightly carrying out the distinction, involved in the conception of the church, as either coincident with the world (the *visible* church lying outside of the invisible) or opposed to the world (the *invisible* church lying within the visible), that this controversy could be terminated. Therefore the bishop Emeritus expressed the utmost astonishment, when he heard Augustin affirm, that, in the passage of Scripture above mentioned, the world was put for the church. He quoted in proof of the contrary, merely those passages in John, where the world means whatever is opposed to the kingdom of God, and asked whether this could be said of the church. But it was Augustin's opinion that the term "world" is employed in Scripture sometimes in a good, and sometimes in a bad sense. It was only important to distinguish these different senses: when the contradiction would disappear. But he would have taken still another step in advance, if he had duly distin-

[1] Augustin. c. epist. Parmenian, l. III. § 12, et seq.

[2] As it respects the second position, the Donatists explained: Hoc de *reis latentibus* dictum, quoniam reticulum in mari positum quid habeat a piscatoribus, id est a sacerdotibus, ignoratur, donec extractum ad littus ad purgationem boni seu mali prodantur. Ita et latentes et in ecclesia constituti et a *sacerdotibus ignorati*, in divino judicio proditi, tanquam pisces mali a sanctorum consortio separantur. See Collat. Carthag. d. III. ed. Du Pin, f. 314, and the breviculus of Augustin concerning this day.

[3] Mundum ipsum appellatum esse pro ecclesiæ nomine.

guished the different ways of understanding the church, and marked, according to its true sense, the transition from the world to the church, which gradually forms itself out of the world.

It is remarkable, but also very natural, that the Donatists, to show the necessity of a severe sifting in the church, and to prove that the church was corrupt where such a sifting had not been made, drew their arguments, for the most part, from the Old Testament, and from such passages of the *Old Testament* as treat of the external purity of the people of God.[1] They ought, however, in this case, to have paid some regard to that necessary distinction between the positions of the Old and of the New Testament, which they were not slow to insist on, in other cases, against their opponents.

According to *the Catholic point of view*, to the essence of the genuine Catholic church belonged its *general spread through the medium of the episcopal succession down from the apostles.* From the conception of the Catholic church in this sense, were then first derived the predicates of purity and holiness. On the other hand, according to the Donatist point of view, the predicate of Catholic ought to be subordinate to those of purity and holiness. When the church, however widely extended, — they inferred, — became corrupted by intercourse with unworthy members, then that church, in whatever nook or corner of the earth it might be, which had no manifestly vicious members within its pale, is the genuinely Catholic one.[2] They appealed, not without reason, from the prejudgment grounded on numbers and universality, to the passages of Scripture where the little band of genuine confessors was distinguished from the great mass of apostates, or of those belonging to the kingdom of God merely in outward appearance; as, for example, the seven thousand that had not bowed the knee to Baal, — where the few, who went in the strait way towards heaven, were opposed to the multitude of those who went in the broad way to destruction. They maintained that when Christ represented it as so doubtful (Luke 18 : 8), whether at his reappearance he should find faith on the earth, this indicated that the faithful, in the true sense, would not be thus diffused in one mass over the whole earth.[3]

But notwithstanding this well-founded distinction, they still persisted, by force of a subjective element of conviction, in confounding the visible with the invisible church; and when, in their separatist pride, they exclaimed that they alone constituted the church, they made of the church a very narrow and shrunken concern. They supposed that the saying was here verified, that the last should be first. In Africa, though no church founded by an apostle existed there, was now the holy, pure church; while the East, where Christianity had commenced

[1] Collat. l. c. f. 313, 314.

[2] The Donatist bishop Emeritus says, in opposing the assumption of the other party, who always proceeded on the supposition that they were the Catholic church according to the principle of universality: Quicunque justis legitimisque ex causis Christianus fuerit approbatus, ille meus est Catholicus. And the bishop Gaudentius: Catholicum nomen non ad provincias vel gentes referendum; cum hoc sit quod sacramentis plenum, quod perfectum, quod immaculatum. Collat. d. III. f. 301 et 302.

[3] Augustin. de unitate ecclesiæ, § 33, et seq.

its progress, had fallen from purity. They here protested, therefore, against the claim set up by the *sede apostolica*, and against those who would invariably attach to outward fellowship with that see, the predicate of *Catholic* church.[1]

Midway between both parties stood the Donatist grammarian, Tichonius, approving neither of the intolerant, proud spirit of separatism, nor of Catholicism, which was for forcing men into an external unity. He allowed that his party was wrong in holding itself to be the alone pure church; and in making the fulfillment of the divine promise, as to the blessing which should be dispensed through the posterity of Abraham to all mankind, — the blessing of a preached gospel which should reach the whole world, — to depend on a subjective human purity which nowhere existed. He could not agree that, by communion with unworthy members which it did not expel from itself, the church could lose its character, which rested on an objective, divine foundation.[2] He doubtless made his own party mark their inconsistency in the fact, that the Donatists might perceive a great deal of the same impurity in their own communities, which they so sharply reproved in the Catholic church as a profanation of its character. What was holy or not holy must be determined by their own caprice.[3] Augustin, however, accused Tichonius himself of inconsistency,[4] because he did not, in accordance with these principles, abandon his party, and acknowledge those who stood in church fellowship with the Christendom extending through the entire world, as the Catholic church. This inconsistency, however, he could find in Tichonius, only by supposing in his mind the same confusion of the invisible with the visible church in which he himself was involved, and the same principles of a necessary visible unity of the church. But on this very point he was mistaken. Tichonius distinguished two parts of the body of Christ (corpus Domini bipartitum), i. e. of that which exhibits itself in manifestation as the body of Christ, as the church; — one part, the individuals scattered through the whole world, who, by faith and temper of mind, really belong to Christ's spiritual body, who are truly one with him as the Head of the spiritual body; in whom he is daily born and grows up into the holy temple of God;[5] to whom the description applies which Paul gives in Ephesians 5: 27, inasmuch as they are purified in the faith by the blood of Christ,—therefore the true community of the saints; — another part, those scattered throughout the world, who belong indeed, as to visible appearance, to the same body of Christ, and draw nigh to God with their lips, but in heart are far from him.[6]

[1] De unitate ecclesiæ, § 37.

[2] See Augustin. c. epistolam Parmeniani, l. I. c. 1 et 2; l. III. § 17. Comp. also the hermeneutic rules of Tichonius, reg. I., where, probably in opposition to the other Donatists, he remarks: Non enim sicut quidam dicunt, in *contumeliam regni Dei invictæque hæreditatis Christi*, quod non sine dolore dico, Dominus totum mundum potestate et non sui corporis plenitudine occupavit. Bibl. patr. Ludg. T. VI. f. 50.

[3] Quod volumus sanctum est. Augustin. c. epist. Parmeniani, l. II. § 31.

[4] C. epist. Parmeniani, l. I. c. 1.

[5] Reg. I. God as the fountain of divine life in human nature through Christ. Deus in corpore suo filius est hominis, qui quotidie nascendo (the spiritual *becoming* of the divine life), venit et crescit in templum sanctum Dei.

[6] Reg. II. Qui ejusdem corporis sunt visibiliter, et Deo labiis quidem adpropinquant, corde tamen separati sunt.

Accordingly, Tichonius could say that the two portions of the manifested body of Christ remained connected with each other throughout the whole world; and the important question was, to which of these two portions did each individual belong, by the temper of his mind. Owing to this intermediate relation to both parties, he could of course make his cause good to neither; in addition to which it must be remarked that he seems to have been somewhat obscure in his mode of expressing himself.[1]

That one-sided, separatist pride of the Donatists, which attributed so much weight to the subjectively human element, often expressed itself, in the heat of controversy, in an extremely harsh and unchristian manner. On the other hand, Augustin not unfrequently asserts, with great emphasis, the might and validity of the objectively divine element; and expresses himself in a very beautiful style respecting the relation of the human element, as an organ of the divine; and respecting the vanity and emptiness of the human element whenever it aspires to be anything more than this.

When the Donatist bishop Petilian pressed Augustin to declare explicitly whether he acknowledged Cæcilian as his father, in which case the cause of the Catholic church would be made to depend wholly on the guilt or innocence of this latter individual, Augustin at length declared: "I have *one* Head, but this is Christ; whose apostle I hear saying: 'All is yours, but ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.' For even in the case where the apostle called himself a father, he added, that we might beware of attributing to his paternity any *weak*, *human* foundation, 'I have begotten you *through the gospel*.' To the gospel, then, I trace my parentage. It is one thing, when, from motives of respect, we call the more aged or the more deserving, our fathers; and it is quite another, when the question is put us, whom have we for our father as it respects the faith, as it respects eternal salvation, as it respects the communion of the church, and the participation in the divine promises. As it concerns eternal salvation, — let the apostle forgive me, or rather it is he that bids me so speak, — the apostle is not my father in respect to that; — he who tells me: 'I have planted, and Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. So, then, neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.' In respect to my salvation, I acknowledge no other father than God; of whom our Lord says: 'Ye shall call no man father on the earth, for one is your Father who is in heaven,' and to whom we daily say: 'Our Father which art in heaven.'"[2] When Petilian made use of the strongest expressions to show that all religious acts possessed their true significance only in their (the Donatists') alone pure and holy church, that none but a clergyman without spot or blame could duly administer the sacra-

[1] Augustin doubtless perceived much that was anti-catholic in the hermeneutical rules of Tichonius relative to the significations of the body of Christ. These he calls Donatist views: Quæ sicut Donatista hæreticus loquitur: he could not, however, exactly specify what they were. De doctrina Christiana, l. III. § 43.

[2] Collat. c. Donatist. l. c. f. 312.

ments; when Petilian expressed himself to this purport, that everything depended on the conscience of him who imparted baptism, since it was through him the conscience of the recipient was to be cleansed; Augustin replied: "Often the conscience of man is unknown to me, but I am certain of the mercy of Christ." When Petilian said: "Whoever receives the faith from an unbeliever, receives not faith, but guilt," [1] Augustin answered: "But Christ is faithful, from whom I receive faith, and not guilt." When Petilian said: "The character of everything depends strictly on its origin and its root (consequently here on the character of the person administering the sacraments) — a genuine new birth can proceed only from good seed," Augustin replied: "My origin is Christ, my root is Christ, my Head is Christ. The seed, from which I am regenerated, is the word of God, which my Lord exhorts me obediently to follow, although he through whom I hear it, may not himself practice what he teaches." To the remark of Petilian: "How absurd to suppose that he who is guilty through his own transgressions, can absolve others from guilt!" he replied: "He alone makes me free from guilt, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; for I believe not in the minister by whom I am baptized, but in Him who justifies the sinner, so that my faith is accounted unto me for righteousness." [2]

As Petilian, in his pastoral letters against the Catholic church, had brought many charges against Augustin himself, the latter replied to these charges in his third book against Petilian, confining himself wholly to the interests of the cause. "Let no man," he says, "glory in man. If you see anything praiseworthy in us, let *Him* be praised from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift. And in all which you acknowledge to be good in us, be followers of us, if we also are followers of Christ. But if ye surmise, believe, or seek after, things that are bad in us, hold fast to the word of the Lord, and, throwing yourselves on that, forsake not his church on account of the wickedness of men, Matth. 23: 3. Observe, do what we bid you; but, where ye believe or know that we do wrong, do not after our works; for at present it is not the time for me to justify myself before you, since I have undertaken to recommend to you the cause of truth and salvation without regard to my own personal concerns, that none may glory in a man. For cursed is he that putteth his trust in man. If this word of the Lord is kept and observed, even though I may fall, so far as it concerns my own personal interests, yet the cause I serve will come off victorious." [3]

Since the Catholics, in their controversy with the Donatists, distinguished the church on earth, in which genuine and spurious members are mixed together, from the church of heaven, purified from its spurious members, they might easily have been led, by pursuing this distinction still further, to distinguish the conceptions of the visible and of the invisible church. In this way they furnished occasion to the Donatists of charging them with supposing the existence of *two churches;* but

[1] Qui fidem a perfido sumserit, non fidem percipit, sed reatum.

[2] Augustin. c. Petilian. l. I. § 8.

[3] Contra Petilian. l. III. § 3.

they were extremely uneasy under this accusation, and would allow of no other distinction than that of two different conditions of one and the same church, inasmuch as it was at present a mortal church, but would hereafter be an immortal one.[1] And Augustin in his book, "de unitate ecclesiæ," says: "Many stand, in the communion of the sacraments, *with* the church, and are still not *in* the church."[2] But, here, there evidently lies at bottom the distinction between a merely outward communion with the visible church, and an inward communion with the church according to its true essence, with that which is, in other words, the invisible church. And he himself does in fact intimate, in another place, that there is a church, which is the body of Christ, something other than the bare appearance of the church, or the bare visible church, — a church with which they who did not belong to it by the temper of their hearts, stood in no sort of connection, — when he says of such: "We ought not to believe that they are in the body of Christ, which is the church, because, in a bodily manner, they participate in its sacraments. But they are not in that communion of the church, which, in the members of Christ by mutual union makes increase to that measure of its growth which God has appointed; for that church is founded on a rock, as the Lord says: On this rock will I build my church. But such persons build on the sand."[3] To what results would Augustin have arrived, had he not been hindered by prejudice in favor of his church system, from unfolding the notions lying at the bottom of these words, together with all the consequences which they involved.

Another important point of dispute related to the employment of force in matters of religion. The Donatists bore their testimony on this point, with emphasis, in favor of that course which the example of Christ and the apostles, which the spirit of the gospel, and the sense of man's universal rights, called forth by the latter, required. Yet as regards the relation of the church to the state, they succeeded better in unfolding the negative, than the positive side of the question, for here they easily passed from one extreme over to the other. If their opponents erred on the side of confounding too much the church with the state, they, on the other hand, were too much inclined to represent the opposition between the two, which was grounded in the early relation of the church to a pagan state, as a relation that must ever continue to exist.

The Donatist bishop Petilian says: "Did the apostles ever persecute any one, or did Christ ever deliver any one over to the secular power? Christ commands us to flee persecutors, Matth. 10: 23. Thou who callest thyself a disciple of Christ oughtest not to imitate the evil deeds of the heathens. Think you thus to serve God, — by destroying us with your own hand? Ye err, ye err, poor mortals, if

[1] Collat. f. 318. Eandem ipsam unam et sanctam ecclesiam nunc esse aliter, tunc autem aliter futuram.

[2] § 74. Multi sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia, et tamen jam non sunt in ecclesia.

[3] C. Petilian. II. § 247; and, — de doctrina Christiana, l. III. § 45, — he himself, in censuring the expression of Tichonius, bipartitum corpus Domini, distinguishes the *corpus Christi verum* atque *simulatum*.

ye believe this; for God has not executioners for his priests. Christ persecutes no one; for he was for inviting, not forcing, men to the faith; and when the apostles complained to him of the founders of separate parties, Luke 9: 50, he said to them: 'He who is not against us, is for us:' and so too Paul, in Philippians 1: 18.[1] Our Lord Christ says: 'No man can come unto me, unless the Father, who hath sent me, draw him.' But why do you not permit every man to follow his own free will, since God, the Lord himself, has bestowed this free will on man? He has simply pointed out to man the way to righteousness, that none might be lost through ignorance. Christ, in dying for men, has given Christians the example to die, but not to kill. Christ teaches us to suffer wrong, not to requite it. The apostle tells us of what he had endured, not of what he had done to others. But what have you to do with the princes of this world, in whom the Christian cause has ever found only its enemies?" He cites examples from the Old and the New Testament; he supposes he finds mention made of princes hostile to the church in 1 Corinth. 2: 6. Yet he adds: "This may have been said, however, of the ancient pagan princes; but you suffer not the emperors of this world, who would be Christians, to be such, since you mislead them, by your false representations, to turn the weapons prepared against the enemies of the state, against Christians." The Donatist bishop Gaudentius says: "God created man free, *after his own image*. How am I to be deprived of that by human lordship, which God has bestowed on me? What sacrilege, that human arrogance should take away what God has bestowed, and idly boast of doing this in God's behalf! It is a great offense against God, when he is defended by men. What must *he think* of God, who would defend him with outward force? Is it that God is unable to punish offenses against himself? Hear what the Lord says: 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you.' The peace of the world must be introduced among contending nations by arms. The peace of Christ invites the willing with wholesome mildness; it never forces men against their wills. The almighty God employed prophets to convert the people of Israel; he enjoined it not on princes; the Saviour of souls, the Lord Christ, sent fishermen, and not soldiers, to preach his faith."

Augustin, in attacking these arguments of the Donatists, now appeared as the advocate of a theory of ecclesiastical rights, of which he himself, as we have already remarked, was at an earlier period the opponent. He was, in this case, carried along by the spirit of the times: and this spirit had found a point of union for such errors, in his habit of confounding the visible and the invisible church.

[1] Petilian would say, that to Christians every one should be welcome who preached Christ; but this the Catholics could not see, since to them the faith in Christ was nothing without faith in the visible church. And even the Donatists, in recognizing nothing as genuinely Christian beyond the pale of their own spotless church, did not act consistently according to this principle; with which inconsistency Augustin took care to reproach them. Vid. Augustin. contra literas Petiliani, l. II. § 178 et 180.

As early as the year 400, Augustin had already altered his principles with regard to this matter; for he already defended, in opposition to the Donatist bishop Parmenianus, the principle of resorting to force against the Donatists; though in his advice given at the same time before a council in Carthage,[1] he did not yet allow himself to be determined by these principles. But, even at a still subsequent period, we find examples to show that he suffered himself to be guided in his mode of action by a milder Christian spirit than that was which could give birth to such principles.[2] Pity it was, that errors which grew first out of practice should, by the application of Augustin's logic, — so adroit in combining things true, half true, and false, into a plausible whole, — be wrought into a systematic theory, and thereby become the more firmly rooted in the ecclesiastical polity.

Augustin did, indeed, know too well what constituted the essence of inward Christianity, the Christianity of faith and of temper, to be capable of entertaining the opinion that faith could be brought into the heart by outward arrangements. Moreover, he never lost sight of the truth, that mere external communion with the church, which alone was capable of being forcibly brought about by means of fear and punishment, can make no one a member of the kingdom of God. But he maintained that man may nevertheless be prepared in various ways, by outward means, by suffering, for faith and conversion. He appealed to the highest example, that of God, who by suffering educates men, brings them to a consciousness of themselves, and conducts them to faith; — to the example of the parent who corrects the son for his profit. "Who doubts but that it is better to be led to God by instruction, than by fear of punishment or affliction? But because the former, who will be guided only by instruction, are better, the others are still not to be neglected. Show me the man who, in real faith and true consciousness, says with the whole strength of his soul: 'My soul thirsteth after God;' and I will allow that for such a person, not only the fear of temporal punishments or imperial laws, but even the fear of hell, is unnecessary: whatever separates him from his highest good, is punishment enough for him. But many, like bad servants, must often be reclaimed to their master by the rod of temporal suffering, ere they can attain to this highest stage of religious development."[3] Thus Augustin allowed himself to be deceived by a false analogy of relations altogether different; God's relation to men who are to be educated by his wisdom, the parent's relation to his children who are in the state of pupilage, on the one side, with the civil ruler's relation to his subjects who have come to their majority, on the other. He did not stop to inquire about the limits within which all power of man over his fellow-men is confined, — the limits which nature prescribes to all human authority. He did not give precedence to the question, What

[1] See above, p. 235.

[2] He demanded that even deeds of violence, which had been committed by furious Circumcellions on the clergy, should be punished, not according to the strictness of the laws, but according to the spirit of Christian gentleness; and if he could accomplish his end in no other way, he was determined himself to make application to the emperors. See Augustin. ep. 139 ad Marcellinum.

[3] See ep. 185 ad Bonifacium, § 21.

is *right*, over the question, What is expedient. But a theory which overlooks these distinctions, leaves room for any despotism which would make holy ends a pretext for the use of unholy means.

Very justly Augustin observes: "The state is as far from being able, by punishment, to exert an influence on the moral disposition, as on inward piety. Goodness, too, comes only from free will."[1] But he wrongly infers from this, that, as the state is authorized and bound to restrain the outward sallies of wickedness by punishment, the same holds good also of the outward sallies of heresy or schism. Here again he compares things wholly differing in kind. Not everything that exhibits itself outwardly, becomes subject thereby to the jurisdiction of the state. Neither can evil, merely as such, be cited before this tribunal, but only in so far as the aims of the state in its own peculiar province are directly prejudiced thereby. But with the objects of the state, as such, the individual or common expression and the individual or common profession of religious convictions, of whatever sort they may be, do not of themselves come in conflict. It might be agreeable to the spirit of Paganism, but it was in contradiction with the spirit of the gospel, to subject the individual or common expressions of religious faith to maxims of civil jurisprudence.

On these false premises Augustin goes on to affirm, "From the principle that the state has no concern with the piety of its subjects, because this must spring solely out of free conviction; that the state must here leave everything to the freedom of each individual, — from this principle it would follow, that the state must also leave full freedom to its subjects for every crime, which none but a madman will assert. Or ought murder, adultery, and all other crimes, to be punished, and sacrilege alone be left to go unpunished?"[2] He descended to the sophistic reasoning: "Divisions and sects are derived by Paul, Gal. 5: 19, like all other transgressions, from one and the same fountain of inward corruption, the flesh, — hence classed in the same category. If, then, the state is not authorized to employ punishment against some fruits of the flesh, neither can it be authorized to employ it against others;" — where he makes no account whatever of the consideration that the religious-moral point of view, from which Paul here regards the matter, is altogether different from the civil and judicial, from which alone the state can regard it.[3]

With good right, it is true, Augustin asserts, in opposition to the Donatists, that even kings are bound, as Christians, to serve their particular vocation in a Christian spirit; that as each must serve God in his own peculiar way, according to *his particular vocation*, so they, too, must serve God in a peculiar way in the fulfillment of the duties of their office.[4] But he erred only in deriving, from this correct posi-

[1] C. lit. Petiliani, l. II. § 184.

[2] C. Gaudent. Donatist. l. I. § 20. Puniantur homicidia, puniantur adulteria, puniantur cætera quantalibet sceleris sive libidinis facinora seu flagitia, sola sacrilegia volumus a regnantium legibus impunita.

[3] Augustin against the Donatists: Cum in veneficos vigorem legum exerceri juste fateantur; in hæreticos autem atque impias dissensiones nolint fateri, cum in iisdem iniquitatis fructibus auctoritate apostolica numerentur? C. epist. Parmeniani, l. I. § 16.

[4] C. lit. Petiliani, l. II. § 210. Habent

tion, consequences which he was in no way authorized to derive from it. The question arose, in the first place, in what does a government in the Christian sense consist; and how far does the province of kingly power, or of civil power generally, in human affairs, reach? To make use of their power against heretics cost the emperors no sacrifice of self-denial. On the contrary, it flattered the consciousness of the sovereign's rights; and he might believe that in this way, which was so easy for him, he could atone for many transgressions. But had he allowed himself to be actuated, in his whole conduct as emperor, by the spirit of Christian self-denial, he would assuredly have far better subserved the cause of Christianity than he could have served it by the demolition of every idol, which work Augustin so highly extols as the prerogative of imperial power.[1]

But we may allow that Augustin was perhaps authorized to avail himself, in defending the church, of a principle which at this time had already become universally predominant in church practice, and of which this theory of church rights already lay at the foundation. "Who," says Augustin, "will not give his approbation to the laws by which the emperors forbid sacrifices even on penalty of death? Will not the Donatists themselves agree with us here?" If they did so, it must be allowed that they were defeated by their own inconsistency.[2]

It was the case with Augustin here, as in many other instances, that, owing to his ignorance of the rules of a right interpretation of Scripture, he imagined he had found, in some detached and misapprehended passages of the Bible, a false theory, which, in his systematizing mind, he had framed to himself independently of Holy Writ; and thus by his means the wrong apprehension of such a passage of Scripture was established as the classical foundation of an error that prevailed for centuries. Thus, in his exposition of the parable of the supper, Luke 14, paying no regard to the rule which requires that the point of comparison should be ascertained and held fast, and affixing too literal a sense to the word *αναγκάζειν*, v. 23, he supposed he found the theory expressed here that men were authorized and bound to employ force, and compel men to participate in the supper; — that is, to enter into communion with the universal visible church, out of whose pale salvation was not to be obtained. Thus he laid the foundation of the theory, "Coge," or "compelle intrare in ecclesiam."[3]

reges excepta generis humani societate, eo ipso quo reges sunt, unde sic Domino serviant, quomodo non possunt, qui reges non sunt.

[1] Non enim auferenda idola de terra posset quisquam jubere privatus. Augustin. l. c.

[2] This inconsistency could not, perhaps, be laid to the charge of all the Donatists. In the passage referred to above against Parmenian, Augustin speaks doubtfully on this point: Quid istis videatur, ut crimen idololatriæ putent juste ab imperatoribus vindicari aut si nec hoc volunt, etc.; and he says here, that many Donatists would, in general, allow only of a vindicta spiritalis by excommunication in religious matters. On the other hand, ep. 93, directed to the Donatist Vincentius, he says, § 10: Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia Paganorum?

[3] Vid. ep. 93 ad Vincent. ep. 185 ad Bonifacium, § 24: Hi qui inveniuntur in viis et sepibus, id est, in hæresibus et schismatibus, *coguntur* intrare. In illis qui leniter primo adducti sunt, completa est prior obedientia: in istis autem qui coguntur, inobedientia coërcetur.

True, Augustin continually explains, that everything must flow from the temper of love; but of what use was this principle, in a theory which gave full sway to arbitrary will? How often was not the holy name of love abused by fanaticism and the love of power? It was by Augustin, then, that a theory was proposed and founded, which, tempered though it was, in its practical application, by his own pious, philanthropic spirit, nevertheless contained the germ of that whole system of spiritual despotism, of intolerance and persecution, which ended in the tribunals of the inquisition.

2. *The Meletian Schism in Egypt.*

The second schism which deserves notice in this period was the *Meletian*, which originated in Egypt. The causes which led to it were in many respects similar to those that gave occasion to the Novatian and to the Donatist schisms. In the very place where the spirit of peace and of love should have most prevailed, in the prison cells, where many bishops, companions of the same sufferings, were together, arose a dispute about the different principles of proceeding with those who had fallen away during the Diocletian persecution. There existed among the prisoners a more rigid party, who maintained, on the same principle which Cyprian had once advocated under the persecution of Decius, that all who should have violated, in any way, their fidelity to the Christian faith, ought to be excluded from the fellowship of the church until the perfect restoration of peace; and that if, up to that time, they had manifested a spirit of sincere contrition, they should then first obtain forgiveness, according to the measure of their guilt. At the head of this more rigid party stood Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis in the Thebaid. The bishop of this city, being a metropolitan, possessed the highest rank next after the bishop of Alexandria, and frequently stood on the same level with him in administering the general concerns of the church.[1]

Peter, bishop of Alexandria, on the other hand, who, as it seems, had, like Cyprian in the Decian persecution, for special reasons, withdrawn himself awhile from his community, agreed in his principles with the milder party. The pastoral letter on church penance, which, in the year 306, this bishop addressed to the Egyptian church, breathes a spirit of Christian love and wisdom.[2] He displayed in it a more correct appreciation of penitence as a moral duty, than generally prevailed; attaching more importance to the temper than to the external conduct, and judging with less severity those who, yielding solely to

[1] Epiphan. hæres. Meletian. 68. Τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προήκων καὶ δευτερεύων τῷ Πέτρῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ὡς δι' ἀντιλήψεως αὐτοῦ χάριν. It is also highly probable, that the *sixth* canon of the Nicene council had its origin in this relation; and its object was to secure as incontestible, to the bishop of Alexandria, his general primacy over the entire Egyptian church, which was not to be encroached upon by the rank of the church of Lycopolis.

[2] This letter was received by the Greek church into the number of the letters incorporated into the ecclesiastical code of laws, under the title of ἐπιστολαὶ κανονικαὶ.

physical weakness, had been forced, by the anguish of torture, to a momentary denial of the faith, which they afterwards deeply regretted.[1] Many Christians had been mean enough to force their Christian slaves to offer, instead of themselves, under the delusive notion that God's tribunal could be deceived like a human one. The bishop Peter showed in this case his correct moral judgment, in treating the slaves with more lenity than the masters. Inasmuch as the former had been in a sense constrained by force and fear, their church penance was therefore to last only a year; and they were thus to learn, for the future, to do the will of Christ, and to fear only him. But the masters were to be subjected to three years of penance, as hypocrites, and because they had forced their fellow-servants to offer, not having learned from the Apostle Paul that servants and masters have one Lord in heaven. "But if we all have one Lord, with whom there is no respect of persons, as Christ is all in all among Barbarians, Scythians, bond, and free, they should consider what they had done, when they would fain deliver their own souls, but compelled their fellow-servants to the worship of idols." His correct judgment was seen again in the severity which he showed to those of the clergy who, instead of caring solely for the salvation of the communities intrusted to them, and waiting, in their appointed sphere of labor, the will of the Lord, had, in the pride of fanaticism, abandoned their communities,[2] and voluntarily given themselves up to martyrdom, and then — what was frequently the punishment of fanatical presumption — shrunk back and denied in the immediate prospect of death.

Meletius, at a subsequent period, obtained his freedom; while those bishops who held other and milder principles of penitence, remained still in the prison. He exercised his authority as the second metropolitan in Egypt, during the absence of the bishop Peter, whom, being a confessor, he thought himself entitled, perhaps, to despise, on account of his flight; he travelled through the whole diocese of the Alexandrian patriarch, within which, relying on the authority just described, he undertook to ordain, and to excommunicate, according to his own pleasure. He did not recognize the official power of those to whose charge, as *Periodeutæ*, or visitors, the bishop Peter of Alexandria had committed the destitute communities. Their different views respecting the proper mode of treating those who had fallen, or who had become suspected of denying God in some way or other, was here, too, probably made a subject of discussion, or at least used as a pretext; since the Meletians boasted of representing the pure church of the martyrs. Four Egyptian bishops, among the imprisoned confessors, declared themselves firmly against the arbitrary proceedings of Meletius, who, however, took no notice of this protestation. The

[1] Προδιδόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς σαρκός.

[2] Touching this point he says, c. 10: "So did no one of the apostles; for the Apostle Paul, who had gone through many conflicts, and who knew that it was better to depart and be with Christ, added, 'Nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you.' Since he did not seek his own profit, but what would be for the good of many, that they should be saved, he held it to be more necessary than his own rest, to abide with the brethren and care for them."

bishop Peter of Alexandria issued a writing to the Alexandrian church, wherein he bade all to avoid fellowship with him, until the matter could be more closely investigated in connection with other bishops; and at length he excluded him — probably after his own return — from the functions of the episcopal office, and from the fellowship of his church, as a disturber of the peace of the communities.[1] Also, subsequently

[1] Among the sources which treat of the origin of the Meletian schism, there is found a good deal of contradiction. The first place among these sources is certainly due to the documents published by Maffei, from a manuscript of the chapter of the cathedral of Verona (in the osservazioni letterarie, T. III. Verona, 1738), which, therefore, we must make the point of departure in inquiring into these contradictions. First, a letter of four imprisoned confessors from Egypt, the bishops Hesychius, Pachomius, Theodorus, and Phileas, who subsequently died as martyrs (according to Euseb. h. e. VIII. 13), addressed to the bishop Meletius. In this letter it is urged against Meletius, whom still they call dilectus et comministerin Domino, that, in violation of the rights of foreign bishops, and particularly of Peter of Alexandria, he is reported to have undertaken to ordain in foreign dioceses; which, nevertheless, was altogether at variance with the ancient laws of the church. It is worthy of remark, that, among the grounds of excuse here mentioned, to which Meletius might perhaps appeal, that borrowed from the difference in the principles of penitence is not cited at all, as if no dispute had as yet arisen on that point. Next follows the *story*, that, when Meletius had received this letter, he did not answer it, did not even repair to the bishops in prison, nor seek for the bishop Peter; but, after those bishops had already perished by martyrdom, that he came to Alexandria, and there entered into a combination with two restless men, who were anxious to obtrude themselves on the communities as teachers, of whom Arius was one (see the section relating to doctrinal controversies). These discovered to him two presbyters, nominated by Peter as church visitors, who had concealed themselves. The text now reads: Commendans eis occasionem Meletius separavit eos (in the Greek probably *ἀφώριζεν*). The sense of the obscure passage is probably this: Meletius accused these presbyters of having shown inconstancy to the faith, or cowardice under the persecutions; he excluded them for a season from the fellowship of the church, or suspended them from their offices, recommending to them to improve the opportunity furnished them by the persecution, of restoring themselves to their good standing, by showing steadfastness in confessing the faith. He himself ordained two as presbyters, one of whom was in prison, and the other had been condemned to work in the mines, as a reward of their constancy.

From this narrative it is apparent, that the disputes which Meletius excited were, beyond all doubt, connected with his severe principles as to the proper mode of conduct during the persecutions; although no mention is made of this in the preceding letters. The *third* document is the letter of the bishop Peter to the Alexandrian community, in which he bids them, on account of the difficulties with Meletius, to hold no communion with him. With the account of the origin of the Meletian controversies which is to be gathered from these documents, the report of Epiphanius for the most part agrees. He represents the separation, which had its ground in the difference of views as to the principles of penance, to have taken place already in the prison. Of this the letters above cited do, indeed, say nothing. The zealous Meletian author whom Epiphanius makes use of may perhaps also have represented the affair in an exaggerated light; still it is quite possible that a dispute of this sort may have already occurred, although it had as yet led to no open rupture. The narrative, which is the second of those documents of Maffei, intimates this. According to Epiphanius, Meletius, when he left the common prison, had been condemned to labor in the mines. On his journey to the place of his punishment, he is represented as having undertaken to ordain according to his own pleasure. This story is perhaps false — perhaps it is a rumor which gradually arose and spread among the Meletian party in order to shield him against some evil suspicion. The documents of Maffei seem to presuppose, that Meletius had then obtained his entire freedom. What Epiphanius relates is, on the other hand, in accordance with the narrative of Maffei, that as the party of Peter had styled themselves the catholic church, so the party of Meletius styled itself the church of the martyrs; for it is clear, in fact, from that narrative, that Meletius was fond of making confessors ecclesiastics. In the church history of Sozomen I. 24, *one* account is especially deserving of notice, that while the bishop Peter, who afterwards died as a martyr, had taken refuge in flight (*φεύγοντος διὰ τὸν τότε διωγμόν*), Meletius usurped the

to the martyrdom of the bishop Peter, A. D. 311, and in the time of the bishop Alexander, under whom the Arian controversies broke out, this schism still continued to exist.

The council of Nice endeavored to get rid of this schism by milder regulations. The council directed that Meletius, since no confidence could be placed in his restless character, should reside simply as a titular bishop, without active jurisdiction, at Lycopolis; and for the future refrain altogether from bestowing ordination, whether in the city or in the country. Yet the clergy who had been already ordained by him should remain in possession of their offices, only taking rank after the others who had received ordination from the bishop of Alexandria. But if these should be removed by death before them, then they might take their places, in case they should, by the vote of the communities, be found worthy; and this was confirmed by the bishop of Alexandria.[1] But the Meletian schism, which, moreover, found fresh sources of nourishment amid the Arian disputes, continued to propagate itself till into the fifth century.

3. *Schism between Damasus and Ursinus, at Rome.*

We mention here another schism which gives lamentable evidence of the worldly spirit already prevailing in the Roman church, which was indeed the first step towards the profanation of holy things,[2] — an ominous presage of the future. The particular occasion which led to

right of ordaining in his diocese. If this account were correct, the origin of the schism would be still more clear. Meletius had, perhaps, remonstrated against his flight with Peter himself; and imagined himself to be the more warranted, on that account, to interfere with his authority. The narrative of Epiphanius does indeed conflict with this view; but anachronisms are no uncommon thing in this author. From the documents edited by Maffei, the absence of Peter from Alexandria at this time is clearly made out indeed, but not his imprisonment. The bishops, who style themselves prisoners, say nothing, however, of the imprisonment of Peter; neither does he mention it himself in his letter. Moreover, Eusebius, IX. 6, reports that under the persecution renewed by Maximinus, in 311, the bishop Peter was suddenly seized and beheaded, without making mention of any earlier imprisonment of his. From the last words of Peter, which, to be sure, in the Latin translation, in which they are preserved to us, sound somewhat obscure, it might rather be inferred, that he was in a state of freedom, and was intending soon to appoint an ecclesiastical trial in Alexandria itself: Ne ei communicetis, donec occurram illi cum sapientibus viris et videam quæ sunt, quæ cogitavit.

With these narratives, however, the story of Athanasius, Apolog. c. Arianos, § 59 (which Socrates follows), in part conflicts; that the bishop Petrus (*Μελετίου*) *ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἐλεγχθέντα παρανομίαις καὶ ὑπὸσίᾳ ἐν κοινῇ συνόδῳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καθείλεν.* As it concerns the *παρανομίαι*, this coincides with the reports above cited; for by them would of course be understood these very arbitrary ordinations. In respect to the second matter, however, the passionate opponents of the Meletians are not to be wholly believed. It might perhaps be, that this charge was conjured up at a later period, by enemies of Meletius. They inferred from the fact that Meletius had been released from the same imprisonment in which the others had experienced martyrdom, according to the same licentious mode of drawing conclusions we have already noticed, that he must have procured his freedom by consenting to offer. For the rest, this story of Athanasius, too, seems to go in favor of the supposition that the bishop Peter was still in a state of freedom, that he subsequently returned to Alexandria, and there convoked a synod against Meletius.

[1] See the letter of the Nicene council, in Socrates I. 9.

[2] As Ammianus Marcellinus very justly remarks on occasion of this controversy, l. 27, c. 3.

the breaking out of this schism lay in the immediate circumstances of the times. The Roman bishop Liberius had, in 356, been deposed from his place, and sent into exile, by the emperor Constantius, because he would not consent to the condemnation of Athanasius.[1] The archdeacon Felix, who acceded to the emperor's wishes, was elevated to the place of Liberius. But, when the latter subsequently consented to subscribe a creed drawn up at Sirmium by the Arian party, Constantius permitted him, in the year 358, to return to Rome; and he was again at liberty to resume his bishopric. Meanwhile a distinct party had been formed in the church by a certain presbyter, named Eusebius; which party held their conventicle in a private house, and avoided all fellowship with those who were favored by the party at court.[2] Now this party refused to recognize Liberius as bishop, on account of his recantation, and hence continued to hold their separate assemblies. Felix was banished; and he is reported, at least by the enemies of Liberius,[3] to have subsequently repented of his transition to Arianism, and, for this reason, to have led a life of penance at the villa to which he had withdrawn himself. The meetings of the Eusebian party were forcibly broken up; Eusebius was kept confined in a room of his own house, where the meetings had been held.

In this ferment of the Roman communities, schisms might easily be occasioned by the new election of a bishop in the place of Liberius, after his death, in 366. The real course which matters took, as we have two opposite reports, which proceed from the opposite parties, cannot be certainly traced. According to the account of one party, Damasus was, in the first place, regularly chosen and ordained bishop; but, afterwards, a deacon, Ursinus or Ursicinus, who had aspired to the episcopal dignity, with his party, took possession of the church, which was called after its builder, or the presbyter who conducted divine worship in it, the *church of Sicininus*;[4] and caused himself here to be ordained bishop.[5] According to the other report,[6] the party which had always continued to be faithfully devoted to the bishop Liberius, immediately after his death made choice of Ursicinus. But Damasus, who belonged to those who, during the banishment of Liberius, had attached themselves to Felix, and who had ever aspired after the episcopate, was nominated bishop by the party of Felix. Thus it cannot be determined which one of the two competitors had the principal share in the disturbances and deeds of violence. Although the truth is, that, whenever any matter became an object of zealous contention among the lower classes of the passionate and restless Roman people, many things might be done which the heads of both

[1] See below, under the head of doctrinal controversies.

[2] See the history of the sufferings of this Eusebius, which, it must be allowed, as it comes from an enthusiastic admirer, is not entitled to full belief. Published by Baluz, Miscellan. l. II. p. 141.

[3] See vita Eusebii, l. c.

[4] Basilica Sicinini.

[5] See the accounts in the chronicle of Jerome, in Socrates and Sozomen.

[6] The introduction to the petition of Marcellinus and of Faustinus, two presbyters belonging to the party of Ursicinus, and of Lucifer of Calaris, to the emperors Theodosius and Arcadius. Published by Sirmond. opp. T. I.

parties would gladly have avoided; yet it is most probable that neither of the two, in this case, could be wholly exempted from blame. Damasus appears, moreover, on other occasions, to have been a proud man.[1] Bishops, who should have been ministers of peace, and surrendered up everything, sooner than allow any strife to go on for their own honor, suffered the matter to take such a course, that a bloody struggle must decide the question, which of the two was the regular bishop. On one day there were found, in the church occupied by Ursicinus, which was stormed by the party of Damasus, the dead bodies of a hundred and thirty-seven men.[2] Damasus at last conquered, and Ursicinus was banished. But the division continued to exist longer; and, moreover, other foreign bishops were drawn into it. To suppress this schism, and the quarrels that grew out of it, the emperor Gratian issued, in the year 378 or 381, the law which we have noticed already in a cursory manner, and to which he was moved by the petition of a Roman council. By this law, he conferred on the Roman bishop the right of deciding, in the last instance, on the affairs of the bishops who were implicated in this schism;[3] providing, however, that they should not encroach, by so doing, on the authority of the metropolitans in the provinces.

Remark. — The schisms of Lucifer of Calaris and of Meletius of Antioch, on account of the intimate connection in which they stand with the history of doctrinal controversies, are reserved for the fourth section.

[1] See Basil. Cæsar. ep. 239, § 2.
[2] Ammian. Marcellin. l. 27, c. 3.
[3] By this schism, occasion was given for the law, although its expressions are general.

SECTION THIRD.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

I. Christian Life.

1. *Its General Character in this Period.*

All that has been said in the foregoing sections concerning the nature of conversions explains the change in the character of the Christian life of this period. A free intermingling with the heathen world followed next after the outwardly declared opposition to it. Pagan vices, pagan delusions, pagan superstition, took the garb and name of Christianity, and were thus enabled to exert a more corrupting influence on the Christian life. They who, without any real interest whatever in the concerns of religion, lived half in Paganism and half in an outward show of Christianity, — such as these composed the crowds that thronged the churches on the festivals of the Christians, and the theatres on the festivals of the Pagans.[1] Such were those who accounted themselves Christians, if they but attended church once or twice in a year;[2] while, without a thought of any higher life, they abandoned themselves to every species of worldly pursuit and pleasure. There were multitudes, especially in the large towns of the East, who, although no longer Pagans, and although they were denominated, in the most general sense of the word, believers, yet kept back, during the greatest part, or even the whole of their lives, from the communion of the church; and only when admonished by the actual or apprehended approach of death, in sudden attacks of sickness, in earthquakes, or the unforeseen calamities of war, took refuge in baptism. Others, who had received baptism, thought themselves religious enough, if they attended church on all the festivals — a practice denounced, therefore, by Chrysostom, as a mere form, wholly without influence on the inner life; — custom, but not piety.[3]

The greater the number of these nominal Christians, the more mischievous became the errors which made them feel secure in this outward Christianity, which confirmed them in the delusive notion that they could live in sin, and yet obtain salvation. Of this kind were those many corruptions of purely Christian ideas which we have already had occasion to notice in the preceding period; — false notions of what constitutes faith; the confounding of the inward thing with

[1] Augustin. de catechizandis rudib. § 48. Illæ turbæ implent ecclesias per dies festos Christianorum, quæ implent et theatra per dies solennes Paganorum.

[2] Ἅπαξ ἢ δεύτερον μόλις τοῦ παντός ἐνιαυτοῦ. Chrysostom. in baptism. Christi T. II. f. 367, ed. Montf.

[3] Συνηθείας ἐστὶν, οὐκ εὐλαβείας. In Annam, H. V. T. IV. f. 739, seq.

the outward sign; that reliance on externals in religion, which grew out of *this very habit* of overlooking what belongs to faith and to the life of faith, and of confounding the divine realities which faith apprehends, with the outward, earthly forms which were designed merely to symbolize them. Here belongs, to sum up the whole at once, — which it will be our object afterwards to explain more fully in detail, — the mistaken confidence in the magical cleansing and atoning efficacy of baptism; in the sanctifying effects of the communion, when received without suitable preparation, and only on the principal feast days; in the merit of a merely outward attendance on church, of pilgrimages to certain spots consecrated by religious remembrances, in the merit of donations to churches, of almsgiving, especially to ecclesiastics and monks, even when what was thus bestowed had been obtained by injustice, and without respect to the question whether the gift proceeded out of the right temper of love. Instead of bearing the cross in their hearts, men relied on the magical power of the outward sign. Instead of soberly carrying out the doctrines of the gospel in their lives, they folded up the scroll on which it was written, to wear about the neck as an amulet.[1]

Mischievous also was the influence of the one-sided doctrinal tendency, which was promoted by the controversies, conducted as they were with blind zeal; and which again reacted in such a manner as to increase the number of these; since the interest for orthodoxy in dogmatic formulas swallowed up every other religious interest within itself, and the attention of men was ever more and more directed away from the true essence, and from the demands of practical Christianity; as Theodore could say of people of this way of thinking, that they proceeded as if the Saviour had given no laws to be observed for the direction of life, but only articles of doctrine.[2] Mischievous, too, was the influence of the unevangelical notion, which continually gained ground, of a distinct outward priesthood, confined to a single class of men, — whereby the original idea of the priestly character belonging in common to all Christians, ever became more completely obscured and suppressed. That which should be the concern of all Christians, and which should be required of them all, as spiritually-minded men, was supposed to belong exclusively to the spiritual order and to monks; and whoever was exhorted to lead a more sober and holy life, was ever ready to reply: "I am of the world; and secular men, if they are believers, if they abide in the communion of the church, and do not lead an extremely vicious life, will doubtless reach heaven; though they may not attain to those higher seats which are reserved for the saints. I have not left the world; I am no clergyman, no monk. Of such persons alone these loftier virtues can be required."

[1] Jerome, after having spoken of the Pharisees: Hæc in corde portanda sunt, non in corpore. Hoc apud nos superstitiosæ mulierculæ in parvulis Evangeliis et in crucis ligno et istiusmodi rebus usque hodie factitant. In c. 23, Matth. l. IV. ed. Vallarsi. T. VII. f. 184. Chrysostom, ad pop. Antiochen. H. 19, § 4, ed. Montfaucon, T. II. f. 197. *Αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία ἀντὶ φυλακῆς μεγάλης εὐαγγέλια ἐξαρτῶσι τοῦ τραχήλου.*

[2] *Ὡς οὐδὲν μὲν περὶ βίου τοῦ σωτῆρος νομοθετήσαντος, μόνα δὲ τὰ δόγματα φυλάττειν κελεύσαντος.* Ep. 147.

As the things which would be most likely to attract notice in a great city, would by no means furnish a correct standard by which to judge of the more secluded Christian life in the same, so it would be equally wrong to estimate the whole Christian life of this period according to the standard of the great mass of nominal Christians. Evidences are not wanting of a progressive work of the Holy Spirit in moulding the life and character of individuals. The great church teachers, impenetrated with the spirit of the gospel, who labored with great zeal for its promotion, may serve as a proof of what must have existed within the church; for without the Christian spirit under which they were trained, they certainly could never have become what they were. Indeed, the influence of their Christian education may often be traced in the history of their development. The circles of which they became the centres, also show the recipient spirit of the times in which they labored. And in many of the appearances of Monachism, we see expressed, despite of all its irregularities, a warm Christian spirit which must have proceeded from the church.

It was natural, however, that the *bad element, which had outwardly assumed the Christian garb*, should push itself more prominently to notice in public life. Hence it was more sure to attract the common gaze, while the genuinely Christian temper loved retirement, and created less sensation; except in those cases, which were not unfrequent in this period, where opposition elicited the hidden Christian life, and made it appear brighter in the conflict. "Watch the oil-press," said Augustin to those who saw nothing but the evil swimming on the surface; "watch it a little more narrowly, and do not look at the scum alone that floats on the top. Only seek, and you will find something." [1]

At the present time, the relation of *vital Christianity* to the *Christianity of mere form* resembled that which, in the preceding period, existed between the Christianity of those to whom religion was a serious concern, and Paganism, which constituted the prevailing rule of life. As, in the earlier times, the life of genuine Christians had stood out in strong contrast with the life of the pagan world; so now the life of such as were Christians not merely by outward profession, but also in the temper of their hearts, presented a strong contrast with the careless and abandoned life of the ordinary nominal Christians. By these latter, the others, to whom Christianity was a serious concern, and who placed it neither in a formal orthodoxy, nor in a round of outward ceremonies, were regarded in the same light as, in the earlier times, the Christians had been regarded by the Pagans. They also were reproached by these nominal Christians, just as the Christians generally had been taunted before by the Pagans, with *seeking to be righteous overmuch*. Such is the picture which Augustin has drawn from the life of these times. "As the Pagan who would be a Christian, hears rude words from the Pagans; so he, among the Christians, who would live a better and more conscientious life, hears himself abused by the Christians themselves. He who would be

[1] Enarrat. Ps. 80, § 1.

sober among the intemperate, chaste among the incontinent; he who would honestly serve God, among those who consult astrologers; he who would go nowhere but to church, among those who flock to the silly shows, — must hear rude language from Christians themselves, who will say: 'You are really a very great and righteous man, a second Elijah or Peter; — you must have descended from heaven.'"[1] In another place, he says:[2] "As soon as a man begins to live for God, to despise the world, to abstain from revenging injuries, from seeking after riches, or any earthly goods; to look down upon all these things, and to think of nothing but God, and to walk faithfully in the way of Christ, — not only the Pagans say of him, 'He is mad;' but what should give us greater concern, because it shows that, even in the church, many sleep and will not be awakened, he must expect to hear Christians themselves remark: 'What is the man about? What can have entered into his head?'" Such individuals of the laity as were distinguished by their piety from the great mass of nominal Christians, and from the worldly-minded members of the clergy, often excited the jealousy of these latter, and had to suffer their persecutions.[3] Such examples were too troublesome; — they were too severe censors of morals.

We have already observed, in describing the spread of Christianity, where we adduced the testimony of Pagans themselves as unimpeachable evidence of the fact, that pious Christian females, presenting patterns of genuine wives and mothers, often furnished a beautiful contrast to the prevailing depravation of manners and reckless pursuit of earthly things, to be found in the families of Pagans, or of mere nominal Christians. From such wives and mothers, the true religious instruction of the husband, or at least the pious education of the children, often proceeded. By them, the first seeds of Christianity were planted in the souls of those who afterwards produced the greatest effects as teachers of the church. The pious Nonna, by her prayers and the silent influence of the religion which shone through her life, gradually won over to the gospel her husband Gregory, who had belonged to an unchristian sect, and he became a devoted bishop. Her first-born son, whom she had long yearned after, she carried, soon after his birth, to the altar of the church, where she placed a volume of the gospels in his hands, and dedicated him to the service of the Lord. The example of a pious education, and this early consecration, first received from his mother, of which he was often reminded, made a deep impression on the son; and he compares his mother with Anna, who consecrated Samuel to God. This impression abode upon him, while exposed, during the years of his youth, which he spent at Athens, to the contagion of the Paganism which there prevailed.

[1] In Ps. 90, S. I. § 4.

[2] In Ps. 48, S. II. § 4.

[3] So says Jerome: Vere nunc est cernere, in plerisque urbibus episcopos sive presbyteros, si laicos viderint hospitales, amatores bonorum, invidere, fremere, quasi non liceat facere quod episcopus non faciat, et tales esse laicos damnatio sacerdotum sit. Graves itaque eos habent, et quasi cervicibus suis impositos; ut a bono abducant opere, variis persecutionibus inquietant. In ep. ad Tit. c. 1. T. VII. l. f. 702.

This son, the distinguished church teacher Gregory of Nazianzus, says of his mother, that her emotions, when dwelling on the historical facts connected with her faith, overcame all sense of pain from her own sufferings: hence, on festival days, she was never known to be sorrowful, and death surprised her while praying before the altar.[1] The pious Anthusa of Antioch retired from the bustle of the great world, to which she belonged by her condition, into the still retreat of domestic life. Having lost her husband at the age of twenty, from regard to his memory, and a desire to devote herself wholly to the education of her son, she chose to remain a widow; and it was owing in part to this early, pious, and careful education, that the boy became afterwards so well known as the great church teacher, John Chrysostom. Similar was the influence exerted on the education of her son, by the mother of Theodoret. In like manner, Monica, by her submissive, amiable, and gentle spirit, softened the temper of a violently passionate husband; and, while she had much to suffer from him, scattered the seeds of Christianity in the young soul of her son Augustin, which, after many stormy passages of life, brought forth their fruit in him abundantly. What was generally supposed to constitute the pattern of a Christian woman, may be seen from the description which Nilus gives of Peristera: constant study of the Holy Scriptures;[2] fervent prayer, proceeding from a broken heart; liberal support of the poor; care for the burial of the dead, who were poor or strangers; active pity for all in distress; reverence for the pious; care for the monks, providing for their support to the satisfaction of all their bodily wants, so that they might devote themselves to their calling without disturbance.[3] To make their children early acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, was considered, by such pious mothers, as a task which belonged peculiarly to them.[4]

2. Peculiar Directions of the Christian Life.

a. *Ascetic Tendency, and Monachism which proceeded from it.*

In the preceding period, when Christianity was left to develop itself with freedom and without foreign interference, its most prominent feature was opposition to the world. From this may have come a one-sided ascetic tendency, a certain spirit of alienation from the world, opposed to the worldly spirit of Paganism. But the time had now arrived when, owing to the downfall of Paganism, that opposition must disappear, and make room for such a harmonious appropriation of the world, as would include within it the opposite element as its

[1] Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 19, f. 292, and the epigrams of Gregory Nazianzen, in Muratori anecdota Græca, Patav. 1709, p. 92.

[2] Μελέτη τῶν θείων λογίων διηνεκής.

[3] See Nil. Perister. c. 3.

[4] Daughters also were early made familiar with such portions of the Holy Scriptures as were deemed to be especially suited to the capacity of childhood. They were taught to commit Psalms to memory. See Gregor. Nysseni vita Macrinæ opp. tom. II. f. 179.

negative basis. But since Paganism, though outwardly vanquished, would still often revive, putting on some form or other of Christian appearance; since the majority, instead of appropriating the world by fighting against and subduing it, would mix Christianity and the world together, thus producing a new kind of conformity to the world, it followed that, in serious minds, the ascetic tendency would be led to express itself in a sterner form of opposition; and the appearances thence arising would be most likely to manifest and develop themselves in the vicinity of large towns, which were seats of corruption. Thus the two tendencies, the false appropriation of the world, in the form of worldliness, and the false rejection of the world, go forth hand in hand.

In the preceding period, the ascetics were accustomed to live singly, each according to his own inclination, without any specific form of union, within the precincts of the church to which he belonged. In Egypt, it was customary for the ascetics to settle down singly in the country, at no great distance from some village, where they supported themselves by the labor of their own hands, and devoted the surplus to charitable purposes.[1] We undoubtedly recognize, also, such ascetics in the agonistici of the North African church.[2] It was first in this present period, when the previously existing germs of all tendencies of life attained to a more settled and definite mode of growth, that the freer form of the ascetic life shaped itself into Monasticism — a phenomenon of great importance, as well on account of the influence which it had already, in this period, on the evolution of Christianity, and of the Christian and church life in the East; as on account of the vast influence which it had in later times on the culture of the Western nations.

Neither Monachism in itself, nor the ascetic spirit from which it sprung, was peculiar to Christianity. Such singular modifications of human life are much older, in the Eastern world, than Christianity. Buddhism is an example, the spirit of which is directly opposed to the spirit of Christianity. In Egypt, the birthplace of Monasticism, something like it had, in fact, already appeared among the Jews, in the sect of the Therapeutæ; and in Palestine, where Monasticism early found its way, the Essenes, with many other societies of a similar kind, had preceded it. Monasticism was much more at variance with the pure spirit of *Christianity;* inasmuch as it impelled men, instead of remaining as a salt to the corrupt world in which they lived, outwardly to withdraw from it, and to bury the talent which otherwise they might have used for the benefit of many. But though Monasticism was not a form of life that sprang originally and purely out of Christianity, yet there can be no doubt that by Christianity a new spirit was infused into this foreign mode of life, whereby with many it became ennobled, and converted into an instrument of effecting much which could not otherwise have been effected by any such mode of living.

[1] Athanas. vita S. Anton. § 3: Ἕκαστος τῶν βουλομένων ἑαυτῷ προσέχειν, οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἰδίας κώμης καταμόνας ἠσκεῖτο.

[2] See above, p. 227.

In the fourth century, men were not agreed on the question, as to who was to be considered the founder of Monasticism, whether Paul or Anthony. If by this was to be understood the individual from whom the *spread* of this mode of life proceeded, the name was unquestionably due to the latter; for if Paul was the first Christian hermit, yet he must have remained unknown to the rest of the Christian world, and, without the influence of Anthony, would have found no followers.[1] Before Anthony, there may have been many who, by inclination or by peculiar outward circumstances, were led to adopt this mode of life; but they remained, at least, unknown. The first whom tradition — which, in this case, it must be confessed, is entitled to little confidence, and much distorted by fable — cites by name, is the above-mentioned Paul.[2] He is said to have been moved by the Decian persecution, which, no doubt, raged with peculiar violence in his native land, the Thebaid in Upper Egypt, to withdraw himself, when a young man, to a grotto in a remote mountain. By degrees he became attached to the mode of life he had adopted at first out of necessity. Nourishment and clothing were supplied him by a palm-tree that had sprung up near the grotto. Whether everything in this legend, or, if not everything, what part of it, is historically true, it is impossible to determine. According to the tradition, Anthony, of whom we shall presently give a more detailed account, having heard of Paul, visited him, and made him known to others. But as Athanasius, in his life of Anthony, is wholly silent as to this matter, which he certainly would have deemed an important circumstance, — though he states that Anthony visited all ascetics who were experienced in the spiritual life, — the story must be dismissed as unworthy of credit.

Anthony, whom we may regard, therefore, as the father of Monasticism, sprang from a respectable and wealthy family in the village of Coma, in the province of Heracleopolis (magna) a city of the Heptanome, bordering on the Thebaid.[3] He was born about the year 251. He received a simple, pious education, but no literary training; — a thing, indeed, hardly known in the old Coptic families, into which the influence of the Alexandrian Hellenism had not penetrated. *The Coptic language* was his vernacular tongue; he would have been obliged to learn the *Greek* in order to make himself master of the Greek culture; and as often happens with such men, in whom the contemplative bent of mind predominates, he had no disposition to learn a foreign language. He would have been under the necessity, moreover, of resorting to the school in which instruction in the Greek language was given; but, owing to the more serious, retiring disposition for which he was early distinguished, he avoided the society of noisy boys.[4]

[1] Jerome, in his account of the life of Paul, says very justly of Anthony: Non tam ipse ante omnes fuit, quam ab eo omnium incitata sunt studia.

[2] Jerome himself speaks of the absurd fables which were circulated about Paul; but even his own biography of him is not free from them, and it gives no distinct picture of the man.

[3] Sozom. l. I. c. 13.

[4] Athanasius says of him, in the account of his life, § 1: Γράμματα μαθεῖν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. We might take this to mean that Anthony did not learn how to read at all. Thus Augustin understood it, who, in the prologue to his work, de doctrina Christiana, § 4, says of Anthony, that without knowing how to read, he committed the

From the first, too, he took little interest in matters of worldly learning; but a deep religious feeling, and a craving after the intuition of divine things, were the predominant characteristics of the youth as he grew up to maturity. He was a constant attendant at church, and what he read himself in the Bible, as well as what he heard read in the Scripture lessons at church, became deeply imprinted on his soul: it was to him matter for spiritual nourishment, which he constantly carried with him, so that in his subsequent years he could wholly dispense with the written Scriptures. Between his eighteenth and twentieth years he lost his parents; and on him alone devolved the care of a young sister, left with himself an orphan, and of all the affairs of the family. These cares may, perhaps, have proved irksome to him, unsuited to his peculiar temperament. Once, as he was walking in the church, — which, for the purpose of elevating his heart to God in silent devotion, he frequently visited, even at seasons when there was no service, — his imagination set vividly before him the contrast between a man perplexed with the care of earthly matters, and the primitive apostolical community, in which, as it was usually conceived, no one possessed any earthly property of his own. Occupied with such thoughts, he once attended a meeting of the church; and it so happened that the gospel concerning the rich young man was read before the assembly. Anthony considered those words of the Saviour to the rich young man, which he heard in this particular state of mind, as words particularly addressed from Heaven to himself. He persuaded himself that he was thus called to make an outward renunciation of all his earthly goods and possessions.[1] The considerable landed estates which belonged to him, he gave to the inhabitants of his village, under the condition that, for the future, they would trouble neither him nor his sister with demands for the payment of the public taxes and other claims of that kind.[2] He sold everything that was movable, and distributed the avails to the poor, reserving only the small-

Bible to memory by merely hearing it read. But this is inconsistent with what Athanasius says of him in the same paragraph: Τοῖς ἀναγνώσμασι προσέχων, τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ διετήρει. This might, perhaps, still be understood as referring solely to those portions of Scripture which he heard read in the church. But afterwards, too, where he is speaking of Anthony's ascetic life, he says of him, § 3: Καὶ γὰρ προσεῖχεν οὕτως τῇ ἀναγνώσει. It would be possible, indeed, still to understand Athanasius, not as speaking in this passage of Anthony's private exercises, but only explaining why it was that to him the invitation of Scripture, to pray without ceasing, was so constantly present; namely, because he had everything which he had heard read from the Scriptures, so deeply imprinted on his memory. If the passage is so explained, it might be understood here also as speaking simply of the public reading at church, and it would be unnecessary to suppose that Anthony knew how to read. This interpretation, however, is at any rate not the most simple. But even supposing that Anthony had first read the Bible himself in the Coptic translation, yet it follows, from the narrative of Athanasius, that at a later period he could dispense entirely with the written Scripture, because its words were so deeply impressed on his memory as to be constantly present to him: (Καὶ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ τὴν μνήμην ἀντὶ βιβλίων γίνεσθαι). Thus the statement of Augustin, and what we shall afterwards cite from a conversation between Anthony and a man of learning, may be reconciled with the above account.

[1] See the interpretation of these words which had already been disputed by Clement of Alexandria; above, Vol. I. p. 279.

[2] Vita, § 2: Ἵνα εἰς μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ὀχλήσωσιν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ.

est portion of it for his sister. While listening a second time, during divine service, to those words of our Lord which bid us take no care for the morrow, taking the language once more in too literal and outward a sense, he now gave away to the poor the small remainder of his property which he had reserved particularly for the maintenance of his sister, that he might free himself entirely from all cares about earthly things. He placed his sister to be educated with a society of pious virgins,[1] and, settling down near his paternal mansion, began a life of rigid asceticism. He heard of a venerable old man, who was living as an ascetic on the border of a neighboring village. He sought him out, and made him his pattern, fixing his own residence in the vicinity of the village; and, whenever he chanced to hear of approved ascetics living anywhere in those districts, he visited them, abode with them for a season, and then returned to his former place. He supported himself by the labor of his own hands, and distributed what he did not need for himself to the poor.

Under the false notion of completely dehumanizing himself, he strove to fight down, as sinful, those purely natural affections which in Christianity should be ennobled and glorified; to suppress by force every thought and feeling of love which drew him to his sister and other members of his family. He desired to forget all that bound him to the earth. But nature claimed her rights. These feelings and thoughts would intrude, and disturb him in his meditations, in spite of himself. He could fancy that he beheld in them a temptation of the adversary. Moreover, the lower impulses and energies of nature were excited to greater activity, the less they were employed. Hence, in his solitude, he had to endure many conflicts with sense, which in some active vocation, demanding the exertion of all his powers, might perhaps have been avoided. The temptations he had to battle with were so much the more numerous and powerful, as he was given to idle self-meditation, as he busied himself in fighting down the impure images that were constantly rising up from the abyss of corruption within his heart, instead of despising them, and forgetting himself in worthier employments, or in looking away to the everlasting source of purity and holiness. At a later period, Anthony, with a conviction grounded on long years of experience, acknowledged this, and said to his monks: "Let us not busy our imaginations in painting spectres of evil spirits; let us not trouble our minds as if we were lost. Let us rather be cheerful and comforted at all times, as those who have been redeemed; and let us be mindful, that the Lord is with us, who has conquered them and made them nothing. Let us ever remember that, if the Lord is with us, the enemy can do us no harm. The spirits of evil appear different to us, according to the different moods of mind in which they find us. If they find that we are weak-hearted and cowardly, they increase our fears by the frightful images they excite in us, and then the unhappy soul torments itself with these. But if they find us joyful in the Lord, occupied in the contemplation of future

[1] Παρθενῶνι.

blessedness and of the things of the Lord, reflecting that everything is in the Lord's hand, and that no evil spirit can do any harm to the Christian, they turn away in confusion from the soul which they see preserved by such good thoughts."[1]

At that time he was for overcoming the evil spirits, in whom he beheld the enemies of his holy endeavors, by still stricter regimen of life. He betook himself to a certain grotto in the rock, at some distance from the village, which served the purpose of a tomb (called in the East a mausoleum). Here, as it is probable, by excessive fasting, and by exhaustion from his inward conflicts in this unnatural place of abode, he brought himself into states of an over-excited imagination and nervous derangement, in which he fancied he had received bodily harm from the spirits of darkness. He fell at last into a swoon, and was conveyed back to the village in a state of unconsciousness. At a later period, he retired to a still more distant mountain, where he passed twenty years amidst the ruins of a dilapidated castle. After this, he yielded to the entreaties of those who desired to have him for their guide in the spiritual life. He gave himself up to the men who sought him out. Many joined themselves to him, and, under his guidance, trained themselves to the abstemious life of hermits. The deserts of Egypt became filled with the cells of these eremites. Many flocked to him, from different countries, partly to see the wonderful man, partly for advice and consolation, and to obtain the cure of diseases (particularly of those fits which men were in the custom of tracing to the influence of malignant spirits) by the virtue of his prayers. Parties in strife submitted their matters of dispute to his arbitration. He exhorted all to sacrifice everything to the love of Christ; striving to make them feel the love of God, who spared not his only-begotten Son, but gave him up for all.

To escape the wonder of the multitude, and deliver himself from the throng of men, of all conditions, that disturbed him in his prayers and meditations, Anthony betook himself to a more distant solitude among the mountains. Certain Nomadic Saracens, who wandered over this district, were seized with reverence at the impression of his appearance, and brought him bread. This, together with the fruit of some date-trees which he found on the spot, sufficed for his nourishment. But as soon as the monks whom he had left behind him, discovered the place of his retreat, they provided him with bread. Yet Anthony was resolved to save them this labor. He procured some implements of agriculture, sought out a spot, near the mountain, capable of tillage, and well watered, and sowed it with grain, from which he harvested what sufficed for his support. As he was afterwards visited here, too, by strangers, he raised a supply of vegetables, that he might have wherewith to refresh those who had made the long and wearisome journey to find him. He wove baskets, and exchanged these for such articles of nourishment as were brought to him.

He could easily acquire the fame of being a worker of miracles;

[1] Athanas. vit. Anton. § 42.

since many, particularly of those who were thought to be possessed of evil spirits, were indebted to his prayers, and to the impression of tranquillity and peace which went forth from him, for the soothing of the tumultuous powers which had agitated their inner being. But he pointed those who applied to him for help, or had been indebted to him for it, away from himself to God and Christ. Thus, to a military officer who applied to him for the healing of his daughter, he said: "I also am a man, like thyself. If thou believest in the Christ whom I serve, only depart, and pray to God in thy faith, and it shall be done."[1] Usually, he exhorted the suffering to patience. They were to know that the power of healing belonged neither to him, nor to any other man, but was the work of God alone, who wrought it when and for whom he pleased. Thus those who left him without having obtained the bodily relief they expected, learned from him a lesson more valuable than any deliverance from bodily ills, — submission to the divine will.[2] He exhorted his monks not to attribute too great worth to miraculous gifts and wonderful cures; and not to estimate, by these, the degree of progress in the Christian life, but to esteem holiness of living still higher. "To do wonders," he told them, "is not our work, but the Saviour's. Hence he said to his disciples: 'Rejoice not that the spirits are subject to you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven:' for that our names are written in heaven is a witness of our virtue, and of our life; but to expel evil spirits is the grace of the Saviour, which he has bestowed on us."[3]

It was only on extraordinary occasions, that Anthony made his appearance at Alexandria; and then his appearance always produced a great effect. Thus it was, when, in the year 311, the emperor Maximin renewed the persecution in Egypt. True, Anthony did not think it proper to give himself up as a victim; but neither did he fear danger, in firing the courage of other Christians to unwavering confession, in manifesting love to the confessors in the prisons and the mines. His example and his words did so much, that, to hinder them, the governor issued a command for all monks to leave the city. Other monks, who, on this occasion, had also come into the city, concealed themselves; but Anthony appeared in public, yet no one dared to touch him.

A second time, in the year 351, when he was a hundred years old, he made his appearance in Alexandria, to counteract the spread of Arianism, which was then supported there by the power of the state. His appearance made, at that time, so great a sensation, that Pagans themselves, and even their priests, came to church, for the purpose of seeing the man of God, as they themselves called him.[4] People belonging to the pagan ranks pressed forward with the rest, to touch the

[1] Vit. Anton. § 48.
[2] L. c. § 56.
[3] L. c. § 38.
[4] What Athanasius relates, § 70, is confirmed by the reverence which a Synesius, while yet a Pagan, shows towards Anthony. He names him among the rarer men, who, by virtue of their greatness of mind, could dispense with scholastic culture; whose flashes of spirit might serve instead of syllogisms; and places him by the side of Hermes and Zoroaster. In his Dion, ed. Petav. f. 51.

garments of Anthony, in hopes of being healed, if they could only do that. It is said more Pagans were converted to Christianity during the few days of his residence in Alexandria, than during a year at other times.

Many sayings of this remarkable man, which have come down through the oral tradition of his disciples, lead us, indeed, to recognize in him a great soul. The favor of princes, by which so many, in other respects distinguished men of the church, have still allowed themselves to be corrupted, could not touch the mind of Anthony. When the emperor Constantine and his sons wrote to him as their spiritual father, and begged of him an answer, it made no impression on him. He said to his monks: "Wonder not that the emperor writes to us, for he is a man; but wonder much rather at this, that God has written his law for men, and spoken to them by his own Son." At first it was with some difficulty he could be prevailed on to receive the letter, since he knew not how to answer a letter of that sort. But when the other monks represented to him that they were Christian princes, and that they might look upon his neglect as a mark of contempt, and thereby take offense, he allowed the letter to be read. In his answer, he first congratulated them that they were Christians, and next told them what he considered would be most conducive to their welfare; that they ought not to look upon their earthly power and glory as a great thing, but rather to think of the future judgment; that they ought to know that Christ is the only true and eternal King. He exhorted them to philanthropy, to justice, and to care for the poor.[1]

Once there came to him a learned man of the Pagans, and made merry with him, because he could not read. He asked him how he could endure to live without books. Anthony thereupon asked him which was first, "spirit or letter." The learned man replied: "Spirit is the first." "Well," said Anthony, "the healthy spirit, then, needs not letters. My book is the whole creation: this book lies open there before me, and I can read in it when I please, — the word of God."[2] When others were ridiculing the faith of the Christians, Anthony asked them which, from the very nature of the case, went first in the knowledge of all things, and especially in the knowledge of God, and which gave the more assured conviction, "the conclusions of reason, or the faith which comes from a direct act of the spirit."[3] When they said the last, he rejoined: "You are right; since faith proceeds from something immediate in the soul, — something in its condition.[4] What *we know* by faith, that *you seek to prove* by argument; and oftentimes you cannot even express that which we behold in the spirit."

Anthony, who, in the early years of his monastic life, had tormented

[1] Vit. Anton. § 81.

[2] L. c. § 73. Socrates hist. eccles. IV. 23. Perhaps this story was floating before the mind of Synesius, and he merely confounded Ammun with Anthony, when he said of the former: Οὐκ ἐξεῦρεν, ἀλλ' ἔκρινε χρείαν γραμμάτων, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τοῦ νοῦ περιῆν, f. 48.

[3] Ἡ δι' ἐνεργείας πίστις.

[4] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ πίστις ἀπὸ διαθέσεως ψυχῆς γίνεται. [Text: Denn der Glaube geht aus etwas Unmittelbarem, Zuständlichem in der Seele hervor.]

himself so much with temptations, and been able to find no rest in constant self-contemplation, observed afterwards, from his own experience: "This is man's great work, to take his guilt upon himself before God, and expect temptations till his latest breath. Without temptation no one can enter into the kingdom of heaven." To an abbot, who asked him what he ought to do, he replied: "Trust not in your own righteousness, and regret not what is already past." [1]

Severe to himself, Anthony was mild to all others. A monk, for some offense, had been expelled from his cloister, and his brethren were unwilling to receive him back, though he showed proofs of penitence. Anthony sent him back again to his cloister, with these words to the monks: "A ship stranded, lost her cargo, and was with difficulty drawn to the shore; but ye are for sinking again at sea what has been safely brought into harbor." [2] To Didymus, the learned superintendent of the catechetical school at Alexandria, who, from his youth up, was blind, he said, on meeting with him during his last residence in Alexandria: "Let it not trouble you that you are in want of eyes, with which even flies and gnats can see; but rejoice that you have the eyes with which angels see, by which, too, God is beheld, and his light received." [3] At the age of a hundred and five years, feeling the approach of death, and, with entire consciousness, calmly and cheerfully awaiting the end of his earthly career, he was solicitous that the exaggerated reverence of the Egyptians towards him should not convert his remains into an object of superstition. It was their custom, after the ancient manner, to embalm the bodies, especially of those who were venerated as saints, as mummies, take them into their houses, and place them there on small couches. The superstitious veneration of relics might here easily find a foothold. To guard against this, Anthony urgently recommended to his monks to keep the place of his burial concealed, lest his body might be dug up by others, and preserved in the manner above described; for he wished not to be more highly honored than the patriarchs, and Christ himself, who had all been buried.

Anthony gave to his age a pattern, which was seized with love and enthusiasm by many hearts that longed after Christian perfection, and which excited many to emulate it. Disciples of Anthony, belonging to Greek and to old Egyptian families, spread Monachism throughout every part of Egypt; and the deserts of this country, to the borders of Lybia, were sprinkled with numerous monkish societies and monkish cells. From hence Monachism spread to Palestine and Syria, where the climate was most favorable to such a mode of life, and where, too, even at an earlier period, — among the Jews, [4] — much

[1] He would probably say, men should not spend so much time in reflecting on their sins, instead of getting free from themselves, and striving continually forward in the work of holiness. (See Apophthegm. patr. § 4. Coteler. monument. eccles. Græc. T. I.)

[2] L. c. § 21.

[3] Socrat. l. c.

[4] We find in Nilus a remarkable account of Jewish monks in his own time, in the Tractatus ad Magnam, c. 39, opuscula, Romæ, 1673, f. 279. Ἰουδαίων τινὲς μὴ ἀπαιτοῦμενοι ἀκτημοσύνην παρὰ τοῦ νόμου, ἑκουσίως ταύτην ἠσπάσαντο, ἐν σκήναις κατοικήσαντες. It may be, as Nilus seems to suppose, that this was at that time a new appearance among them, and perhaps had

that was analogous had already existed. Anthony, indeed, was visited, not only by monks belonging to Egypt, but also by monks from Jerusalem.[1] The person who most contributed to the promotion of Monachism in Palestine was Hilarion. Born in the village of Thabatha, or Thanatha, in Palestine, four miles south of Gaza, he resided, while a youth, for the purpose of study, at Alexandria, when the fame of Anthony moved him to seek out the great anachoret; and, after having spent several months in Anthony's society, he returned to his native country, with the intention of introducing there the same mode of life.[2] Anthony, *without any conscious design of his own*, had become the founder of a new mode of living in common; for it had, in truth, happened, of its own accord, without any special efforts of his, that persons of similar disposition had attached themselves to him, and, building their cells around his, made him their spiritual guide and governor. Thus arose the first societies of Anachorets, who lived scattered, in single cells or huts, united together under one superior.

But, independent of Anthony, an individual made his appearance in Egypt, who brought together the monks in one large connected building, and gave to the entire monastic life a more regular and systematic shaping. This was Pachomius, the founder of the cloister life. The societies of the Anachorets, who lived in a certain union with each other in single cells, were called Λαῦραι (lauræ);[3] the connected buildings, in which monks dwelt together, under a common superior, were called κοινόβια (cœnobia), μοναστήρια (monasteria), φροντιστήρια.[4] Pachomius, at the beginning of the fourth century, when a young man, after having obtained his release from the military service, into which he had been forced, attached himself to an aged hermit, with whom he passed from ten to twelve years of his life. Here he felt the impulse of Christian love, which taught him that he ought not to live merely so as to promote his own growth to perfection, but to seek also the salvation of his brethren. He supposed,— unless this is a decoration of the legend,— that, in a vision, he heard the voice of an angel giving utterance to the call in his own breast, — it was the divine will that he should be an instrument for the good of his brethren, by reconciling them to God.[5] On Tabennæ, an island

arisen from an emulation of the Christian monks; but may also have been a mode of life which had come down from ancient times, and which was incorrectly thought to be something new.

[1] See Palladii Lausiaca, c. 26. Biblioth. patrum Parisiensis, T. XIII. f. 939.

[2] Hieronymi vita Hilarionis. Sozomen III. 14.

[3] A term which, derived from the ancient Greek adjective λαῦρος, denoted, properly, a large open place, a street.

[4] Thus Evagrius, hist. eccles. l. I. c. 21, distinguishes φροντιστήρια καὶ τὰς καλουμένας λαύρας: and in the life of the abbot Sabas, which Cyrill of Scythopolis composed, we find a distinction made between λαῦραι and κοινόβια, § 58, in Coteler. ecclesiæ Græcæ monumenta, T. III. The name μοναστήρια appears here as uniting the meaning of both. Anthony himself, in the ancient life of Pachomius, § 77, names the latter as the founder of the more closely connected societies of monks: Κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅτε μοναχὸς γέγονα, οὐκ ἦν κοινόβιον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος τῶν ἀρχαίων μοναχῶν μετὰ τὸν ὁσιγμὸν καταμόνας ἠσκεῖτο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐποίησε τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν παρὰ κυρίου. Even before Pachomius, a person by the name of Aotas ('Αώτας) made an attempt, but without success, to found some similar institution. Acta Sanctorum mens. Maj. T. III. in the Appendix, § 77.

[5] Vit. Pachom. § 15.

of the Nile, in Upper Egypt, betwixt the Nomes of Tenthyra and Thebes, he founded a society of monks, which, during the lifetime of Pachomius himself, numbered three thousand, and afterwards seven thousand members; and thus went on increasing, until, in the first half of the fifth century, it could reckon within its rules fifty thousand monks.[1] This whole association was called a κοινόβιον cœnobium, — a term which, originally designating the entire whole of a monkish society, although distributed through several buildings, was afterwards transferred to single cloisters; of which, too, it was usually the case that each one embraced a distinct society. The *entire body of monks* stood under the guidance of Pachomius; and afterwards his successors, the abbots of the cloister in which the institution had its origin, continued to be the heads of the whole order.[2] He was regarded as the superior of the whole cœnobium, the abbot or abbas-general (the Hebrew and Syriac word for father); or, as he was styled in Greek, the *archimandrite*;[3] and, at certain seasons, he made visitations to the several cloisters. The entire monkish society was distributed, according to the various degrees of progress which its members had attained in the spiritual life, into several classes, twenty-four in all, after the number of letters in the alphabet; and each of these classes had its own presiding officer, as to each also was assigned its particular labors. They employed themselves in the ordinary monkish avocations; such as weaving baskets, for which they made use of the rushes of the Nile, fabricating mats or coverings (ψίαθοι), not neglecting, however, other kinds of business, such as agriculture, and ship-building. At the end of the fourth century, each cloister possessed a vessel of its own, built by the monks themselves. Palladius, who visited the Egyptian cloisters about this time, found, in the cloister of Panopolis, — which also belonged to this association of monks, and contained within it three hundred members, — fifteen tailors, seven smiths, four carpenters, twelve camel-drivers, and fifteen tanners.[4] Each cloister had its *steward* (οἰκόνομος), who provided for the bodily wants of all, and with whom the fabrics, when finished, were deposited; and all these stewards were placed under a general steward of the whole association (the μέγας οἰκόνομος), who was stationed at the principal cloister. The latter had the oversight of the income and expenditure of the entire cœnobium; to him were given over all the products of monkish labor. He shipped them to Alexandria, where they were sold, to provide means for purchasing such stores as the cloisters needed; and whatever remained, after these wants were supplied, was distributed among the poor, the sick, and the decrepit, of this populous, though impoverished country. A part also was sent to the prisons.[5] Twice in the year, on the feast of Easter, and in the

[1] Pallad. Lausiaca, c. 6, l. c. f. 909, also c. 38, f. 957. Hieronymi præfat. in regulam Pachomii, § 7.

[2] The first example of an institution similar to the later congregations and orders of monks.

[3] From the word μάνδρα, the fold, flock. Vid. Nilus, l. II. ep. 62, μοναστήριον = μάνδρα.

[4] Lausiac. c. 39.

[5] Vit. Pachom. § 19, § 73, § 85. Hieronymi præfat. in regul. Pachom. Lausiaca, f. 957.

month *Mesori* (about the season of our August), all the superiors of the single cloisters met together in the principal cloister. At the last meeting, they brought in reports of the administration of their office. It was at this time, the reconciliation of all with God and with each other was celebrated.[1]

No person who wished to be taken into the society of the monks was admitted at once; but he was first asked, whether he had not committed a crime, and was not seeking refuge, among the monks, from civil penalties; whether he was his own master, and therefore warranted to decide on his mode of life; whether he deemed himself capable of renouncing his property, and everything he called his own. He must, in the next place, submit to a period of probation, before he could be received into the number of regular monks.[2] He was adopted, on pledging himself to live according to the monastic rules.[3] Pachomius also founded, at this early period, cloisters of nuns, which received the means of support from the cloisters of the monks.[4]

If the first who devoted themselves to this mode of life were such as had been led to choose it by natural bent of disposition, or by some peculiar course of early training, and were therefore capable of enduring it, yet they were followed by multitudes of others who were merely hurried into it by the force of example and the enthusiasm of the time. That fanatical tendencies, and even mental aberrations should spring up out of such a state of things, was inevitable. The temptation to commit suicide was no unfrequent thing among the monks. The case of Stagirius, which incidentally comes to our knowledge through the beautiful letter of consolation addressed to him by Chrysostom, may serve as an example. Stagirius was a young man belonging to a noble family in Antioch, who having become disgusted with the frivolity of life in the great world, was the more strongly inclined to embrace the silent, divinely consecrated life of monachism. He became a monk. But the too great and sudden change unsettled his feeble nature. He found himself exposed to violent attacks of mental disorder, during which he imagined himself tempted of the devil to destroy himself. Nilus, an experienced monk of the fifth century, informs us[5] that many monks, finding no way of escape from the secret temptations besetting them in their solitude, desperately plunged the knife into their bodies, or threw themselves headlong from precipices. Others starved themselves to death.[6] The abbot Pachomius also speaks of similar acts of desperation into which monks, tormented by bad thoughts which they found it impossible to get rid of, allowed themselves to be hurried. He therefore warns his monks against keeping

[1] Vit. Pachom. § 52. Hieronym. l. c. § 8.

[2] A novitiate, according to the earlier practice of the Essenes.

[3] The ὁμολόγησις, called afterwards the votum, *vow*, § 66. Hieronym. præfat. § 49.

[4] Lausiaca, f. 300.

[5] Nilus, lib. II. ep. 140, f. 182.

[6] See Gregor. Nanzianz. Carmen 47, ad Hellenium. opp. T. II. f. 107.

Θνήσκουσιν πολλοῖς προφρονέως θανάτοις,
Αυτοὶ ὑπὸ σφετέρης παλάμης καὶ γαστρὸς ἀνάγκη,
(They died by voluntary starvation.)

Οἱ δὲ κατὰ σκοπέλων· βένθεσί τ' ἠὲ βρόχοις
Μάρτυρες ἀτρεκίης· πολέμου δ' ἀπὸ καὶ στονόεντος
Χαίρουσιν βίοτου τοῦδ' ἀπανιστάμενοι.
(They rejoice to be redeemed from this inward conflict and this melancholy life.)

their distress concealed within their own bosoms, advising them to make it seasonably known to those experienced in the cure of souls, before the evil should gain the complete mastery. He says to them: "If suggestions to blaspheme God occur to a person who is not possessed of a truly prudent and collected spirit, they will soon bring him to ruin. Thus have many been led to destroy themselves. Some, bereft of their reason, have cast themselves from precipices; others have ripped open their own bowels; and others have put an end to their lives in divers ways; for it is a very bad case when a man does not hasten to disclose the state of his mind to such as understand the nature of the evil, before it becomes confirmed."[1] Many, after having pushed their abstinence and self-castigation to the utmost extreme, imagined they had reached the summit of Christian perfection, and might now soon dispense altogether with those means of grace which other weak Christians needed. They despised assembling with others for devotional purposes, and even for the communion. Finally, they imagined that they were honored with special visions and revelations. The end of it all was, that they fell into a state of complete insanity; or else what had hitherto inspired them appeared at once to be self-delusion. From the temptation to seek an entire estrangement from the ordinary feelings of humanity, into which they had forcibly wrought themselves, they sunk back to entire abandonment and vulgarity. The sensual impulses, which, in the intoxication of pride, they had succeeded, for a short time, in wholly suppressing, broke forth with still greater violence.[2] They not only rushed back to their ordinary earthly pursuits, but now went to the opposite extreme of giving themselves up to every sensual enjoyment. Sometimes, after having been tossed to and fro, from one extreme to the other, they at length arrived, out of these hard trials, to the knowledge of themselves, and to a discreet piety.[3] We see a mark of true wisdom in the practice of endeavoring to heal those who, through the pride of asceticism, had fallen, or were in danger of falling, into insanity, by forbidding them to engage in such efforts any longer, and obliging them to live after the manner of ordinary men.

To find a respite from temptations which they could not avoid while awake, and which disturbed them even in singing and in prayer, many gave themselves up to immoderate sleep. The same Nilus, who had stored up so large a fund of spiritual experience, writes to one of this class: "By taking this course, you gratify the powers of evil, and make them prouder; for they who give themselves up to indolence, who neglect prayer and religious singing, are commonly the most annoyed."[4]

[1] Vit. Pachom. § 61.

[2] Hence Nilus, who was a man of large inward experience, gave to one who asked him why many of the monks had so sadly fallen, the following answer: "Priding themselves on their ascetic perfection, they lost, by their presumption, the protection of good spirits, and the evil ones became their masters." Καταβάλλουσι τὸν πεφυσιωμένον εἰς πορνείαν ἢ κλοπὴν ἢ φονοκτονίαν ἢ μοιχείαν. Nil. l. I. ep. 326.

[3] Which, in spiritual therapeutics, was designated by the name διάκρισις (discretio): Διὰ τῶν πειρασμῶν δοκιμασθεὶς, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὴν πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ὑψηλοτέραν διάκρισιν.

[4] Nilus, l. III. ep. 224.

Spiritual pride, especially, was here the source of many extravagances and mental aberrations. A monk by the name of Valens, belonging to a monastic order in Palestine, had become proud of his great ascetic efforts. Some friends, perhaps according to a usual custom, having made a present of certain articles of food to the monks, the presbyter Macarius, who presided over the society, sent a portion to each in his cell. But Valens, with scornful language, bade the bearer carry it back to Macarius. The latter perceived the danger which threatened the sanity of Valens's mind. The next day he went to him, endeavored to bring him to a sense of his dangerous self-delusion, and entreated him to pray God that he might be healed. As he refused to listen to all advice, his case continually grew worse. He had visions, and imagined the Saviour himself had appeared to him, in a form of light, testifying his approbation of so holy a life. When, on the next day, the monks assembled to unite in participating of the holy supper, Valens refused to unite with them. "I need not the supper," said he, "for I have this day seen the Lord Christ himself." The monks found it necessary to bind the insane man. For the space of a year, they had recourse to prayer, and to a tranquil mode of life, directly opposed to his previous ascetic habits, for his recovery; proceeding on the principle, that one extreme must be cured by resorting to the other.[1]

Another, by the name of Heron, belonging to Alexandria, who was a member of the monastic society in the desert of Nitria, had carried the mortification of his senses to such extent, that he could travel thirty miles into the desert, under the scorching rays of the sun, without food or drink, repeating constantly, as he went, certain passages of the Bible from memory; and that he often lived, for three months, on nothing but the bread of the eucharist, and wild herbs. This man became so proud as to fancy himself superior to all others. He would be advised by no one; affirming that, as Christ had said, "Let no man on earth be called your master," it was men's duty to acknowledge no earthly superior. He also came, at length, to consider it beneath his dignity to take any part in the communion. Finally, he felt within him such a fire, such a restless fever, that he could no longer endure to remain in his cell.[2] He fled from the desert to Alexandria, and there plunged into a directly opposite mode of life. He was a frequent visitor at the theatre, the circus, and the houses of entertainment; he ran into all sorts of extravagance: these threw him into a severe sickness, in which he came to his senses, and was seized once more with the craving after the higher life he had lost. Afterwards he found a calm and cheerful death.[3]

Another, by the name of Ptolemy, settled down by himself on a

[1] Εὐχαῖς καὶ ποικίλῃ ἀδιαφορήσει καὶ ἀπραγωτέρῳ βίῳ τὸ οἴημα αὐτοῦ καθελόντες, καθὼς λέγεται· τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἰάματα. Laus. c. 31.

[2] This, too, was no unfrequent occurrence, that the monks, to escape their inward temptations, forsook their cells, and ran about from one place to another. Nilus says of a person of this description: "He will change his place, but not the anguish of his heart. He will rather nourish and increase his temptations. L. I. ep. 295.

[3] Lausiaca. c. 39.

spot lying beyond the Scetic desert in Egypt, known under the name of the "Ladder" (κλίμαξ), where no man had ever dared to dwell, because the only spring which could provide water for this spot in the parched wilderness, lay fourteen miles distant. There he persevered in dwelling alone, for fifteen years, collecting, in earthen vessels, during the months of December and January, the dew, which at this season plentifully covered the rocks in this country, and, with the moisture thus preserved, quenching his thirst. This unnatural mode of life was too much for his nature. The attempt at a proud estrangement from all human passions was the means of its own punishment. In striving to deny his human nature, to strip off the limits of humanity, he lost all firm hold of real existence; he grew skeptical about his own, about the existence of God, and of all things else; — everything appeared to him like a phantasm. The thought seized him, that the world had sprung into existence of itself, without any Creator; that it moved in a constant show, without any substantial ground of existing things. We here see, proceeding of itself from the tendency of a dehumanizing asceticism, the same view of the world which makes its appearance in Buddhism. When the human mind seeks to pass beyond the safe and healthful limits prescribed to it, it falls into Nihilism. But this monk was not capable of the resignation which can rest satisfied with such a result. He had not the heroism to look straight into the face of *nothing*. He shrunk back from the abyss, to the edge of which he had brought himself. In desperate frenzy, he forsook the desert, wandered in dumb maze from city to city, frequented the places of public resort, and abandoned himself to every species of dissipation.[1]

From some such fanatical direction of spiritual pride, which has here been illustrated by individual examples, sprung up, as the same spirit went on to spread itself more widely, a sect in Syria, which had followers even as far off as Pamphylia, and propagated itself from the second half of the fourth, to the sixth century; while, perhaps, in its after effects, it continued to exist much longer; that is, in case this sect stood in outward connection with later appearances which in many respects bear a strong resemblance to it.[2] They were called, sometimes, after the name of their leaders at different periods, Lampetians, Adelphians, Eustathians, and Marcianites; sometimes, after various peculiarities which happened to be noticed in them, Euchites (εὐχιται),

[1] Laus. l. c. c. 33. Similar cases must often have occurred, as we may see from Laus. c. 95.

[2] In case the Euchites of the fourth century stood in any immediate connection with the Euchites of the eleventh century, and the so-called Bogomiles of the twelfth. Without question, the affinity may also be accounted for from an inward analogy, which is found to exist between mystic sects of this sort. It is to be observed, however, that Theodoretus already describes the εὐχίτας ἐν μοναχικῷ προσχήματι τὰ μανιχαίων νοσοῦντας. Hist. eccl. c. III. ed. Halens. T. III. p. 1146. To be sure, Theodoretus may also have held, on no good grounds, analogous doctrines of this monkish mysticism to be Manichean or Gnostic; or he may have, through mistake, confounded Manicheans who concealed themselves under the monkish garb, with the ordinary Euchites. The fact that the monks had their imaginations constantly busied with the images of evil spirits persecuting them, may have furnished ground for the introduction of the Manichean, as it did really give rise to the Euchitian doctrines. See, respecting the spread of Manicheism among the monks, Vita Euthymii, § 33. Coteler. monumenta ecclesiæ Græcæ, T. II. p. 227.

Messalians,[1] with reference to their theory of continual inward prayer; also Choreutes (χορευταὶ), from their mystical dances,[2] Enthusiasts (ἐνθουσιασταὶ), on account of the ecstasies of which they boasted.[3]

The monk Nilus, in the first half of the fifth century, warns against those who, as a pretext for indolence, pretended to be engaged in continual prayer.[4] He remarks that if the faculties of sense in youth and the vigor of manhood are not kept under by constant employment, they will be so much the more likely to intrude, and occasion disturbance to the higher life; and that any man who should attempt, without such employment, to give himself solely to prayer, would be so distracted by wandering thoughts, as to find that this apparent, but not real prayer was at length suppressed altogether.[5] While he admits, that to be zealously devoted to prayer, and to exercise the spirit in communion with God, is a noble thing, he warns against that excess, which, in prolonging the time spent in prayer, produces the opposite effect of interrupting its quiet performance by the intrusion of foreign images and thoughts, tending to draw the spirit down to the earth.[6] This practical error gradually led to all the principles and doctrines peculiar to the *Euchites*.

Most probably, it was in the first place a practical error, without any tendency to theoretical heresies. They were monks who fancied themselves to have reached the summit of ascetic perfection; and, as they now enjoyed such intimate communion with the Holy Spirit, such complete dominion over sense, as to be no longer under the necessity of making the same efforts as before, supposed that, delivered from the yoke of law, they needed only to follow the impulse of the Spirit, without rule or discipline. They would allow nothing to disturb them in the purely contemplative repose, the state of inward prayer, which they represented as being the highest of attainments. They discarded all the occupations of common life, — all manual labor, by which the monks were used to provide for their own support and for the relief of others, but which *they* regarded as a degradation of the higher life of the spirit. They were for living by alms alone, and were *the first mendicant friars*.[7]

[1] Signifying the same, according to the Chaldee מְצַלִּין.

[2] Comp. vol. I. the Therapeutæ.

[3] All these different names are found in Timotheus de receptione hæreticorum, in Coteler. monumenta ecclesiæ Græcæ, T. III. The name μαρκιανισταὶ is from Marcian, an exchanger, under the emperors Justin and Justinian. The name *Eustathians* is worthy of notice. It might lead us to think of Eustathius of Sebaste, from whom, in fact (see further on), a fanatical monkish bent derived its origin; and the more, as Photius, Cod. 52, who had old synodal acts for his authority, calls this Eustathius, from whom they bore the name, αἱδέσιμος.

[4] Προκάλυμμα τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὀκνηρίας τὸ διὰ παντὸς δοκεῖν προσκαρτερεῖν τῇ προσευχῇ πεποιημένοις. He names, as a promoter of this tendency, one Adelphios of Mesopotamia, from whom came the sectarian name above mentioned, *Adelphians;* and one Alexander, who for a short time created disturbance in Constantinople, — perhaps the founder of a society of monks who maintained an uninterrupted exercise of prayer and singing day and night, by means of classes alternately relieving each other, the so-called Akœmetes (Ἀκοίμηται). See the ep. ad Magnam, § 21.

[5] Ἕως ἂν ἡ δοκοῦσα προσευχὴ οὐκ ὑσα δὲ τοῦτο, ὅπερ λέγεται, πάντη ἀπόληται.

[6] Μηδὲ τῇ παρὰ τὸ δέον ἐκτάσει τοῦ χρόνου δοῦναι παρείσδυσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις πάθεσιν αἰχμαλωτεύειν ἔθος ἔχουσι τοὺς λογισμούς. L. c. c. 22.

[7] Epiphanius distinctly says, h. 68, that

The monks believed that they were persecuted continually by wicked spirits, and were always seeking how to overcome them. They may have often found by their own experience, that all their self-castigation and outward works were insufficient to enable them to overcome the evil spirit in their own hearts. They would thus be compelled to turn from outward things to the inner man; and the outward life of monachism itself may have led to the opposite tendency of looking inward, which again might be carried to excess. We may thus account for the origin of the Euchitean principles. They taught that every man, by virtue of his descent from the first man who fell, brings into the world with him an evil spirit, and lives under its dominion. All ascetic discipline, all the means of grace in the church, are incapable of delivering the soul from the tyranny of this evil spirit. These avail only to check single outbreaks of sin, while the *man* still remains under its dominion. He is, therefore, under the necessity of continually struggling with sin; and stands trembling before it under the discipline of the law. "Baptism," said they, "may, like shears, clip away, indeed, the earlier sins (procure forgiveness for past transgressions); but the root of the evil still remains behind; from which new sins, therefore, will continually spring up; for in fact the evil spirit still retains his dominion over the soul."[1] But what could not be brought about by outward means, or by any kind of ascetic discipline, might be effected by true, inward prayer; and now, in opposition to the notion of the wonderful efficacy of outward appliances, to the magical operation of the sacraments, they enthusiastically extolled their own doctrine concerning the efficacy of this inward prayer. He who offered this kind of prayer, they taught, would be delivered thereby from the power of the evil spirit which had ruled him from the time of his birth, whose departure would be sensibly felt, and he would enter, in a way sensibly felt within himself, into communion with the divine Spirit. He would put on the divine raiment, and become at once unassailable by any temptation to sin. That freedom from sensuous affections to which others endeavored to fight their way by a course of severe ascetic discipline, *he* would reach *immediately* by this inward prayer. Nor would he any longer need to fast or to mortify himself. Being freed from the law, he might without hazard expose himself to temptations which others must avoid through fear of falling. The immediate divine revelation, which he would now enjoy, would exempt him from all further need of instruction from others, from all further need of human guidance.[2] It is evident that the

an excess of the monkish spirit, a misunderstanding of the evangelical renunciation of the world, in short, an exaggeration, carried to the extreme, of the principle which lay at the foundation of the whole monastic institution, was what produced this error of the Euchites. Ἔσχον δὲ τὸ βλαβερὸν τοῦτο φρόνημα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμετρίας τῶν τινῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀφελείας.

[1] Timoth. l. c. § 2. Ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα οὐδὲν συμβάλλεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦτον δίωξιν, οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἱκανὸν, τὰς ῥίζας τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰς συνουσιωμένας ἀρχῆθεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκτεμεῖν. Theodoret. hæret. fab. IV. II. Ξυροῦ δίκην ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰ πρότερα, τὴν δὲ ῥίζαν οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τῆς ἁμαρτίας. By this we must supply what is wanting in the less accurate account of Theodoretus, hist. eccles. IV. 10.

[2] Theodoret. h. e. IV. 10. Timoth. de receptione hæreticor. § 9. Joh. Damascen. hæres. § 6.

tendency of a doctrine like this would be to destroy, not only the monachism of these times, which was founded on obedience and subordination, but all church order besides. For, of course, to the Euchites, their prayer supplied the place of all other modes of devotion and means of grace; and they looked upon themselves as exalted far above other Christians, who were still in bondage to sense, and under the yoke of the law. They were persuaded that the true spiritual sacrament of the supper was only among themselves; the outward ordinance of the church they represented to be a matter of indifference. Although they believed that they could derive no benefit from it, yet they joined in the celebration of it, in order that they might still be considered members of the Catholic church. Their doctrine of inward prayer, on which alone everything depended, their one-sided conception of religion as something exclusively inward, led them also to discard sacred music.[1] That they sought after revelations in dreams, we may easily believe, according to the unanimous testimony of their opponents; since many indications of the tendency to that enthusiasm which looked for divine suggestions in dreams, is elsewhere to be found also in this period. Their adversaries, moreover, report of them, that they were, for this reason, much given to sleep; which is possibly an exaggeration, but it may also be true; for it is easy to see, that such a monotonous direction of the soul, so much at variance with the essential constitution of human nature, as Nilus had well understood, must have often passed off into sleep and dreams.

In various ways, we see, connected with such appearances of an enthusiastic mysticism, the habit of confounding sensual with spiritual feelings, particularly sensual with spiritual love,—a habit which has often been attended with the most pernicious consequences. Thus, too, the Euchites compared the spiritual marriage of the soul to its heavenly bridegroom, in a grossly sensual manner, with an earthly union.[2]

The spiritual pride which would transcend the bounds of finite existence, the state of dreamy reverie in which all distinctions were lost, not seldom led from an enthusiastic mysticism, to a pantheistic self-deification. This seems to have been the case also with the Euchites. They asserted, that they had become partakers of the divine nature. The Deity was able to assume all possible forms, and did actually assume all forms, particularly for the purpose of communicating himself to such souls as were fitted to receive him. "The three hypostases of the Triad," they taught, "are nothing but different forms of revelation of the one divine Essence,—the Trinity resolves again

[1] This is seen from a fragment of the tract of the Monophysite Severus, written against the work of the Euchite Lampetios, which was entitled the *Testament*. We gather from the opposite position taken by the former, that the Euchites approved only of a *ὑμνεῖν ἐν καρδίᾳ*. See Wolf. anecdota Græca, T. III. p. 182; and this inference is confirmed by the acts of a synod held in opposition to the Euchites, cited by Photius, c. 52. Of this Lampetios, it is here said: *Ὅτι τοὺς τὰς ὥρας ψάλλοντας ἐξεμυκτήριζε καὶ διέσυρεν, ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον ἔτι τυγχάνοντας.*

[2] Timoth. § 4: *Τοιαύτης αἰσθάνεται ἡ ψυχὴ κοινωνίας γενομένης αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ οὐρανίου νυμφίου, οἵας αἰσθάνεται ἡ γυνὴ ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρός.*

into Unity."[1] Thus they were led to look upon the appearances of the angels in the Old Testament, upon the patriarchs and prophets, and upon Christ himself, as only different forms of the manifestation and revelation of the one divine Essence; and they were persuaded that, by virtue of their own spiritual perfection, all was concentrated in them. If angel, patriarch, prophet, Christ himself, were named to such a person, his reply, in each case, was, "That am I myself."[2] Perhaps they were, likewise, by their mystical idealism, led to deny the reality of Christ's miracles, to explain them as only symbolical; since such facts in the sensible world seem to have been regarded by them as wholly unimportant to the religion of the spirit.[3]

It should be mentioned also, as among their peculiar opinions, that they considered fire as the creative principle of the universe, — an opinion of which we find many traces also in other theosophic sects.

It was sometimes objected to the Euchites, that they pushed their Antinomianism, and their mistaken freedom, to such an excess, as even to permit those who were called perfect to abandon themselves to every vice. True, we ought not to give too much credit here to the report of adversaries; yet it must be allowed, that this practical error did not, at least, lie so very remote from their principles and their spirit. Their presumptuous self-confidence, their defiance of the frailties of human nature, might thus, perhaps, meet with its own punishment; and we have, in fact, noticed above, in the case of the monks, many examples of transition from the extreme of ascetic severity to an unbridled licentiousness of morals.

As it was a principle held by the Euchites, in common with many similar sects, that the end sanctifies the means, and that it was right to conceal from common men, who were enslaved to their senses, the higher truths, which they were not yet prepared to receive, and to affect an assent to their opinions; it was, on this account, difficult to discover the members of this sect, and to seize upon any clue to their doctrines. Flavianus, bishop of Antioch (after the year 381), condescended to act according to the same principle, with a view to find them out, punish, and expel them. He managed to enter into a conference with their superior, Adelphius, as if he were entirely of the same opinion with him, and thus enticed him to a confession, which he then made use of against Adelphius himself, and his whole sect.[4]

A similar spirit of ascetic fanaticism threatened to spread far and wide, when, after the middle of the fourth century, the zeal for the monastic life was diffused by Eustathius, afterwards bishop of Sebaste,

[1] Timoth. § 6. *Λέγουσιν ὅτι τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἀναλύονται καὶ μεταβάλλονται, καὶ ὅτι ἡ θεία φύσις τρέπεται καὶ μεταβάλλεται εἰς ὅπερ ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ἵνα συγκραθῇ ταῖς ἑαυτῆς ἀξίαις ψυχαῖς.* § 11: *Ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μεταβάλλεται εἰς τὴν θείαν φύσιν.* The Euchites having propagated themselves for a long period, and mysticism being in its own nature an inconstant thing, it is quite possible that different parties may have arisen among them; and thus the party which asserted these things of the Trinity, may not have been the same with the one which taught that those who were enlightened by their prayer had a sensuous intuition of the Trinity.

[2] Epiphan. l. c.

[3] Yet this cannot be certainly inferred from the opposite position of Severus Wolf. anecdota, T. III. p. 17.

[4] Theodoret. h. e. IV. 12.

in Armenia, through Paphlagonia, and the districts of Pontus; and there are, indeed, many indications which serve to show that some outward connection existed between the Euchites and the Eustathians, — a fact which the name *Eustathians*, given also to the Euchites, seems to confirm. The synodal writings, and the canons of the council of Gangra, the metropolis of Paphlagonia,[1] which was assembled for the purpose of opposing these errors, furnish us the best means of informing ourselves with regard to their character; while they present, at the same time, a remarkable memorial of the healthful spirit of Christian morals, which set itself to oppose this one-sided tendency of asceticism.

Wives forsook their husbands and children, husbands their wives, servants their masters, to devote themselves to the ascetic life.[2] Several, who had placed too great confidence in themselves, fell into immoral practices. They despised marriage and the domestic life. Those who wore the ascetic garb, fancied that at once they had become perfect Christians, and looked down with contempt on others who went about in their ordinary apparel. They refused to take any part in the sacrament of the supper, where married priests had consecrated the elements. Where, in the country, no churches had as yet been erected, and divine worship was held in private houses, they refused to join either in prayer or in the communion, because they held that no dwelling was holy enough for such purposes, the owners of which lived in wedlock. They celebrated in separate assemblies their private worship, ascribing to that worship a sacredness which was wanting to the church assemblies.[3]

As these fanatical tendencies, which grew out of the ascetic enthusiasm, threatened to be the cause of so much disturbance to the church life, it became necessary for those who stood at the head of church

[1] There are, in relation to this matter, two disputed points, viz. the question whether the Eustathians (*οἱ περὶ Εὐστάθιον*), against whom this council was directed, really sprung from Eustathius of Sebaste, and to what time the meeting of this council is to be assigned. The first question admits of being more easily settled than the last. All the facts are in favor of an affirmative answer to this question. Not only is the testimony of Socrates, II. 43, and of Sozomen, III. 14, to this effect, but the whole is in perfect accordance with the character of Eustathius, who was a zealous ascetic, and the first preacher of the ascetic life in the countries around the Pontus, and had formed a whole school. See Basilii Cæsareens. ep. 223 (here we find mentioned, in fact, the ascetic dress, to which the Eustathians, according to the report of the council of Gangra, ascribed a peculiar sanctity — the *ξένα ἀμφιάσματα*, that is, according to the letter of Basilius, *τὸ παχὺ ἱματίον, καὶ ἡ ζώνη καὶ τῆς ἀδεψήτου βύρσης τὰ ὑποδήματα*), and ep. 119. Epiphanius, hæres. 75. We perceive also in the letters of Basilius, a trace of opposition to the new monastic spirit in the districts of the Pontus.

But the second question belongs among the most difficult of decision. If we suppose, with Pagi, who follows Socrates and Sozomen, the council to have been held A. D. 360, then there is something strange in the manner in which the council name Eustathius, since he was then bishop; unless we suppose that the council did not consider Eustathius, who by a party had been deposed, as really a bishop, and thought themselves justified to treat him contemptuously. But, if we assume that the council was held at some earlier date, it is singular again, that no allusion to it is to be found in the letters of Basil. Still the case may have been, that Basil, on account of the relation in which he stood with the party by whom this council was held, did not recognize it as a legal one.

[2] The same was the case among the Euchites. Joh. Damasc. p. 997.

[3] The same was true among the Euchites. L. c. p. 37.

government, to devise some means of protecting it against this danger, and of guiding the ascetic life, which was highly prized, in a course of development which would be salutary to the church, and consistent with good order. For this purpose, in the first place, particular encouragement was given to the regular institution of the cenobitic life; and next, it was attempted to bring this into closer connection with the whole body of the church, and into a condition of greater dependence on the episcopal supervision in each diocese.[1] Obedience and humility, the unconditional submission of the will of the individual to that of the superior, who should be obeyed, even to the utter sacrifice of one's own inclinations, — these stood in the highest rank of monkish virtues. Every extravagance was to be immediately checked, and reduced within proper limits, by the guidance of the superior. Whoever felt himself, in any way, restless and uneasy, was not only required not to conceal it from his leaders, but to disclose to them his whole heart, that, through their experience and wisdom, he might receive advice and consolation; lest the evil, concealed in his own breast, should spread wider, and at last become incurable. But with the obedience which was made the especial duty of the monks, was united, in harmony with that tendency to regard only the external form which characterized the religious spirit in the church generally, a conception of humility as a merely outward thing. That which should have reference only to the relation of the man to God, was transferred to the relation of the man to those among his equals, who were to serve him as instruments of God; and it was made a virtue for one to surrender himself as the involuntary tool of a superior; to renounce the independence of his own spirit, — that spirit which is called to determine itself in freedom; and a servile spirit was the necessary consequence. Yet it cannot be denied that exact order, strict discipline, and a wise guidance, watching over and holding together the whole, were especially needed for such a community, which consisted of men of different humors, often uncultivated, and exposed to manifold dangerous errors. Good and pertinent are the remarks of Basil of Cæsarea, representing the advantages of the common life of the Cenobites over the solitary life of the Anachorets; while, at the same time, they furnish one example of a truly evangelical judgment on the subject of Monachism: "The eremitical life conflicts with the essential character of Christian love, since here each individual is concerned only for what pertains to his own good; while the essence of Christian love prompts each to seek, not alone what serves for his own advantage, but also the good of others. Neither will such a person find it easy to come to the knowledge of his failings and deficiencies; since he has no one to correct him with love and gentleness. What is written in Ecclesiastes 4:

[1] The examples of such men as Basil of Cæsarea, and Chrysostom, teach this. The life of Basil of Cæsarea, of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the doctrinal controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, show what divisions in the churches could grow out of the influence of the monks. The council of Chalcedon decreed, in its fourth canon, that no person should be allowed to found a cloister without permission of the bishop, and that the monks in town and country should be obedient to the bishop.

10, applies to the case of such a person: 'Woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up.' In a society, many can work together, so as to fulfill the divine commands on different sides. But he who lives alone is ever confined to one single work; and, while this is being done, other works must be neglected. Next, if all Christians constitute together one body, under one Head, and stand related to each other as the members of one body; how can any such relation subsist, when they live thus separated from one another, each striving to be enough for himself? But if they do not find themselves standing in the right relation to each other as members of the same body, neither can they stand in the right relation to their common Head. In one society, the influence of the Holy Spirit in each individual passes over to all; the gifts of grace imparted to each become a common possession of all, and the gracious gifts of all redound to the advantage of each individual. But he who lives for himself alone, has, perhaps, a gracious gift; but he makes it unprofitable, since he buries it in his own bosom;—and whoever is acquainted with the parable of the talents, must know how great a responsibility is thus incurred."[1]

A struggle now arose between the Cenobites and the *ascetics* who traced their origin back to an earlier period; inasmuch as the latter were unwilling to submit to the new rules of the monks, but wished to maintain their ancient independence. They were in the habit of living two or three together; and they built their cells, for the most part, in cities, or in the larger villages. They supported themselves, like other monks, by the labor of their own hands; and their very opponents, the adherents of the new order of the Cenobites, were constrained to acknowledge that they were diligent and industrious. The latter, who alone have left behind any accounts of these classes of ascetics (known in Egypt under the name of Sarabaïtes, in Syria under that of Remoboth), give, it is true, a very unfavorable description of them; and, as they could not be otherwise than hostilely disposed towards these adversaries of the new form of the monastic life,[2] what they have to say on this subject is, of itself, liable to suspicion; and many of their objections show at once that they originated in hatred, and were without any just foundation. Cassian, for example, accuses them of misappropriating to purposes of sensual indulgence, or covetously hoarding up, the surplus of their earnings.[3] Or even supposing this was managed by them in the best possible manner, still it was impossible for them to attain to the virtue of the monks. For the monks

[1] See Basil. regula fus. VII. II. 346. It is finely remarked also by Nilus, against the exaggerated estimate of the hermit-life, III. 73: "Whoever says, I become an anachoret, that I may have no one to excite my anger, is not essentially different from an irrational brute; for we see such also quiet when a man does not excite them to anger." And he quotes, as opposed to the anachoret life, the texts in Ephes. 5: 21, 1 Pet. 4: 10, 1 Pet. 2: 13, Philipp. 2: 4.

[2] In the rule of the Benedictines, c. I. it is also plainly evident, that they were particularly accused of a spirit of freedom unbecoming in monks (sine pastore et lege vivere), and to this same spirit everything bad in them was attributed. In this very place, it is conceded that they were of a far better kind than the degenerate monks that strolled about through the country (the Gyrovagi).

[3] Collat. 18, c. VII.

practiced daily the same self-denial; but to the ascetics their very bounty to the poor was an occasion of pride, which daily received nourishment. Now we see here at once, what Cassian himself was unable to conceal, that the first of these charges could not, in so sweeping a manner, be laid against the Sarabaïtes; and, as it concerns the second, it is evidently a mere inference in the writer's own mind, from the false assumption that, without the outward and unconditional submission to another's will, without the servile obedience of the monks, there is no true humility. Bad qualities and good were, no doubt, to be found among these people, as among the Cenobites; but their enemies, of course, held up to notice the worst side. Jerome charges them with *hypocrisy*;[1] of which there was no lack, indeed, among many of the monks. He says of them, that they availed themselves of the outward show of sanctity, which they affected, to dispose of their wares at a higher rate than others; — which might be no less true of the monks.[2] He accuses them of *speaking against the clergy*. It may well be, that, as laymen, they were inclined to boast of their superiority to the clergy, on the score of their ascetic mode of life. It may be, that they opposed the pride of asceticism to that of the hierarchy; but it may also be, that, among these people, many pious laymen were led, by their zeal for the cause of religion, to attack the vices of a worldly minded clergy. There may have been some grounds for the opinion, that most of the objections brought against them, as well as the quarrels of which they were the occasion, would have ceased, or never existed, had they subjected themselves to the same strict oversight which prevailed among the Cenobites.

We now proceed to consider Monachism in its relation more particularly to the life of the Greek church of this period, as it presents itself both in its lighter and also in its darker aspects; since both will be found existing, at once and together, in an appearance so grand and so deeply rooted in the life of the times. But here we must begin with distinguishing the *Anachorets* from the *Cenobites*. To the former, it was objected, in this period itself, that they lived solely for themselves; were wanting in active charity;[3] — in defending them against which objection, Augustin observes that those who brought against them such complaints, did not reflect how useful those might be, in a spiritual sense, who were not personally visible, by means of their prayers, and the example of their life.[4] Chrysostom, however, says, that it were certainly better, if the Anachorets also could live together in a society, so as to manifest, in an outward manner, the bond of charity. "Yet, in either case," he observed, "the essential requisite of love might be present in the disposition; for love, assuredly, is not restricted to the limits of space. They had, in truth, many admirers; and these would cease to *admire*, if they did not *love* them:

[1] Ep. 22 ad Eustochium.

[2] Nilus himself objects to a class of the monks, that πᾶσαν πορισικὴν μετέρχεσθαι τέχνην. Ad Magnam, c. 30.

[3] Videntur nonnullis res humanas plus quam oporteret deseruisse. Augustin. de moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ, l. I. § 66.

[4] Augustin. l. c. non intelligentibus, quantum nobis eorum animus in orationibus prosit et vita ad exemplum, quorum corpora videre non sinimur.

and, on the other hand, they *prayed for the whole world*, which is the greatest evidence of love."[1] Even those among the Anachorets who lived entirely secluded and separate from the world, were not therefore, by any means, excluded from all exercise of influence upon others. The greater the reverence they inspired by their strict eremitic life, the more they were sought out, in their grottoes or cells, on their rocks or in their deserts, by men of every rank, from the emperor's palace, even to the lowest hovel, who visited them for counsel and consolation.[2] Men who, in the crowd of earthly affairs, in the dazzling glitter of the world, were not easily brought to think of any higher concerns, would approach one of these recluses in a state of mind which rendered them at once susceptible for higher impressions. A word spoken to them in that state of feeling, sustained by the whole venerable aspect of the recluse, might produce greater effects than long discourses under other circumstances.[3] Oftentimes these hermits, after having remained for years hidden from the eye of the world, appeared publicly, on the occurrence of great and general calamities, or as protectors of entire cities and provinces, which were dreading the heavy vengeance of some exasperated emperor. A spirit which, living by faith, was conscious of being free from the bondage of the world and independent of earthly things, gave *them* courage and power to speak boldly, where no other man dared to do so: their independence and their reverence for a higher power, which even the mightiest of the earth acknowledged, procured for them a hearing. When, after the insurrection at Antioch, A. D. 387, the emperor Theodosius, under the impulse of violent anger, threatened the whole city with destruction, the monk Macedonius, who for many years had not suffered himself to be seen in the world, came forth from his seclusion, hurried to Antioch, and put himself in the way of the two imperial commissioners, who had been sent for the purpose of holding the judicial trials. They dismounted respectfully from their horses, and embraced his hands and knees. He bid them tell the emperor, that he ought to remember he was a man, and possessed of the same nature with those who had done the wrong. "The emperor is thus angry," said he, "because the imperial images have been destroyed, which, however, may easily be restored; and he was intending, for this reason, to destroy men, who are the living images of God, and one hair of whose head it was beyond his power to restore."[4] The monks were frequently visited by the sick, who, when they failed of relief from medical skill, hoped to obtain a cure through the intercessions of these pious men. Those, especially, who were suffering under mental disorders, and supposed to be possessed of evil spirits, frequently applied to them; and it may be easily conceived that, in such states of mind, the immediate impression of a life so exalted above the world might produce extraordinary effects. Pious monks, rich in inward experience, might avail

[1] Chrysostom. H. 78, in Joannem, § 4, opp. ed. Montf. T. VIII. f. 464.

[2] See the II. book of Chrysostom contra oppugnatores vitæ monasticæ.

[3] To such experiences Nilus refers, l. II. ep. 310.

[4] Theodoret. religios. hist. c. 13.

themselves of such opportunities, even where it was beyond their power to bestow what the unfortunate patients came in quest of, to leave on their minds, and on those of the attendants or friends who brought them, some salutary lesson. Women came to them, to ask for their intercessions with God, that he would send them children. Mothers brought their children, that they might bestow on them their blessing, and they could use this occasion to scatter in their youthful minds some seed of religious truth; as in the case of Theodoret, who often recurs to a salutary impression of this sort, which he had received in his childhood.[1] Monks were also called to pray in families, and could avail themselves of this opportunity of doing good.[2] Especially did the societies of monks form a striking contrast in the more or less remote neighborhood of such large cities as Antioch, which were seats of wealth, splendor, and luxury, and of dissolute manners. What an impression must it have produced, when, either from curiosity, or for the purpose of receiving the counsel and consolation, or obtaining the intercession of these men, the citizens visited them from the midst of their busy pursuits, and, in a mode of life destitute of every sensual enjoyment and comfort, witnessed, amidst all these deprivations, a tranquillity of soul of which they had not even formed a conception! Easily may it be explained, why so many of the youth, of both sexes, should feel themselves constrained to exchange their affluence for this poverty! To the monks, those persons, in the Greek empire, often betook themselves, who, after an agitated and restless public life, through many political storms and reverses, either disgusted at the vain pursuits of the world and craving repose, or driven by necessity, to escape from some threatening danger, sought here a still retreat, where they might end their days; as in the case of that venerable monk Nilus, who, having retired from a station of trust and dignity in Constantinople to Mount Sinai, in the beginning of the fifth century, could write as follows:[3] "So great grace has God bestowed on the monks, even in anticipation of the future world, that they wish for no honors from men, and feel no longing after the greatness of this world; but, on the contrary, often seek rather to remain concealed from men: while, on the other hand, many of the great, who possess all the glory of the world, either of their own accord, or compelled by misfortune, take refuge with the lowly monks, and, delivered from fatal dangers, obtain at once a temporal and an eternal salvation."

It was otherwise with the Cenobites than with the Anachorets living in solitude. The *cœnobiæ* formed, in fact, little communities, in which every kind of Christian activity and virtue found room for exercise, with the exception only of such as are strictly connected with the ties of family. Chrysostom says of this class, that they had fled from amidst the bickerings of the world, for the purpose of cultivating charity with less disturbance.[4] People of all ranks might here asso-

[1] Theodoret. hist. relig. pp. 1188 et 1214, T. III.
[2] Nil. l. II. ep. 46.
[3] Lib. I. ep. 1.
[4] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων φιλονεικία πολλὰς ποιεῖ τὰς ἔριδας· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ μέσου γενόμενοι, τὴν ἀγάπην γεωργοῦσι μετ' ἀκριβείας πολλῆς. H. 78, in Evangel. Joh. § 4.

ciate together, and find a suitable occupation, sanctified by the spirit of Christian fellowship. Every kind of employment not interfering with tranquillity and the other relations of the monastic life, was here pursued, and prosecuted with the feelings which ought to animate every Christian calling. Prayer, reading of the Scriptures, sacred music, here alternated with, and accompanied bodily labor.[1] The bond of Christian fellowship here united together what was separated by the relations of the world. Slaves, on whom their masters had bestowed freedom that they might enter a cloister, here joined in brotherly fellowship with those who had sprung from the noblest families; and here they were trained for a higher life. It was the spirit of Monachism which gave special prominence to that Christian point of view, from which all men were regarded as originally equal in the sight of God; which opposed the consciousness of God's image in human nature, to the grades and distinctions flowing out of the relations of the state. Hence this spirit, where it was pure, not recognizing the distance which the earthly relations had fixed between slaves and freemen, plebeians and nobles, invited and admitted all, without distinction, to the fellowship of the higher life. Nilus says: "In raising recruits for the military service of this world, slaves are rejected; but into the ranks of the soldiers for piety, slaves enter with joy and confidence."[2] The same writer, citing the example of Job, chap. 31, gives special prominence to compassion for the race of slaves, whom a mastership of violence, destroying the fellowship of nature, had converted into tools.[3] Among the works of Christian piety, he names the redeeming of slaves from bondage to cruel masters.[4] Slaves, who were oppressed, fled for protection to pious monks; and the latter interceded for those in trouble with their masters. The abbot Isidore of Pelusium, writing in behalf of one of these to his master, observes: "I did not suppose that a man who loves Christ, who knows the grace which has made all men free, could still hold a slave;"[5] and to another he said: "The noble disposition frees those whom violence has made

[1] In the greater monastic rule of Basilius, those occupations are permitted and recommended to the monks, which did not compel them to be too much separated from one another, as well in the labors themselves, as in the sale of the products of their industry; such occupations as subserved the necessary purposes of life, and not unseemly or hurtful passions or the ends of luxury; as, for example, the occupation of the weaver, of the shoemaker. Architecture, the carpenter's trade, that of the smith, the cultivator of the soil, were not to be rejected on their own account, provided only they created no disturbance, and did not interrupt the life of the community. In this case, such occupations, agriculture especially, were to be preferred to many other employments. The views on this subject were not everywhere precisely the same. They differed according as the barely contemplative or the practical point of view in the monastic life predominated. Nilus, who proceeded on the former, is against the employment of monks in agriculture. See Nil. de monastica exercitatione, c. 21.

[2] Nil. l. IV. ep. 4.

[3] Nil. Perister. sect. 10, c. VI. f. 165. *Τὴν περὶ τὸ οἰκετικὸν γένος συμπάθειαν, ὅπερ κατεδουλώσατο τεμοῦσα τὴν φύσιν ἡ δυναστεία.*

[4] The question to the rich man who came to meet death without having used his property in accordance with the impulses of Christianity. *Τίνα δεσποτῶν ὀδυρόμενον ὠμότητα τῆς σκληρᾶς δουλείας ἀπήλλαξας*; L. c. sect. IX. c. I. f. 134

[5] *Οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι οἰκέτην ἔχειν τὸν φιλόχριστον, εἰδότα τὴν χάριν τὴν πάντας ἐλευθερώσασαν.* Epp. l. I. ep. 142.

slaves; wherever this blameless disposition was found, Paul knew no difference between bond and free." [1]

The cloisters, moreover, were institutions of education, and as such were the more distinguished on account of the care they bestowed on religious and moral culture, because education generally, in this period, as may be gathered from the complaints of Libanius and Chrysostom, had fallen into neglect. Vanity and the love of display were among the first lessons learned in the schools of the sophists; and, in the large cities, corruptions of all sorts threatened the tender age. Basil of Cæsarea, in his rules for the education of the cloister, gives the following directions: "Inasmuch as our Lord has said, 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' and the apostle praises those who from their youth had been taught the Holy Scriptures, and exhorts men to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, let it be understood that the earliest age is particularly well suited for being received into the cloisters. Orphan children should be received *gratuitously;* and those who have parents should be admitted, when brought by them in the presence of many witnesses. They should receive a pious education, as children belonging in common to the whole society of brethren. Separate buildings should be specially appropriated to their use; a particular diet and mode of living, carefully adapted to their age, should be appointed for them; the superintendence of their education should be intrusted to a person of years, experience, and well-tried patience, who understood how to manage them with parental tenderness. Every fault should be so punished, that the punishment might prove at the same time an exercise of discipline over the temper which had led to its commission. For example, if one indulged angry passions towards another, the fault should be punished by causing him to serve the other, according to the nature of the offense: greediness should be punished by fasting. From the beginning, they should obtain a familiar acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures; instead of the fables of the poets, they should commit to memory the narratives of the miracles; instead of the Gnomes, passages from the Proverbs of Solomon. Only at the stated hours of social prayer should the grown people and the children come together. As many handicrafts must be learned early, the boys should, in such cases, be allowed to spend the day with the master-workmen, but should sleep and eat with the others. They should not be permitted to take the monastic vow until grown up, and then only when they showed an inclination and aptitude for the monastic life: in the opposite case, they should not be bound to do so." [2]

The cloisters were distinguished for their hospitality and benevolence to the poor. The cloisters of Egypt, for example, provided means of subsistence for the unfruitful districts of Lybia: they sent ships, laden with grain and articles of clothing, to Alexandria, for distribution among the poor.[3]

[1] Lib. I. ep. 306.
[2] Basil. reg. fus. § 15.
[3] See Cassian. institut. cœnob. l. 10, c. 22. Hist. Laus. c. 76. In this last place, it is also narrated, that a certain abbot and presbyter, named Serapion, under whose

In the cloisters in the valley of Nitria, in Egypt, there were seven bakehouses, which provided the Anachorets of the bordering Lybian desert with bread. Travellers who, after a weary pilgrimage, arrived here from the wilderness, were suddenly surprised by the sight of a large body of men at labor amidst prayer and spiritual songs; and they found among them a brotherly, hospitable reception: they were refreshed in body and mind. These monks were not prevented, by any ascetic scruples, from providing themselves with wine, for the refreshment of their guests. Every stranger might tarry with them as long as he pleased; but, if he remained longer than a week, they did not allow him to be idle, but required him either to join in the manual labors, or to occupy himself with a book.[1]

But Monachism had also its dark side; and we should here distinguish what belonged to Monachism in itself, as a form of life not answering perfectly to the Christian idea, and what proceeded from it in its degeneracy. This degeneracy would, of necessity, speedily ensue, when such numbers were led into it from impure motives. People of the lower classes renounced no earthly enjoyment by entering upon the monastic life, but, under the appearance of renouncing the world, secured earthly goods, on which they never could have reckoned.[2] What must have been the result, when rude people of the lowest class set themselves up all at once as leaders of monkish societies? Yet Nilus complains that a man who was but yesterday a water-carrier at an inn, might to-day make himself pass as an abbot; and Isidore of Pelusium, that shepherds and runaway slaves founded cloisters,[3] — for all which, indeed, the bishops were answerable, since it showed a want of oversight over the whole diocese of the church; unless the truth was, that the swarms of monks had now become too powerful even for the bishops. Uneducated men, of rude and savage character,[4] who brought their restless spirit with them into the seats of quiet, were eager to seize on every occasion which gave employment to their passions. Hence the troops of wild zealots, who raved against pagans and heretics, demolished and plundered temples; who often took so mischievous a part in doctrinal controversies; who were eager to be employed as tools of fanaticism, and of the ambition of those who stood leaders of the church party. Add to this, that to such men, who constantly moved in one narrow circle of intuitions and feelings, and who were in no sense in a condition to step beyond this narrow range, that to such, every deviation from their own accustomed modes of thought and expression easily appeared as a departure from the essentials of Christianity itself. It was persons of this class who led

direction stood many cloisters and ten thousand monks, obtained and could distribute annually at the harvest, in the Nomos of Arsenoe in Egypt, such a quantity of grain, that not only no poor person in the whole country suffered want, but he found it in his power also to support the poor in Alexandria.

[1] Hist. Laus. c. 6.

[2] Nil. Tractat. ad Magnam, p. 297. *Οὔτε καταλιπόντες τὶ καὶ ἃ μὴ εἶχον κτησάμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐμπορείας οὐ φιλοσοφίας ὑπόθεσιν τὸν μοναδικὸν βίον πεποιημένοι.*

[3] Nilus de monastica exercitat. c. 22. Isidor. Pelus. l. I. ep. 262.

[4] As Isidorus of Pelusium writes: *Στίφη καὶ φάλαγγες οὐ μοναχῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μαχητῶν.*

the heathens, men like Libanius and Rutilius,[1] to draw up such unfavorable pictures of the monastic institution, about which they formed their judgment from such spurious off-shoots. Distinguished, on the other hand, for moderation and love of truth, is the judgment which Synesius, while yet a pagan, pronounces on Monachism, when he says: "Such men as Amus of Egypt, with whom intellectual intuition supplied the place of scientific culture, might be allowed to discourse of divine things, without scientific preparation; but the case was different with the great crowd of those who wished to pass judgment on spiritual matters without the spiritual sense, especially with such as had not been led to adopt this mode of life by any original inclination of nature, but, sprung from different classes of society, had seized upon it merely on account of the peculiar consideration in which it was held, — people whom their necessities alone had brought together."[2]

Out of Monachism sprang the most heterogeneous tendencies of the religious spirit. On the one hand the religious life was deepened and thrown inward, through the opportunity for quiet self-recollection; or on the other hand, Christianity became a mere external and hypocritical show. It was the case with many, that the incessant struggles with their own nature, and the large and various inward experience thus acquired, opened to them a profound knowledge of themselves, as well as of the remedy which alone can secure to man the healing of his moral evil, and give him inward peace and repose. They became satisfied, from their own experience, of the vanity of the righteousness which is founded on works; while, in reliance on the grace of redemption, in child-like submission to God, they found a spring of comfort, of peace and power, which they could never have found in all the discipline of asceticism. Thus there occasionally sprung up out of Monachism, a warm and living Christianity, having its seat in the heart, and exerting its influence there, — a Christianity directly opposed to the opus operatum of asceticism. We see this in the example of Chrysostom, who was trained up under the influence of the monastic life; in that of Nilus, who, in his letters on trusting in works which cannot stand, often points away from this, to trust in the Redeemer alone;[3] and in the example of their contemporary, Marcus.[4]

[1] See his poetical description of his travels.

[2] Synesii Dion. *Οὓς οὐχ ἡ πρώτη φύσις ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν βίον ἐξώρμησεν· ὥσπερ δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων, τὴν γενναίαν αἱρεσιν ἐζηλώκασι παντοδαποί τε ὄντες τὰ γένη καὶ κατὰ χρείαν ἕκαστοι συνιστάμενοι.*

[3] For instance, in his beautiful exposition of Rom. 2: 15, l. III. ep. 284. "We shall be our own accusers in the day of judgment, if our own conscience condemns us. What other defense or help shall we then find, in that state of anxiety, besides reliance on our most compassionate Lord, Christ alone? Like a benevolent, peace-bringing, friendly angel, the remembrance of Christ, our dearly beloved Master, presents itself to us in the midst of our despondency, and the deep-rooted, unshaken faith in him has banished trembling and shame, filled the heart with joy, and brought back the wanderer from God to union and fellowship with him."

[4] See, e. g. in his smaller tracts, the section *περὶ τῶν οἰομένων ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦσθαι.* Bibl. patr. Galland. T. VIII. f. 13. He says, for example: "Some suppose they possess true faith, without keeping the commandments; but others, who keep them, expect the kingdom of God as a reward, which God is bound to bestow on them: both are far from the kingdom of heaven. If Christ died for us according to the Scriptures, and we live not to our-

Nor were *all* those who exercised themselves in subduing the power of sense by the severest abstinence, therefore governed by the delusive notion that the essence of Christian perfection consisted in such works of renunciation and mortification of self, and that it was possible, in this way, to obtain especial merit in the sight of God. The monk Marcianus, who lived towards the close of the fourth century, in a desert of Syria, and was famed for the rigid austerity of his life, furnishes a remarkable example to the contrary. Attracted by his universal renown, Avitus, an aged monk, came from another desert to visit him. Marcian, out of his scanty means, had provided himself with the best meal which could be procured. Having conversed awhile with each other, and united in prayer about the third hour after noon, the hermit served up his meal in a dish, and invited Avitus to partake of it. But the latter declined, saying, that it was not his custom to eat before evening, and that he often fasted two and even three days together. "Well, then," said Marcian, "to oblige me, deviate a little to-day from your usual habits; for I am ill, and cannot wait till evening." As this representation of the case, however, made no difference with his guest, who was determined not to relax in the least from his austere rule, Marcian said: "I am very sorry you have come so far in the expectation of seeing a man of strict self-control, and that you must be disappointed of your hopes, since, instead of that, you have found in me a person who indulges himself." At hearing this, Avitus was troubled, and declared he would prefer rather to eat flesh, than allow any such thing to be said. Then said Marcian: "I also lead the same life as you do, and am accustomed to eat only when night approaches. But we know that love is better than fasting; for the former is a divine law, while the latter, on the contrary, is a rule which we impose on ourselves of free choice."[1]

But, on the other hand, there also sprang up, out of Monachism, the spirit of self-righteousness and legality, whether in the form of spiritual pride, or of an anxious and slavish temper opposed to the spirit of Christian freedom. The effort after a superhuman perfection led men to see wherever nature asserted her well-established rights a temptation of the flesh or of Satan; as we have observed in the case of Anthony. Even a Nilus could reckon among the conditions of dying to the world, the suppression of all feelings originating in the sacred ties of blood; could demand of the monk, that he should show kindness to his needy relatives in no other way than to all other poor persons, with whom he stood in no such connection.[2] The fear of temptations, the endeavor to subject the hostile and opposing nature to the spirit, led them to devise the strangest expedients for mortification of the flesh and self-torture. We are here presented with appearances which remind us rather of the spirit which animates the Saniahs and Fakirs of India, than of the spirit which has proceeded from Christ. A few examples will illustrate this.

selves, but to him who died for us and rose again, we are assuredly pledged to serve him, even till death. How can we, then, look upon our adoption by God as a *reward* which he is bound to confer on us?"

[1] Theodoret. religios. hist. c. 3.

[2] See Nil. l. III. ep. 290.

Eusebius, a monk in Syria, employed another, by the name of Ammianus, to read to him from the gospels. But certain countrymen, who happened to be ploughing in a neighboring field, drew off his attention, so that a portion, which he had not distinctly understood, must be read over a second time. To punish himself for this, he took a vow, that he would never go in any other way or direction, than one narrow path that led to the church. And, to compel himself always to look to the earth, he fastened about his loins an iron girdle, riveted to his neck a heavy iron collar, and by a chain connected this collar to his girdle; thus bringing himself into such a bending posture, that he must always look to the earth. Being asked for what useful purpose he was submitting to so painful a constraint, which allowed him neither to look up to heaven nor around on the fields, he replied: it was a stratagem he was employing against Satan, — thus confining his conflict with Satan to such trifling matters, where he had but little to lose nor Satan much to gain, and where if the latter was overcome, still the victory would appear to be not worth the contest. This, to be sure, was reducing the struggle against sin, and the work of sanctification, from the interior of the heart, to a mere outward play with mechanics! Another, who had invented a refined species of torture for the castigation of himself, assigned as a reason for it, that, conscious of his sins and the punishment they deserved, he was seeking, by means of these self-inflicted pains, to lessen the severer punishment which threatened him in hell.[1] Here we recognize that theory of a satisfaction to be afforded to divine justice, which sprang out of the obscuration of the consciousness of redemption, and which became the source of so many practical errors.

In this way arose the class called the Stylites, who spent whole years standing on lofty pillars. Thus Simeon, for example, who was the first of this order, and lived about the beginning of the fifth century, finally established himself on a column which measured six-and-thirty ells, or sixty feet from the ground. We have already spoken of the impression produced by this extraordinary spectacle, and of its effects in leading to the conversion of rude pagan tribes.[2] Simeon is said to have been the instrument of much good, also, by the exhortations to repentance which he gave from his pillar, and by settling disputes and restoring peace between enemies. To these benevolent labors of the man, Theodoret appeals, in endeavoring to defend him from the reproach with which he might, not without reason, be charged, for expending the energies of his will upon so frivolous a thing. Divine grace — so he supposes — had thus operated through him, in order to arrest, by such an extraordinary phenomenon, the attention of men who were not to be instructed except through their senses, and to bring them, by this means, to the divine doctrine itself. His language deserves notice: "As princes, after certain periods, change the emblems on their coins, choosing sometimes the lion, at others, stars or angels, for the die, and endeavoring to give a higher value to the gold by the striking character of the impression, so God has made piety

[1] Hist. religios. c. 28.

[2] See pp. 142, 143.

assume these novel and varied forms of life, like so many new characters, to awaken the admiration, not only of the disciples of the faith, but also of the unbelieving world."[1] But assuredly, a man of this stamp might have produced far greater and more lasting effects, by the inherent power of a genuine Christian piety, ennobling the whole life left to develop itself in harmony with nature, than by such single artistic displays of a conquest over nature, however astonishing they might appear to the world. Moreover, impressions of this kind were rather calculated to call forth an idolatrous superstition, than true faith, which ever points away from man to God, — as in fact may be seen in the present case, in the veneration which continued to be paid to the memory of this Simeon. Theodoret informs us, that his image, representing a protecting genius, was set up as a sort of amulet at the doors of shops in Rome.

Deserving of notice, as a psychological phenomenon, is the story of a vision which appeared to this Simeon.[2] We may recognize in it a picture mirrored forth to his fancy by the effervescence of spiritual pride; but he himself regarded it, afterwards, as a temptation of Satan. He thought an angel appeared to him in a chariot of fire, to convey him, as Elijah was conveyed, to heaven, where the angels and blessed spirits were longing to behold him. As he lifted up his right foot (which in consequence was sprained) to mount into the chariot, he crossed himself, and the phantom of Satan vanished. If there is no truth in the story, an inward truth, at least, reflected itself in the legend. Against this temptation of spiritual pride, Nilus felt constrained to warn one of these Stylites. "Whoever exalts himself," he writes to him, "shall be abased. You have done nothing worthy of praise, and have stationed yourself on a lofty pillar, and wish to obtain the greatest praise. But look to it, lest for the moment you be extravagantly praised here by mortals, but be obliged hereafter, contrary to your hopes, to appear wretched before the eternal God; because you were intoxicated here by the undeserved praise of men."[3]

There were, in fact, monks who carried dehumanization to such an extreme, as to divest themselves of every attribute which gives dignity to humanity, and to become mere brutes. As if without consciousness, and as if deprived of their senses in broad day, they wandered about, like wild animals, in deserts and on mountains, supporting their wretched existence on the herbs with which nature supplied them.[4]

If Monachism, an institution not less suited to the climate, than it was to the spirit, of the East, nevertheless encountered much opposition, as it began to spread, if those who strove to promote it, such men as Basil of Cæsarea, were accused of being innovators,[5] still more

[1] Hist. religios. c. 25, T. III. p. 1274.

[2] See acta sanctorum mens. Januar. T. I. f. 270.

[3] Lib. II. ep. 114. The same writer warns one of these Stylites, l. c. ep. 115, to take heed lest, while he raised his body aloft, his soul should grovel on the earth, and with its thoughts be far removed from heavenly things. Before, he had conversed with men, whom admiration had drawn around him, now he addressed himself particularly to women.

[4] According to an apt similitude, the monks that grazed like animals, the *βοσκοὶ*. See Sozomen, VI. 33.

[5] We find a proof of this in the charges brought against Basil by the church of Neocæsarea, which stood fast by the old

violent and more general must the opposition have been when this mode of life was first introduced into the West, where it was much less suited to the climate and to the practical spirit of the people, where indeed it found nothing at all to which it could attach itself, no such point of union as it had found in the East. Oriental Monachism first became better known in the West by means of Athanasius, during his exile from Egypt. The life of Anthony, composed by him, and early translated into Latin, contributed in a special manner to diffuse abroad this knowledge. Eminent bishops of the West, who had been banished to the East during the Arian controversies, brought back with them, on their return, the enthusiasm for the monastic life; as, for instance, Eusebius of Vercelli. Men possessing such great influence as Ambrose of Milan, Martin of Tours, the Presbyter Jerome, contributed subsequently, in the course of the fourth century, still further to awaken and diffuse this tendency of the Christian spirit in Italy and in Gaul. Men and women of the highest rank in Rome were impelled by the ascetic spirit which was spread by Jerome during his residence in that city, to retire from the great world, in which they had shone, and devote themselves, in Palestine or elsewhere, to the monastic life. But Jerome created for himself, by this very influence, a multitude of enemies at Rome, whose attacks induced him to leave that city; and we need not doubt, that the extravagances into which this man was so easily hurried with regard to everything which he undertook to advocate, contributed rather to injure than advance the cause of Monachism which he espoused. Augustin, who softened the exaggerations of Jerome, endeavored to diffuse Monachism in North Africa. He opposed it to the licentious spirit of the strolling, wildly fanatical, Donatist ascetics (the Circumcelliones); and, beyond question, it had here become quite evident, that the ascetic spirit, which had continued to prevail in these districts ever since the spread of Montanism by Tertullian, needed a more rigid discipline and restraint, to keep it from breaking out in those sallies of wild fanaticism, into which it was so apt to be betrayed when left to itself. In the mind of Augustin, Monachism was associated with the ideal, which, even before his conversion, had floated before a soul so smitten with the craving after the divine; and first, in a form which adapted itself to the Platonism to which he was then devoted. While living, during that memorable period of his life in which the great crisis with him was preparing, in high intellectual society with his friends at Milan, he was seized with the idea of an association of like-minded men, who, united by one spirit, renouncing the cares of the world, and throwing up all worldly property, should live together in the common striving after the contemplation and knowledge of divine things (in the *συμφιλοσοφεῖν*), all the means of the individuals being thrown into a common fund, out of which the common wants should be supplied. When afterwards, freed from his inward conflicts, he obtained the power of realizing what had previously been

usages, and from which he defends himself in ep. 207. See § 2. *Ἐγκαλοῦμεθα δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔχομεν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀσκητὰς, ἀποταξαμένους τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις.*

only an ideal, the image of that Platonic association was supplanted in his mind by the idea of that primitive apostolical community at Jerusalem, and he supposed that he found this once more restored in Monachism. From this starting point was unfolded in his mind, after he returned to his native country, the idea of a spiritual seminary, which he founded. After this model, he planned, when he afterwards became bishop, the canonical community of his clergy.

But desiring also to have Monachism purified from the bad elements which had mixed in with it, and, perhaps, hoping that this could be best effected by availing himself of the influence of the first bishop of the North African church, Aurelius of Carthage, he dedicated to him his work on the duty of monks to labor (de opere monachorum). He says in this work that, in these countries, the majority of monks consisted of persons from the lower ranks of society; slaves, to whom their masters had for this object either given, or been willing to give, their freedom,[1] or persons who came from the cultivation of the soil, or from the workshops.[2] It would be a grievous sin, in his opinion, not to admit such persons; for from the ranks of such many truly great men had proceeded; since it is by that which is inconsiderable and vile in the estimation of the world, that God is used to produce the greatest effects, 1 Corinth. 1: 27. But he rightly feared the danger of idleness, and too great freedom, in the case of men who had been accustomed to severe corporeal labor, and to rigid restraint. Many were there, who would be right well disposed to exchange a needy, sorrowful, and laborious life, for one free from all care, exempt from labor, and, at the same time, looked up to with universal respect. But, by insisting that monks ought to work, Augustin met with opponents, who imagined that they were supported by certain misapprehended expressions in the New Testament. They appealed to texts in the sermon on the mount, where anxiety about the morrow, and consequently all labor to provide the means of subsistence for the morrow, were forbidden. Christian perfection consisted in this, that a man, without toiling for a subsistence, should confidently expect to be fed, like the birds of the air, from the hand of God. They held that Paul's words (2 Thessal. 3: 10), commonly cited against them, could not contradict this precept. The laboring, accordingly, as well as the eating, in those words of Paul, must be understood, not in the literal, but in a spiritual sense, — as referring to the obligation of communicating the nourishment of the divine word, which men had themselves received, to others also, — an example of the perversion of Scripture, worthy to be noticed.

Augustin, in this work, also describes the mischievous consequences which had arisen from the abuse of their liberty, and from idle habits, among the monks in the West. In the monkish garb, which made them respected, they were accustomed to stroll about in the provinces

[1] See above, p. 287.

[2] Nunc autem veniunt plerumque ad hanc professionem et ex conditione servili, vel etiam liberti, vel propter hoc a dominis liberati sive liberandi, et ex vita rusticana et ex opificum exercitatione et plebeio labore.

trading in relics, which were partly trumped up for the occasion; or pretending that they had parents or relatives in this or that country, whom they were going to visit: they everywhere took advantage of the outward impression of their sanctity to extort money, and oftentimes their hypocrisy was exposed by the vices in the indulgence of which they were surprised.[1]

In the early times of the fifth century, John Cassianus, who became president of a cloister in Massillia (Marseilles), introduced the monastic institutions of the East into the South of France, where he made them known by his works on the rules of the cloisters (institutiones cœnobiales), and his sketches of the spiritual conversations of the oriental monks.[2] The cloisters of Southern France became the seats of a practical, Christian spirit, which, amid the distractions and devastations which came over this country during the marauding incursions of barbarous tribes, proved a great blessing to the people; as for instance the cloister on the island of Lerina (Lerins), in Provence, in particular. These cloisters became also spiritual seminaries, which sent forth the bishops most distinguished for their self-sacrificing and pious labors; such as Faustus of Riez (Rhegium, Rheji), and Cæsarius of Arles. Yet Monachism would perhaps have been unable to withstand the destructive influences which, in this and the next following times, were spreading far and wide, and the irregularities prevailing in the spiritual order would have become more widely diffused in Monachism, which had a still laxer constitution, had not a remarkable man introduced into the monastic life a more settled order and a more rigid discipline, and given it that shaping and direction by which it became so influential an instrument, particularly for the conversion and the culture of rude nations by Christianity. This remarkable man was *Benedict*. And since he contributed so much, by the spirit and form which he gave Monachism, to the Christian education of the western nations, we must endeavor to become better acquainted with the history of the formation of his character, and with the work which proceeded from him, in its earliest development.

It is to be lamented, however, that we possess so little that is trustworthy and precise, relative to the education, the life and labors of this individual; the oldest source of information, namely, the narrative of the Roman bishop, Gregory the Great,—though derived, according to his account, from disciples of Benedict, — being so distorted by exaggerations, and the effort to give the whole story a miraculous air, that the facts at bottom do not, in many cases, admit of being any longer ascertained; and in the general type of the wonder-working saint, as seized and delineated in the colors of that age, it is the less possible to find out what, in fact, were the peculiar characteristics of the man.

Benedict, born A. D. 480, sprang from a respectable family in the Italian province of Nursia. His parents sent him to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining a literary education. But well might the ingenuous disposition of the young man be only shocked at the dissolute

[1] § 36. [2] Collationes.

morals by which, at that time, he must have found himself surrounded at Rome. He had probably heard and read about the lives of the Anachorets of the East; and these holy examples possessed so much the more attraction for him, as they were contrasted with the impure exhibitions of character which he saw everywhere around him. He longed for solitude, and left Rome, accompanied, for the first twenty-four miles from that city, by the nurse whom his parents had sent with him as an attendant to Rome, and who, from affection, was unwilling to leave him. But Benedict, following his ascetic bent, deserted her also; and proceeding eight miles further, finally came to a deserted country lying on a lake, which hence bore the name of Sublacus (Subiaco). Here he fell in with a monk, named Romanus, to whom he made known his purpose. Struck with admiration at the glowing zeal of the young man, Romanus promised him his assistance and protection. To this person alone, Benedict discovered the grotto in which he had taken up his residence. The cloister of Romanus was near by, and he could therefore provide the young hermit, who was here destitute of all means of subsistence, with bread, by sparing what he brought him from his own daily allowance. A steep rock lying between the cloister and the grotto of Benedict, he had agreed with the latter, that he should let down the bread from the top of the rock, by means of a long rope. To the rope was attached a bell, by the sound of which, Benedict might be directed to the spot where the rope was let down.

After having spent three years in this grotto, he was discovered by some shepherds who were pasturing their flocks in this region; and the story soon spread abroad about the hermit who had here been found. He was shortly held in great veneration through the whole country around, and numbers eagerly pressed forward to supply him with the means of support. His fame became at once so great, that, the place of abbot having fallen vacant in a neighboring convent, the monks conferred the office on him. He told them, it is true, beforehand, that he would not be able to endure their savage manners. Yet he suffered himself to be over-persuaded. It turned out as he had foretold. The degenerate monks, displeased with his severity, sought to take his life; he told them they might choose themselves an abbot that suited their own disposition, and retired again to his former solitude. But he continually became an object of more general attention, both on account of his contests with the wild monks, and on account of his deliverance from the dangers which threatened him among them, which tradition afterwards magnified into a miracle. The disturbance of all existing earthly relations, which followed as one of the consequences resulting from the migration of the nations, would at that period impel men to seek the more, and cling firmly to, that which was independent of and superior to all earthly vicissitudes, and could secure them peace and shelter amid the storms of the world. Hence multitudes thronged *to him*, for the purpose of training themselves under his guidance to the way of life which promised such a refuge; which taught men how to adopt from choice and to love these

deprivations, to which many were driven by the necessity of the times. Men of consideration at Rome placed their sons with him, that he might educate and train them for the spiritual life. He was enabled to found twelve cloisters; and to each he distributed twelve monks under a superior. Some he retained under his own guidance. Even *Goths* of the lower ranks came to him: he employed them in such labors as were adapted to their physical powers and stage of culture, as agriculture, and the removal of the wild vegetable growth where gardens were to be planted.[1]

To get rid of the disputes with Florentius, a neighboring priest, Benedict left this district also, after he had distributed his monks into different cloisters under suitable superiors. He himself, accompanied by a few of his followers, retired to the ruins of an ancient castle, which lay on a high mountain, called Castrum Cassinum, where he laid the foundation of one of the most famous of monastic establishments, out of which sprang afterwards the rich abbey of Monte Cassino. Amid the revolutions of these times, Paganism had still been able to maintain itself here among the country people, or to spring up and extend itself anew. He found standing here a grove and temple dedicated to Apollo, in which the peasants made their offerings. He conducted the people, by his preaching, to the faith of the gospel, and induced them to cut down the grove and demolish the temple. In place of the latter, he erected a chapel, consecrated to St. Martin. Even Totila, the king of the Ostro-Goths, evinced his respect for Benedict; and the latter spoke to him with freedom. The labors of this man were a fore-type of the labors of his successors, who, like himself, were occupied mainly in preaching the faith, destroying Paganism, educating the youth, and cultivating the land, and by these means were enabled to accomplish so much. But the monastic rules of which he was the author, are particularly worthy of notice, as an enduring monument of his own spirit, and of the new shaping which, through his instrumentality, was given to the Monachism of the West.

Benedict aimed to counteract the licentious life of the irregular monks, — who roamed about the country, and spread a corrupting influence both on manners and on religion, — by the introduction of a severer discipline and spirit of order. The abbot should appear to the monks as the representative of Christ; to his will, every other will should be subjected; all were to follow his direction and guidance unconditionally, and with entire resignation. No one was received into the number of the monks, until after a year's novitiate, during which he had often been reminded of the strict obligations of the monastic rule, and had withstood many trials. Then he was obliged to place himself under a solemn vow, which moreover was recorded by himself in writing, that he would remain constantly in the cloister,[2] live in all respects according to the rules, and obey the abbot. But the rules adomonished the abbot to temper the severity necessary for discipline, by the spirit of love: He was to let mercy prevail over rigid justice, that he might himself find mercy. He should love the

[1] Vita Benedicti. c. 6.

[2] The votum stabilitatis as opposed to the Gyrovagi.

brethren, while he hated their faults. Where he was obliged to punish, he should do it with prudence, and beware of going to excess. His own fallibility should be ever present to his mind, and he should remember that the bruised reed ought not to be broken. Not that he should give countenance and encouragement to vice, but that he should endeavor to extirpate it with prudence and love, just as he should see it would be salutary for each individual; and he should strive rather to be loved than to be feared. He should not be restless and over-anxious. In no affair whatever should he be inclined to extremes and obstinate. He should not be jealous, nor too suspicious; since otherwise he never could find peace. In his commands, even where they related to worldly employments and labors, he should proceed with foresight and reflection. He should discriminate and moderate the labors which he imposed on each individual. He should take for his pattern the example of prudence presented in the words of the patriarch Jacob, Gen. 33: 13: "If men should over-drive them one day, all the flock will die." With that discretion which is the mother of the virtues, he should so order all things as to give full employment to the enterprise of the strong, without discouraging the weak. True, even here, — and this belonged to the deficiencies of the monastic morality,—the essence of humility was made to consist too much in its outward manifestation; as it is said: "The monk should let his humility be seen even in the postures of his body; his head should be constantly bowed down with his eyes directed to the earth, and he should hourly accuse himself for his sins; he should ever be in the same state of mind as if he were momently to appear before the dread judgment-seat of God." But all this, however, Benedict represented to be only a means of culture, whereby the monks were to attain to the highest end of love, that makes men free; respecting the nature of which, he thus beautifully expresses himself: "When the monk has passed through all these stages of humility, he will soon attain to that love of God, which, being perfect, casteth out fear, and through which he will begin to practice naturally and from custom, without anxiety or pains, all those rules which he before observed not without fear. He will no longer act from any fear of hell, but from love to Christ, from the energy of right habits, and joy in that which is good."

Benedict was doubtless aware, that the ascetic severity of many of the monastic orders in the East was unsuited to the rude men of the West, and also to the more unfriendly climate. Hence he did not require of his monks many of the mortifications which were sometimes imposed upon those of the East, and allowed them in several indulgences, which were there sometimes forbidden; as, for example, the use of wine in a prescribed quantity.[1] As the monks, in addition to their devotional exercises and spiritual studies, were also to be employed at hard labor in the field or in their different trades, and in

[1] L. c. c. 40. Licet legamus, vinum omnino monachorum non esse, sed quia nostris temporibus id monachis persuaderi non potest; and c. 73, he explains himself that his rule was to lead only ad honestatem morum et initium conversationis, not ad perfectionem conversationis,— that the latter must be learned from the rules of the fathers.

some seasons of the year, particularly seed-time and harvest, might be exposed to severe toil, the prudent Benedict[1] was careful not to prescribe any particular measure of food or drink, which was never to be exceeded. The abbot was at liberty to deviate from the general rule, according to the labors which devolved on the monks, and according to the season of the year. In like manner, it was strictly enjoined on the abbot, that he should have respect to the necessities of the sick and the feeble, of old men and of children, in the regulation of their diet, and of their occupations. He doubtless foresaw that the monks might settle down in rough and savage countries, as they afterwards often did, where they would not find even that measure of food and drink which he had allowed them. Reckoning on this, he exhorted them to submission: even *then* they should praise God, and not murmur.[2] Worthy of notice, too, is the pains he took to remove all appearance of the love of gain; laying it down as a rule, that the monks should always sell the products of their industry at a somewhat lower price than was demanded by secular laborers, so that in all things God might be praised.[3]

The same circumstances of the times by which so many were induced to apply to Benedict for the purpose of being formed and disciplined under his guidance for the spiritual life, tended also to promote the enthusiasm for the monastic life which proceeded from Benedict's disciples, and to further the rapid spread of this form of it by means of his disciples, such as Placidus and Maurus, in Sicily and in Gaul.

6. *The different Tendencies of the Religious Spirit in their Relation to the Monastic Life and to Asceticism.*

Let us now glance at still another relation of Monachism; at the relation it bore to the different tendencies of the religious spirit in this age.

The extravagant enthusiasm shown *for* Monachism was, on the other side, met by a blind zeal of hatred and opposition to it. This was occasioned, doubtless, in part, by the monks themselves: so it would appear from the testimony of Nilus. This warm advocate of Monachism himself complains of worthless monks, who strolled about in the cities, pestered families with their impudent mendicancy, and hiding all manner of sin under the guise of a pretended holiness, frequently robbed the people who showed them hospitality. It was owing to such men, that a mode of life once universally respected came to be an abomination; and even the virtue of the true monk, to be suspected of being mere hypocrisy;[4] that men once regarded as censors of manners were expelled from the cities as introducers

[1] Who seems to have possessed, himself, the donum discretionis.

[2] L. c. c. 40, Benedicant Deum et non murmerent.

[3] L. c. c. 57.

[4] Nilus de monastica exercitatione c. 9: *ὁ περιπόθητος βίος ἐγένετο βδελυκτὸς καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀληθῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν βιούντων κτῆσις* (should certainly be read *ἄσκησις*) *ἀπάτη νενόμισται.*

of corruption;[1] that monks — which is probably an exaggeration — became objects of universal ridicule.[2]

Yet there were many who, instead of detesting this *degenerate* kind of Monachism, took advantage of the monstrous products in which this degeneracy was shown, to bring this whole mode of life into disrepute: and who, in Monachism, hated not so much those excesses which were foreign to the spirit of Christianity, as those very qualities which, in this mode of life, were the most truly and profoundly Christian; who, with no friendly feelings, found themselves rebuked, and disturbed in their frivolous pursuits of pleasure, by such Christian seriousness and such strictness of Christian life. Salvianus, who wrote near the middle of the fifth century, looks upon it as a sign of the rude, frivolous, and worldly spirit of his time, that monks from Egypt or Jerusalem were saluted with jeers and curses whenever they showed themselves in the streets of Carthage.[3] Careless people of the world were especially moved with anger, when some view of the monastic life, or when the influence of pious monks, had awakened in noble families a more earnest and elevated sense of religion; when they saw extending itself, in these cases, a change of life wholly opposed to their inclinations.[4] But especially when young men of noble birth were moved by sudden impressions calling them to a more serious life, or by the influence of pious mothers, to join the monks, not only was the opposition between worldly husbands and their Christian wives often more strongly expressed, but kinsmen and friends took a lively interest in the matter: they considered it a disgrace to the noble family, that young men who might one day rise to the most splendid posts, should betake themselves to the mountains and the deserts, go about in the squalid dress of the monks, weave baskets, cultivate the soil, water gardens, and employ themselves in other such menial occupations.[5] The whole party who detested Monachism, but with it also every other form of earnest Christian life, was roused to activity on such occasions. When the emperor Valens, in 365, promulgated a law which, perhaps not without good grounds, was aimed against those who, under the pretext of religion, but really for the sake of indulging their indolent propensities, and ridding themselves of the burdens of the state, had withdrawn themselves into the monkish fraternities,[6] the party above mentioned availed themselves of this

[1] L. c. *Ὡς λυμεῶνες ἀπελαύνονται τῶν πόλεων οἳ ποτε σωφρονισταί.*

[2] C. 22. *Παρὰ πάντων χλευάζονται.*

[3] Salvian. de gubernatione Dei, l. 8, p. 194, ed. Baluz. Si quando aliquis Dei servus aut de Ægyptiorum cœnobiis aut de sacris Hierusalem locis aut de sanctis eremi venerandisque secretis ad urbem illam officio divini operis accessit, simul ut populo apparuit, contumelias, sacrilegia et maledictiones accipit.

[4] Thus, in the times of cardinal Richelieu and Louis the Fourteenth in France, it was assuredly not the free spirit of the gospel, but the frivolous, worldly temper, the Christianity of politics, the ceremonial religion of Jesuitism, which is doubtless reconcilable with them both, which set itself to oppose the effects which flowed from the glowing, ascetic zeal of an abbe St. Cyran and his followers.

[5] See Chrysostomus adversus oppugnatores vitæ monasticæ l. I. § 2. *Ἀνῦρώπονς ἐλευθέρους καὶ εὐγενεῖς καὶ δυναμένους ἐν τρυφῇ ζῆν, ἐπὶ τὸν σκληρὸν τοῦτον ἀγομένους βίον.*

[6] Cod. Theodos. l. XII. Tit. I. l. 63. Quidam ignaviæ sectatores desertis civitatum muneribus captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis cum cœtibus

opportunity to institute persecutions against the monks. Chrysostom, who was at that time himself a zealous monk, felt himself called upon on this occasion, to write his three books on Monachism.

But between these two extremes there was a more moderate party, which, while they recognized all that was truly of worth in Monachism, opposed on evangelical grounds the one-sided over-valuation of this, and the under-valuation of every other form of life which should equally be pervaded with the Christian spirit. This tendency is apparent in the council of Gangra, already mentioned. Here the ascetic and unmarried life was admitted to be, in itself considered, and so far as it proceeded from a pious disposition, a good thing; but the married life also, and life in the ordinary civil and social relations, together with the use of earthly goods, were represented as capable of being sanctified by a right temper; and sentence of condemnation was pronounced on the proud ascetic spirit that despised the common relations of life. This tendency particularly characterizes Chrysostom. Although himself greatly indebted to Monachism for the character of his inner life; although everywhere inclined to place a very high value on the victorious power of the will over the sensuous nature, where it was enlivened by the spirit of love; although enthusiastically alive to the ideal of holy temper and holy living in Monachism; yet he was too deeply penetrated by the essence of the gospel, not to be aware that the latter should pervade *all the relations of life*. And his large experience, gained at Antioch and at Constantinople, had led him to see how mischievous the delusive notion that men could not strive after the ideal of the Christian life amid ordinary relations, must be, and had actually been to practical Christianity. This delusion, therefore, he sought in every way to counteract. After having described, in one of his discourses, the various means of grace which Christianity furnishes, he supposes the objection to be raised: "Why say you this to us, who are no monks?" And he answers, "Do you put *this* question to me? Ask Paul, when he says, 'Watch with all perseverance and supplication,' Ephes. 6:18, and 'Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ,' Rom. 13:14; for surely he wrote these words, not for monks only, but for all inhabitants of cities. Except in relation to marriage, there ought to be no distinction between the secular and the monk; everything else the former is bound to do equally with the latter. And Christ, in the sermon on the mount, confines not his benediction to the monk. Enjoy the marriage estate with due moderation, and you shall be first in the kingdom of heaven, and entitled to all its blessings."[1] And in another place, where he is speaking of the prophetic visions of Isaiah:[2] "Would you know how the prophet saw God? Be yourself, too, a prophet. And how is this possible, do you ask, since I have a wife, and must provide for the bringing up of my children? It is possible, if you do but will it;

monazontôn congregantur, — they should be drawn forth from their lurking-places, and compelled to take on them the burdens of the state; or they should, like the clergy (see vol. II. sect. 1, p. 171), give up their property to others.

[1] Hom. VII. Hebr. § 4.

[2] Homilia in Seraphim, § 1. ed. Montfaucon, t. VI. f. 138.

for the prophet also had a wife, and was the father of two children; but none of these things was a hindrance to him." In expounding the first words of salutation in the Epistle to the Ephesians, he lays particular stress on the circumstance that to men who had wives, children, and servants, Paul nevertheless applies the appellation of saints. Although Chrysostom — which may be easily accounted for in a man of such predominant and lively feelings — did not always express himself after the same manner; yet he often lamented, not only the corruption of the great mass of the community, but also the want of Christian love among the better disposed, who, in solitude, lived only for their own improvement, instead of employing the gifts bestowed on them for the good of others. "Behold what perverseness now reigns!"—says he in one passage—"they who possess some of the joy of a good conscience dwell on the tops of mountains, and have torn themselves from the body of the church, as if it were inimical and alien to them; something not their own."[1] Thus, too, he complains, in his *sixth* homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians,[2] that they in whom there were still some remains of the old Christian wisdom, had forsaken the cities, the market, and the intercourse of life, and, instead of forming others, took possession of the mountains. "How shall we conquer the enemy," he exclaims, "when some have no care for virtue, and those who are interested for it, retreat to a distance from the order of battle?" And in another discourse he very justly refers to the parable of the talents, as a proof that there can be nothing truly good, the advantage of which does not extend also to others; and he goes on to say: "though you fast, though you sleep on the ground, though you eat ashes and mourn perpetually, but without benefiting any other individual, you will not bring much to pass. Though you exercise the highest perfection of the monk, but give yourself no concern that others are going to ruin, you cannot maintain a good conscience in the sight of God.[3] Neither voluntary poverty, nor martyrdom, nor anything else we may do, can testify in our favor, if we have not attained to the crowning virtue of love."[4]

As we here perceive, what moved this excellent man to attack the exaggerated opinion of Monachism was the consciousness of the universal Christian calling, and of the principle of sanctification which was destined to penetrate all the relations of life. But he was still too much influenced by the prevailing views of his time to be able always to carry out and apply that position with logical consistency. It is apparent here, as it often is in his case, that on one side he was confined by the prevailing spirit of his age; while, on the other, by his profound insight into the essence of the gospel, he rose above it, and was thus drawn into self-contradiction. But it was not so with another remarkable man who, near the close of the fourth century, stood forth in Rome as an opponent of the one-sided ascetic tendency — a man who, in his way of Christian thinking, was all of a piece; who rather

[1] Hom. VII. Ephes. § 4.
[2] Hom. VI. ep. I. ad Corinth, § 4.
[3] Κἂν τὴν ἀκραν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκῇς, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀμελῇς, οὐδεμίαν κτήσῃ παρὰ θεῷ παῤῥησίαν.
[4] Hom. XXV. ep. I. ad Corinth. X.

carried the Christian principle set up by him against the one-sided tendencies of his age, to an extreme on the opposite side, than allowed himself to be restrained by the spirit of the dominant church from carrying it out in a consistent manner. This was the monk *Jovinian.* From the more profound Christian consciousness silently developing itself in Monachism, foretokening what was to be brought about long afterwards through the instrumentality of Luther, came forth a reaction against the common monkish morality, and the doctrinal errors accompanying it.

While it was customary to distinguish, in Christian morals, a higher and a lower standing point, — the latter satisfied with the observance of the "precepts," the former requiring the fulfillment of the "counsels" of the gospel, — Jovinian, on the other hand, contended for the unity of the divine life founded in faith on the Redeemer and flowing from the new birth. This he considered the highest and the principal thing. And he knew of but one kind of opposition — that of redemption, to perseverance in alienation from God — of a life devoted to the present world, to a life founded on communion with God. Compared with this, all other differences, in his opinion, sunk to insignificance. "There is but one divine element of life which all believers share in common; but one fellowship with Christ, which proceeds from faith in him; but one new birth. All who possess this in common with each other; all, therefore, who are Christians in the true sense, not barely in outward profession; all who have received not merely the outward baptism of water, but the inward baptism of the Spirit,— have the same thing,— the same calling, the same dignity, the same heavenly blessings; the diversity of outward circumstances creating no difference in this respect." Accordingly he supposes an opposition altogether universal, — admitting of no intermediate link, no grade of difference, — between those who find themselves in this state of grace, and those who are shut out from it. Hence he derives the conclusion, that the life of celibacy or that of marriage, eating or fasting, the using or forbearing to use earthly goods, all this can make no difference between Christians, where the same one ground of the Christian life is present. Everything depends on the inward Christian life, on the temper of the heart, not on the outward forms of life and on outward works by themselves considered, in which forms and works the temper which makes the Christian only reveals itself. "Virgins, widows, and married women," said he "who have been *once* baptized into Christ, have the same merit, if, in respect to works, there is otherwise no difference between them.[1] The Apostle Paul says, 'Know ye not, that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost?' He speaks of *one temple*, not in the plural number, to denote that God dwells after the same manner in all. Our Lord says: 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.' Since, then, Christ dwelleth in us without distinction of stages, so we dwell in him without any such distinction. The righteous man loves;

[1] Virgines, viduas, et maritatas, quæ semel in Christo lotæ sunt, si non discrepent cæteris operibus, ejusdem esse meriti. Hieron. c. Jov. lib. I. § 3.

and to him that loves come the Father and the Son, and make their abode with him. But where such a guest dwells, I think nothing can be wanting to the heart that has received him.[1] And as Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one God, so too should there be but one people in them, John 17 : 21, that is, his dear children, who are partakers of the divine nature.[2] The Apostle John makes no other distinction than one, between those who are born of God and sin not, and those who are not born of God. Christ makes no other separation than that between those who stand on the right and those who stand on the left hand, the sheep and the goats."

Though in other respects inclined to exaggerate true principles, and to treat oppositions as contradictions, Jovinian would never suffer himself to be hurried by an inconsiderate zeal into unconditional condemnation of fasting, of the life of celibacy, or of Monachism in themselves considered. He fought only against that which was unchristian in temper, against the arrogant presumption which ascribed peculiar merit to the unmarried and the ascetic life. He himself continued to be a monk; thus refuting the calumny, that such doctrines were invented by him, merely to get rid of a yoke which had become irksome to him. Take whatever course he might, however, he could not escape the invidious charge of being actually guilty of every wrong thing which his opponents could make out as consequences necessarily following from his doctrine. If, in accordance with his principles, he led a freer kind of life (though he still continued to be a monk) ; if he made no outward show of monkish asceticism in his dress,—it was construed as a forsaking the holiness of Monachism for the refinements of common life ; and he was accused of luxury.[3] And Jerome bids him either to marry, and thus show that he put the married life on a par with the unmarried, or else to cease contending in words with those with whom he agreed in practice.[4] It was with a view, it seems, to correct the false reports which had gone abroad concerning him in consequence of the false construction put upon his conduct, that he was led to publish a tract in explanation of his principles.[5] In fact he had been urged to do this by others.[6]

Jovinian, then, had no fault to find with those who fasted from a sense of their individual needs, or with those who chose celibacy in order to escape the cares of a family and have opportunity to devote

[1] Sicut ergo sine aliqua differentia graduum Christus in nobis est, ita et nos in Christo sine gradibus sumus. — Qui justus est, diligit: qui diligit, veniunt ad eum Pater et Filius et in ejus habitant hospitio, ubi autem hujuscemodi habitator est, puto, quod nihil deesse potest hospiti. Hieron. c. Jov. l. II. § 19.

[2] Et quomodo Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unus Deus; sic et unus populus in ipsis sit, hoc est quasi filii carissimi, divinæ consortes naturæ.

[3] Iste formosus monachus, crassus, nitidus, dealbatus, et quasi sponsus semper incedens. Hieron. c. Jov. Lib. I. § 40.

[4] Aut uxorem ducat, ut æqualem virginitatem nuptiis probet, aut si non duxerit, frustra contra nos verbis agit, cum opere nobiscum sit. L. c.

[5] From which Jerome frequently cites passages, in his work against Jovinian. This is the source from which we have taken our account of Jovinian's doctrines.

[6] This we infer from his own words, as they are quoted by Jerome, lib. I. § 2: satisfacio invitatis (it should doubtless read invitatus) non ut claro curram nomine, sed a rumore purgatus vivam vano.

themselves with less interruption to spiritual concerns. He only required that they should not, on these accounts, think themselves better than other Christians. He held that everything depended on *one* and the same Christian temper, *one* and the same divine life. "It amounts to the same thing in the end," he says, "whether a man fasts, or partakes of food with thanksgiving."[1] "I blame thee not," he writes to a virgin, "if, to meet a present distress (1 Cor. 7: 26), thou hast chosen the unmarried life. Only be careful not to exalt thyself. Thou art of the same church to which the married also belong."[2]

To those who laid special value on the unmarried life or on abstinences, he objected the teaching of Scripture. He appealed to the fact that at the creation so great importance was given to the institution of marriage; "and that it might not be said," he added, "that this had reference to the Old Testament alone, the same testimony had been confirmed by Christ, Gen. 2: 24; Matth. 19: 5." He adduced the example of the married saints, from the Old Testament, and in order to defend himself against the common objection, that this applied only to the early infancy of mankind, when the multiplication of the race was particularly necessary, added such proof passages from the New Testament as 1 Timoth. 5: 14; Heb. 13: 4; 1 Cor. 7: 39; 1 Timoth. 2: 14.[3] He pointed to the fact that Paul required of the bishop and deacon only that each should be the husband of one wife, that he accordingly sanctioned the marriage of the clergy. Against the exaggerated estimation of fasting, he cited Rom. 14: 20; 1 Timoth. 4: 3; and pointed to the declaration of Paul, that to the pure all things are pure. He holds up the example of Christ, saying "The Lord himself was pronounced by the Pharisees a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. He did not disdain the banquet of Zaccheus. He attended a marriage-feast at Cana. And," he added,—in opposition to those forced interpretations of Scripture which were commonly resorted to, for the purpose of harmonizing Scripture with the prevailing notions,—"you make quite another thing of it, when, in the foolish spirit of dispute, you maintain that he attended a feast with the intention to fast, and that, in the manner of false teachers, he said: I eat of this,

[1] Inter abstinentiam ciborum et cum gratiarum actione perceptionem eorum, nullam esse distantiam. Lib. I. § 3.

[2] Non tibi facio, virgo, injuriam: elegisti pudicitiam propter præsentem necessitatem, placuit tibi, ut sis sancta corpore et spiritu: ne superbias, ejusdem ecclesiæ membrum es, cujus et nuptæ sunt. Lib. I. § 5.

[3] It is worthy of notice, that according to Jerome (l. I. § 30, contra Jovinian) he cited the whole book of Solomon's Song as an evidence in favor of marriage. From this we might infer, that he rejected the mystical interpretation of that book, which was then common; and in this case we should have here another proof of the more liberal, inquiring spirit of the man. But the language which he employs respecting the church (Jerome, l. II. § 19), "sola novit canticum Christi," seems, notwithstanding, to point to a mystical interpretation of Solomon's Song. In the present case, we can understand the argumentation of Jovinian only as follows: The holiest of things, the union of Christ with his church, would not have been represented here under such images, so carried out, if the union betwixt the two sexes were not a sacred thing.

I eat not of that,[1] — I drink not of the wine which I have made of the water. Christ chose not water, but wine, to represent his own blood.[2] He says, justly, that those mortifications could not be possessed of any peculiar Christian character, since they were practiced also among the Pagans in the worship of Cybele and of Isis.[3] But it must have been an extremely contracted notion of final ends, and a very inadequate method of regarding nature, which led him to understand the proposition, that all other creatures are made for the use of man, in the sense that they were intended only *to subserve man's sensual wants*. Accordingly he reckoned up a number of animals, which, if they were not to serve as food for man, were created by God to no purpose, and he inferred that therefore it must have been the Creator's design that man should eat flesh ;[4] a conclusion which Jerome found it quite easy to refute, though embarrassed by the same narrow apprehension of final ends.

This principle of identity of disposition, he employed not only in contending against the over-estimation of asceticism, but also against every other way of making morality to be a mere external thing; thus, for example, with regard to martyrdom he expresses himself as follows: "In a time of persecution, a person may be burnt, strangled, beheaded; or he may flee, or die in a prison. There are different kinds of conflict, indeed; but there is only one crown of victory."

Jovinian approved himself to be a forerunner of the Reformation also in this, that he opposed every attempt to make out a merit of works ; and that, insisting alone on the grace of redemption, he set it up as a principle, that men should strive after holiness, not with a view to gain something else (as for example, eternal happiness, or some higher stage of it), but with a view to preserve the state of grace once obtained, to secure the divine life once received; since this was the same for all. All who possess this, share in it alike; differences of degree are excluded. "If you ask me," said he, "*why* the just man should always be active, whether in times of peace or of persecution, if there is no progress, if there are no greater rewards,— I answer, he does this, not that he may deserve something more, but lest he may lose what he has already received."[5]

As we have already said that the views of Jovinian are not to be considered wholly isolated from other phenomena of his times, but in their connection with a more general reaction of the Christian spirit excited by Monachism itself, so we may observe here a remarkable analogy between Jovinian's expressions, and those of the monk Marcus; for Marcus too says: "We who have been deemed worthy

[1] Porro aliud est, si stulta contentione dicitis, eum isse ad prandium jejunaturum, et impostorum more dixisse: hoc comedo, illud non comedo, nolo vinum bibere, quod ex aquis creavi. Lib. II. § 5.

[2] In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam, sed vinum.

[3] Quasi non et superstitio gentilium eossum matris deûm observet et Isidis.

[4] Quis usus porcorum absque esu carnium? Quid capreæ, cervuli, etc. Cur in domibus galliua discurrit? Si non comeduntur, hæc omnia frustra a Deo creata sunt.

[5] Si autem mihi opponis, quare justus laboret in pace aut persecutionibus, si nullus profectus est, nec majora præmia, scias, hoc eum facere, non ut plus quid mereatur, sed ne perdat, quod accepit. Lib. II. § 18.

of the laver of regeneration offer good works, not for the sake of a reward, but to preserve the purity which has been bestowed on us." [1]

According to Jovinian's doctrine, there is an inherent power in the divine life received by regeneration to overcome all sin; and he contrasts the confidence springing from the sense of this divine power, with the painful asceticism which must resort to so many expedients in order to resist temptations to sin. "They who have been baptized," he says, "cannot be tempted of the devil." [2] Again, inasmuch as Jovinian's protestant spirit assuredly distinguished itself from the prevailing tendency of his age also in this respect, that he did not make the Christian consciousness dependent on the church and its priesthood, but held to the immediate relation of believers to Christ, we may presume that he had no sympathy with the common notions with regard to the magical effects of baptism. What he says in the passage just quoted, he understood as referring to spiritual baptism, brought about by faith in Christ, which he expressly distinguished from outward baptism with water. Regeneration, he says, comes from full faith; and only where this is present, can the other be connected with baptism.[3] "In him who is tempted," he observes, "it is plain, that he has received only the water, not the spiritual baptism; as in the case of Simon Magus." [4]

From the above quoted words of Jovinian, we might now conclude that he considered all, who were not Christians barely in name, as placed beyond the reach of temptation. But he could not mean so; for if he did, he assuredly would have nothing to say about efforts on the part of the just man.[5] In fact, he gives his own explanation of the phrase "to be tempted," when he says: "such a man cannot be overcome by Satan with temptations, cannot be plunged into sin." [6]

Doubtless, however, Jovinian must have supposed, according to this assertion, that he who was once really regenerated, could not fall again from the state of grace; — that whenever one who appeared to have been baptized, to believe, was surprised into sin, this was evidence that he possessed not, as yet, living faith, had not, as yet, been really renewed. The baptism of such persons he called hypocritical baptism. Therefore he could not agree with those who made the customary distinction between sins committed before and those committed after baptism; for any baptism subsequent to which one might again fall into sin was to him the same as no baptism. If they who had thus fallen came afterwards to true faith and repentance, he supposed that they then, for the first time, received the baptism of the Spirit, of which before they had received only the out-

[1] Ὅσοι τοῦ λούτρου τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἠξιώθημεν, τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα οὐ δι' ἀνταπόδοσιν προσφέρωμεν ἀλλὰ διὰ φυλακὴν τῆς δοθείσης ἡμῖν καθαρότητος. Bibl. patr. Galland. T. VIII. f. 14, § 22.

[2] Eos qui fuerint baptizati, a diabolo non posse tentari. Lib. II. § 1.

[3] The truly regenerated, qui plena fide in baptismate renati sunt. Lib. I. § 3.

[4] Quicunque tentati fuerint, ostendi eos aqua tantum et non spiritu baptizatos, quod in Simone Mago legimus. Lib. II. § 1.

[5] See above.

[6] A diabolo non posse subverti. Lib. I. § 3.

ward sign. Hence he would not admit that there was any difference between those who, from the first, remained faithful to their baptismal vows, and those who, after having received outward baptism, fell into sin, and then, by true repentance, were for the first time really converted. Accordingly, addressing himself to such, he exclaims: "Though you have fallen, repentance will restore you; and you who were hypocrites in your baptism, will, with your repentance, attain to faith."[1] And if we now take into consideration the fact, that Jovinian did not hold to the doctrine of different degrees in sin, — of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter, — it must appear evident, that, according to him, the regenerate cannot fall into any actual sin whatever.

True, he did, as we have seen, so express himself as to convey the impression, that he held those who were given to a rigid asceticism, in equal honor with other Christians, provided that, at the same time, they were humble. As a matter of fact, however, he must have regarded such modes of life as betraying a want of true confidence in the divine power bestowed on the regenerate. The regenerated person had, in his opinion, really no need of such expedients to protect him against sin. And he looked upon marriage as a means, in accordance with nature, of moralizing the sexual impulse; — having in mind, probably, the words of the Apostle Paul in the seventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.[2] But when he would recommend marriage, and disparage fasting, he suffered himself to be hurried, by the zeal of opposition, into harsh expressions, and descended to trifling, — as, for instance, where he undertakes to show that the brute animals were created to serve as food for man. He said many things which must have highly delighted his opponents, as furnishing so much matter for invidious conclusions.[3]

The truth is that there are two points of view under which life may be regarded — the ideal and the empirical; and on the right understanding of both of these in their mutual relation, the sound and healthy view of life in great measure depends. Partial and imperfect notions on this subject, running either to one extreme or to the other, arise from attaching an undue value to one or the other of these opposite points of view. Now it was to *that* mode of contemplating Christian life and ethical matters generally which dwelt upon the outside and never penetrated beneath the surface, which looked only at the *plus* or *minus* in the external appearance, that Jovinian op-

[1] Quod etsi ceciderítis, redintegrabit vos pœnitentia, et qui in baptismate fuistis hypocritæ, eritis in pœnitentia solidæ fidei. Lib. II. § 37.

[2] Qui semel in Christo baptizatus est (this "in Christo baptizatus est," may be regarded as another indication of his views respecting baptism represented on a former page), cadere non potest, habet enim ad despumandas libidines solatia nuptiarum. Lib. II. § 37.

[3] His words are: Raro jejunate, crebrius nubite. Non enim potestis implere opera nuptiarum, nisi mulsum et carnes et nucleum sumseritis. Cito caro consumpta marcescit. L. c. We should not trust the citation of Jerome, if these words stood alone by themselves, but should be inclined to believe that Jerome here took the liberty to make his opponent speak as he might or must have spoken, in Jerome's opinion. But the rest which he adds bears too strongly on its face the characteristic stamp of Jovinian to leave room for entertaining any such doubt.

posed the loftiness and severity of the ideal, and of principle. But by thus laying the sole stress on the idea and the principle, he fell into the opposite mistake of failing to recognize different stages of development, and degrees of transition from one stage to another, on the phenomenal side. While it was the prevailing custom to distinguish, according to some arbitrary rule of judgment, ordinary Christian life and its higher perfection; works of a higher and of a lower degree of merit; sins of a graver and of a lighter character (peccata mortalia and venalia); Jovinian, on the other hand, held fast to only one opposition — that between the states of regeneration, and non-regeneration; between the godly life, and the ungodly; between fulfillment of the law, and transgression of it. He knew nothing about stages in a progressive development of Christian life; stages in the transition to this life; stages in sin. To him all sins appeared equal; looking, as he did, at their relation to a law requiring unqualified obedience, and all whose commands were alike holy. From this point of view, he could better understand the moral sublimity of the sermon on the mount — better than *they* did, who, interpreting it according to their own diminutive standard of common life, must of necessity lower it. He appealed to the saying in the sermon on the mount: "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Thou fool, shall, equally with the murderer and the adulterer, be in danger of hell-fire.[1] He says that Christ (Matth. 25) makes but two classes, the sheep and the goats; the righteous and the wicked. The good tree brings forth good fruit; the evil tree, evil fruit. There are the wise virgins, and the foolish. In the case of Sodom and Gomorrah, no other difference was regarded, but that between the righteous and the wicked. The righteous were saved; the wicked were all consumed by the same fire; — one salvation for those who escaped, one destruction for those who stayed behind. Lot's wife was a proof that no allowance can be made for the least departure from righteousness.[2] He held, again, that it made no difference whether a man was converted early or late, or how long he had been active in the Christian life. No difference was made between the brother who had always remained with his father, and the one who was received afterwards because he repented. The laborers of the first, the third, the sixth, the ninth and the eleventh hour, all received alike, one penny.[3] And to show that length of time spent in the Lord's service makes no difference, he dwelt particularly on the circumstance that, in the parable, the payment began with those who had labored in the vineyard for the shortest time.[4] The parables, however, which might have served to expose

[1] Qui fratri dixerit fatue et raca, reus erit gehennæ, et qui homicida fuerit et adulter, mittetur similiter in gehennam. Lib. II. § 20. Though we cannot know how Jovinian explained Matth. 5: 22, in all particulars, we must at least see this much, that, rightly, he found nothing said in this passage about different degrees of punishment.

[2] Apud Sodomam et Gomorram exceptis duobus gradibus bonorum malorumque nulla diversitas invenitur. Qui est justus eripitur, qui peccator pari voratur incendio. Una salus liberatis, unus interitus remanentibus. Ne paululum quidem a justitia declinandum, indicio est uxor. Lib. II. § 18.

[3] Lib. II. § 20.

[4] Et quo magis admireris, ab his incipit præmium, qui minus in vinea laborarunt

the partiality of this representation; as for instance, the parable concerning the different yielding of the seed, according to the goodness or badness of the soil, must have been explained by him in some way or other so as to harmonize with his theory.[1]

These one-sided views of Jovinian would, of necessity, have an injurious effect also on his treatment of moral doctrines; for everything was referred to the single point of preserving the state of grace once received.[2] Any such thing as a progressive unfolding of the divine life, any such thing as the Christian principle according to which man's nature should be more and more impenetrated with that life, was here out of the question.

We must bring up another point which, though belonging properly to the history of doctrines, yet on account of its connection with Jovinian's peculiar way of thinking, could not well be passed over, here. It may be gathered from what has already been said, that inasmuch as his point of departure was the immediate relation of the inner life of each individual to Christ, so the idea of a community of believers, of the body of Christ, would, to him, unfold itself from this particular point; and hence the conception of the church would, of necessity, take, with him, an altogether different shaping and position, from that which otherwise it would have had. The notion of the invisible church, of a community shaping itself outwardly from within, must have resulted in his mind, rather than that of a visible church, deriving its origin from external traditions. "The church," said he, "founded on faith, hope, and charity, is exalted above every attack. No unripe member is within it,— all its members are taught of God. No person can break within its inclosure by violence, nor creep in by fraud."[3] It is plainly evident that Jovinian could only have understood by the church, here, the *invisible* church. So, too, in the following predicates which he applies to the church: "The titles bride, sister, mother — and whatever other names you may think of — refer to the community of the one church, which is never without her bridegroom, without her brother, without her son. She has one faith, and within her

[1] He maintained that the only point to be held fast here was the difference between the good and the bad ground. All the rest belonged not to the matter of comparison, but to the decoration of the figure; and in favor of this explanation he urged the absurd argument, that the difference of numbers could be of no importance here, because Mark pursued the reverse order in his enumeration. Numerum non facere præjudicium, præsertim quum et evangelista Marcus retrorsum numeret. To defend himself against the application of the words in John 14: 2, "In my Father's house are many mansions," which in fact could be employed by his adversaries in favor of their own side only in a way running directly counter to the connection in which they are found, he opposed it by another interpretation no less contradictory to the connection of the passage, maintaining that by the different mansions were to be understood simply the *different* church communities on earth, which still constituted, however, but one church of God. Non in regno cœlorum diversas significat mansiones; sed ecclesiarum in toto orbe numerum, quæ constat una per septem (h. e. in septem ecclesiis apocalypseôs nonnisi una ecclesia). Lib. II. § 19.

[2] The answer to the question: Quare justus laborat? Ne perdat quod accepit. Lib. II. § 18.

[3] Scimus ecclesiam spe, fide, caritate inaccessibilem, inexpugnabilem; non est in ea immaturus, omnis docibilis (scil. a Deo, as the Vulgate translates the term θεοδίδακτος), impetu irrumpere vel arte eludere (it should read perhaps, *illudere*, enter in by trick, by deception), potest nullus. Lib. I. § 2.

there arise no schisms by means of erroneous doctrines. She ever remains a virgin; whithersoever the Lamb goes, she follows him, and she alone knows the song of Christ." [1]

Jovinian's reasons against the worth of the unmarried life found admittance among the laity, monks, and nuns, in Rome.[2] But it was natural that the Roman bishop, Siricius, with whom we have already become acquainted as a zealous opponent of married priests, should declare strongly against the doctrines of Jovinian. At a Roman synod, held in 390, he pronounced, in the harshest and most unjustifiable language,[3] sentence of condemnation on Jovinian and eight of his adherents.[4] Jovinian betook himself to Milan, and there perhaps sought to shelter himself under the protection of the emperor then residing in that place. But here he was opposed by the mighty influence of the bishop Ambrose, who had already been made acquainted with the affair by the synodal letter of Siricius, and who, as a zealous promoter of the ascetic tendency and of Monachism, could be no otherwise than a zealous opponent of Jovinian. In his reply to Siricius, written in the name of a synod held at Milan, he declared his agreement with the judgment pronounced by the latter. Jovinian and his friends were banished from Milan. But the silent working of his influence continued to be felt there, if it was not the case that, independent of him, a similar reaction proceeded from Monachism itself.

Ambrose, also, was obliged to contend much with the influence of these principles. Two monks of Milan, Sarmatio and Barbatianus, attracted notice, who, like Jovinian, disputed the peculiar merit of the unmarried life. Not being allowed freely to express their principles in the cloister, they released themselves from that yoke.[5] Next they repaired to the church at Vercelli, where perhaps, as the church happened at that time to be without a bishop, they hoped to find a better reception, and to be able to propagate their principles with less danger of disturbance. But the bishop Ambrose immediately sent warning of them in a letter, which he addressed to the church.[6] He accused them of spreading such doctrines, as that the baptized needed not concern themselves about striving after virtue; that excess in eating and drinking could do them no harm; that it was foolish in them to abstain from the enjoyments of life; that virgins and widows ought to marry. It was a delusion to suppose that the body could be brought into obedience to the spirit by fasting. But in such

[1] Sponsa, soror, mater, quæcunque alia putaveris vocabula, unius ecclesiæ congregatio est, quæ nunquam est sine sponso, fratre, filio. Unam habet fidem nec constupratur dogmatum varietate nec hæresibus scinditur. Virgo permanet. Quocunque vadit agnus, sequitur illum, sola novit canticum Christi. Lib. II. § 19.

[2] Augustin. Hæres. 82, Retract. II. 22.

[3] He calls Jovinian luxuriæ magister.

[4] Incentores novæ hæresis et blasphemiæ divina sententia et nostro judicio in perpetuum damnati. For the rest, even Siricius witnesses of the spread of these doctrines, when he says: Sermo hæreticorum intra ecclesias cancri more serpebat.

[5] Ambrose intimates himself, that nothing could be objected to them as long as they were at Milan. He points to the reason which chiefly induced them to leave the cloister, when he says: interdicta ludibriosæ disputationi licentia. But it was an ungrounded inference of his own making, when he accuses them of having left the cloister, because they could not indulge, as they wished, in riotous living, nullus era luxuriæ locus.

[6] Ep. 63. ed. Bened. T. III. f. 1110.

representations it is easy to discern the disturbing influence of passion. The truth lying at bottom is, probably, nothing more than Jovinian's doctrine, farther developed, concerning the freedom and security of the truly regenerate; which, perhaps, had been presented by many in an abrupt form of statement, such as we occasionally meet with even in Jovinian himself.

For the rest, Jovinian's violent opponent, Jerome, contributed most of all, by the misstatements and exaggerations into which he was hurried in this controversy, by his passionate nature, to do discredit to his own cause and to promote that of his adversary: for it seemed, according to Jerome's own showing, that his adversary was right in affirming it to be impossible to extol the life of celibacy, without depreciating the state of marriage sanctioned by Christ, and *thereby* outraging the common sense and feeling of Christian men. Augustin, perceiving this, was led to write his book De bono conjugali, where he endeavored to dispose of the above mentioned objection, by acknowledging the worth of marriage; and at the same time maintained that a higher stage of Christian life was to be attained in celibacy, when chosen out of a right disposition of heart. His design was to show how the marriage state might be respected and honored, while a still higher value might be attached to the unmarried life, if chosen from good motives. What distinguishes Augustin in this tract, is not only his greater moderation of language, but also the whole position which he takes in respect to doctrinal and ethical matters, — a position which is altogether Christian, and more nearly akin to the spirit of Jovinian. In holding fast to the essential point of one and the same divine life, of one and the same Christian disposition, as opposed to a mere outward manifestation and isolation in matters pertaining to religion and ethics, he would, of necessity, find himself drawn, at many points, into contact and sympathy with Jovinian. And this would have been more plainly manifest, had not the churchly element of his time exercised too potent an influence on his mind The rough, ascetic bent of Jerome, however, would, in him, be greatly moderated from this cause. As Jovinian had said, so too Augustin says in this tract, that true martyrdom consists in the temper of heart; and that one having no outward call to be a martyr, may still be not a whit inferior to the martyrs in that *disposition* which determines moral worth. It was so also with the unmarried life. Though Abraham, in conformity with the stage of the development of God's kingdom in his day, lived in wedlock, yet in the Christian virtue of chastity, he might be on a level with any Christian, leading in holiness of temper the life of celibacy.[1]

We may here add to the examples above cited, that of the presbyter Vigilantius, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, as an opponent to the prevailing tendencies of the church life. He probably perceived that the words of our Lord to the rich young man were misapprehended,[2] when taken, as by many

[1] Continentiæ virtutem in habitu animi semper esse debere, in opera autem pro rerum ac temporum opportunitate manifestari.

[2] See above p. 265.

they were, in the sense of an invitation to give at once all they possessed to the poor, and then to go into retirement with the monks. He maintained that they who attended to the management of their property, and distributed the income of it gradually among the needy, did better than those who gave away the whole of it at once. It behoved each individual to provide for the necessities of the poor living in his own neighborhood, rather than to send it off to Jerusalem for the support of the poor who lived there (the monks). . . . "Should all retire from the world, and live in deserts," said he, "who then would remain to support the public worship of God? Who would exhort sinners to virtue? This would not be to fight, but to fly."[1]

But such individual voices could effect nothing of importance in opposition to a tendency which was already so deeply rooted. In fact, Monachism was to be preserved; furnishing, as it really did, so important a means for the diffusion of Christianity and of Christian culture in succeeding centuries.

II. Christian Worship.

1. *The Relation of Christian Worship to the entire Sphere of Christian Life.*

With the obscuration of the consciousness of the priestly character belonging in common to all Christians, was directly connected the obscuration also of the primitive Christian idea of divine worship, as an act not confined to particular times or places, but designed to extend to the entire life of him who is consecrated to God. Both these ideas belong to the antithetic relation of the New Testament to the Old; in both, therefore, — as we have observed already in the preceding period, — the Jewish notion was the disturbing element. Yet the voices of distinguished church-teachers were heard, remonstrating against the admission of this disturbing element into the Christian idea of worship. Thus Chrysostom, in his 6th discourse against the confounding of Christianity and Judaism,[2] observes, that "God permitted the single temple at Jerusalem to be destroyed, and erected in its stead a thousand others of far higher dignity than that; for the apostle declares, 'Ye are the temple of the living God.' Adorn *this* house of God; drive from it all wicked thoughts, — so that you may be a temple of the Spirit; and make others do so too." "Christians," he remarks in another discourse, "should not merely celebrate one single day as a feast, they — whose whole life should be a festival; for the apostle says, 1 Corinth. 5: 8: 'Let us keep the feast, not with old leaven,' etc. We are not to stand by the ark of the

[1] The words of Vigilantius in Jerome adv. Vigilant. § 16: Si omnes se clauserint et fuerint in solitudine, quis celebrabit ecclesias? Quis sæculares homines lucrifaciet? Quis peccantes ad virtutes poterit cohortari? Then Jerome quotes him § 17, speaking rather after his own sense (Jerome's) than in language of Vigilantius: Hoc non est pugnare, sed fugere.

[2] Adv. Judæos, VI. § 7, T. I. f. 661.

covenant and by the golden altar, — we, whom the Lord of all existence himself has made his own dwelling, and who continually hold converse with him by prayer, by the celebration of the holy supper, by the sacred Scriptures, by alms, and by the fact that we bear him in our hearts. What need therefore of the sabbath, to him who celebrates a continual feast, who has his conversation in heaven? Let us, then, celebrate a continual feast, and let us do no sin; for *this* is the keeping of the feast." [1] In opposition to those who thought themselves righteous because they regularly attended church, he says: "If a child daily goes to school, and yet learns nothing, will that be any excuse for him? — will it not rather serve to aggravate his fault? Just so it is with us, for we go to the church not merely for the sake of spending a few moments there, but that we may go away with some great gain in spiritual things. If we depart empty, our very zeal in attending the sanctuary will redound to our condemnation. But that this may not be the result, let us, on leaving this place, friends with friends, fathers with their children, masters with their servants, exercise ourselves in reducing to practice the lessons we have here learned. This momentary exhortation cannot extirpate every evil; the husband should hear it again at home from his wife, the wife from her husband." [2] And in another discourse: [3] "When you have sung together two or three Psalms, and superficially gone through the ordinary prayers, and then return home, you suppose this suffices for your salvation. Have you not heard what the prophet, or rather what God, through the mouth of the prophet, says: 'This people honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me'?" He was ever pressing this point, that every house should be a church; every father of a family, a shepherd for his household, — that he was equally responsible for the welfare of all its members, even for that of the domestics, whom the gospel placed on a level with all other men in their relation to God.[4] He complains that, whilst in the early Christian times the house was by the love of heavenly things converted into a church, the church itself was now, through the earthly direction of thought in those that visited it, converted into an ordinary house.[5] Augustin, likewise, says to the members of his community: "It is your business to make the most of your talent: each man should be a bishop in his own house; he must see to it, that his wife, his son, his daughter, his servant (since he is bought with so great a price), persevere in the true faith. The apostolical teaching placed the master above the servant, and bound the servant to obedience toward his master; *but Christ has paid one ransom for both.*" [6]

In respect particularly to prayer, Chrysostom often took ground against that Jewish tendency to magnify externals, which made prayer

[1] Hom. XXXIX. in Matth. § 3, ed. Montf. T. VII. f. 435.

[2] Hom. V. de statuis, § 7, T. II. f. 70.

[3] Hom. XI. in Matth. § 7, T. VII. f. 158.

[4] Hom. VI. in Genesin, § 2, T. IV. f. 673: *Ἐκκλησίαν ποίησόν σου τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπεύθυνος εἶ καὶ τῆς τῶν παιδίων καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν σωτηρίας.*

[5] Hom. XXXII. in Matth. § 7. *Τότε αἱ οἰκίαι ἐκκλησίαι ἦσαν, νῦνι δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία οἰκία γέγονεν.*

[6] S. 94.

dependent on a certain place, and on other outward things. "When Christ came," says he, "he purified the whole world; every place became a house of prayer. For this reason, Paul exhorts us to pray everywhere with boldness, and, moreover, without doubting. 1 Timoth. 2: 8. Mark you, how the world has been purified? As it regards the place, we may *everywhere* lift up holy hands; for the whole earth has become consecrated, more consecrated than the holy of holies."[1] After having remarked that all the works of the frail earthly life should flow from prayer, and find support in the same, he supposes it objected by a worldly man of those times: "How can a man of business, a man tied to the courts of justice, pray and resort to the church thrice in a day?" And he replies: "It is possible and very easy; for, if you cannot easily repair to the church, you may at least pray before the door, and even though you may be tied to the courts of justice: for it needs not so much the voice, as the disposition of the heart; not so much the outstretched hands, as the devotional soul; not so much this or the other posture, as the mind." He then goes on to say: "It is not here as in the Old Testament. Wherever you may be, you still have the altar, the sacrificial knife, and the offering by you; for you yourself are priest, altar, and sacrifice. Wherever you are, you may raise an altar, by simply cherishing a devout and serious temper. Place and time are no hindrance. Though you bow not the knee, though you beat not the breast, though you stretch not your hands to heaven, but only manifest a warm heart, you have all that belongs to prayer. The wife, while she holds in her lap the spindle and spins, can with her soul look up to heaven, and call with fervency on the name of the Lord. It is possible for this man to offer a fervent prayer, while he is on his way alone to the market; for that other to lift up his soul to God, who sits in his shop and sews leather; and the servant who makes purchases, goes errands, or sits in the kitchen, has nothing to hinder him from doing the same thing."[2]

To this period also was transmitted from the primitive Christian times the recognition of the right, closely connected with the consciousness of the universal Christian priesthood, and belonging to all Christians, of instructing and edifying themselves by going directly to the fountain of the divine word. Hence manuscripts of the Bible were multiplied, and exposed for sale.[3] It was regarded as the chief part of a pious Christian education, both in men and women, to become early familiar with the holy Scriptures. Thus Jerome notices it of Læta, a noble Roman lady, that she taught her daughter, from early childhood, to cultivate a love for the sacred Scriptures instead of jewelry and silks;[4] that she learned patience from the example of Job; that she never suffered the gospel to be out of her reach.[5]

[1] Hom. I. de cruce et latrone, § 1, T. II. f. 404.

[2] De Anna S. IV. § 6, T. IV. f. 738.

[3] Scriptura venalis fertur per publicum. Augustin. in Ps. 36, S. I. § 2.

[4] Ep. 107, § 12. Pro gemmis et serico, divinos codices amet.

[5] In Job virtutis et patientiæ exempla sectetur, ad evangelia transeat, nunquam ea positura de manibus. Comp. above, the examples from the rule of Basil, and what Gregory of Nyssa says respecting the education of Macrina.

Among both women and men, of whatever rank in society, it was regarded as the characteristic mark of those with whom Christianity was a serious concern of the heart, that they were much occupied with the study of the Bible; — as the examples of Monica and Nonna show. The rhetorical preacher who pronounced the funeral discourse on the younger Constantine, mentions it to his praise, that he constantly nourished his soul out of the sacred writings, and formed his life by their precepts.[1] This, perhaps, may be regarded as nothing more than empty eulogy; but it enables us, nevertheless, to see what was reckoned in this age as belonging to the qualities of a pious prince. When Pagans who were inquiring after the truth, found difficulties in the Christian doctrines, they did not repair at once, as a matter of course, to the clergy, but oftentimes to their friends among the Christian laity. These sought for a solution of the questions proposed to them, in the holy Scriptures; and when they met with difficulties there too hard for them to solve, Augustin invites them not so much to seek instruction from their spiritual guides, as to pray for light from above.[2] For those who were awakened by the public worship of God to more serious reflection on divine truth, or who were desirous of studying the Scriptures in a more quiet way, *rooms* were provided, and furnished with Bibles, in the galleries of the church (φροντιστήρια), to which they could retire for the purpose of reading and meditation.[3] Jerome complains of it as an evil that men and women all thought themselves competent to discourse, however deficient their knowledge, on the right interpretation of the sacred volume.[4]

That false conception of the priesthood, that false opposition of spiritual and secular things, formed undoubtedly the source from which proceeded also the opinion, that the Bible was a book intended only for clergymen and monks, a book open to them only. But the clergy were not the first to draw these conclusions, and to endeavor to hold back the laity from occupying themselves with the Bible. It was rather the latter, who themselves employed this distinction between the spiritual and the secular for the purpose of palliating a life wholly given to the world, and as a pretext for their neglect of the Bible. But distinguished church teachers, such as Chrysostom and Augustin, contended strenuously against this way of thinking. The former denominates the excuses: "I am a man of business; I am no monk; I have a wife and children and domestic concerns to attend to,"[5] cold and exceedingly censurable words; and maintained on the contrary, that just those persons who were in the midst of the storms of the world and exposed to its many tempta-

[1] Anonymi monod. in Constantin. jun. p. 7, ed. Morell. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ βίον ἐκόσμει καὶ ἦθος ἐῤῥύθμιζε.

[2] Ad ipsum Dominum pulsa orando, pete, insta. Sermo 105, § 3.

[3] Paulinus of Nola, ep. 321, T. I. p. 209.
Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.

[4] Sola scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes passim vindicant. Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant. Alii adducto supercilio grandia verba trutinantes, inter mulierculas de sacris literis philosophantur, alii discunt a feminis quod viros doceant. Ep. 53 ad Paulinum, § 5.

[5] Ἀνὴρ εἰμι βιωτικός· οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν, γραφὰς ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποταξαμένων.

tions, stood most of all in need of those means of preservation and safety which the holy Scriptures furnish — more even than those who led a life of silent retirement, far from all strife with the outward world.[1] Frequently, both in private conversation and in his public discourses, he exhorted his hearers not to rest satisfied with that which they heard read from the Scriptures in the church, but to read them also with their families at home;[2] for what food was for the body, such the holy Scriptures were for the soul, — the source whence it derived substantial strength.[3] To induce his hearers to study the Scriptures, he was often accustomed — when there was as yet no set lesson of the sacred word prescribed for every Sunday — to give out for some time beforehand the text which he designed to make a subject of discourse on some particular occasion, and to exhort them, in order that they might be better prepared for his remarks, in the mean time to reflect upon it themselves.[4] In like manner, Augustin says: "Do not allow yourselves to be so immersed in present, earthly things, as to be obliged to say, I have no time to read or to hear God's word."[5] Among the characters of the zealous Christian, whom he describes under the figure of the ant, as one that treasures up from the divine word that which he may have occasion to use in the time of need, he places the following: "He goes to church and listens to God's word; he returns home, finds a Bible there, and opens and reads it."[6] Often does Chrysostom trace the corruptions of the church, as well in doctrine, as in life, — the spread of error, and of vice, — to the prevailing ignorance of the Scriptures.[7]

The reading of the Bible, as a universal practice, must indeed first be made possible by the more general diffusion of spiritual culture, which also must proceed out of Christianity. Till this was brought about, two hindrances stood in the way of the general reading of the Bible; the fact that so few knew how to read, and the high price of manuscripts.[8]

In respect to this second hindrance, of poverty, which forbade the purchase of a Bible, Chrysostom reckoned it among those pretexts which would certainly give way to real earnestness and zeal about Christianity. "As many of the poorer class," said he, "are constantly making this excuse, that they have no Bibles, I would like to

[1] H. III. de Lazaro, T. I. f. 737.

[2] Καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκίας σπουδάζωμεν τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῶν θείων προσέχειν γραφῶν. Hom. XXIX. in Genes. § 2.

[3] Ὅπερ ἡ σωματικὴ τροφὴ πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἰσχύος, τοῦτο ἡ ἀνάγνωσις τῇ ψυχῇ γίνεται. L. c. T. IV. f. 281.

[4] This he describes as his method in the discourse on Lazarus, referred to in a preceding note. T. I. f. 737.

[5] Non mihi vacat legere. Non mihi vacat audire. In Psalm. 66, § 10.

[6] Audire sermonem, audire lectionem, invenire librum, aperire et legere. In Psalm. 66, § 3.

[7] E. g. Procem. in epist. ad Rom. T. IX. f. 426.

[8] Cyrill of Jerusalem adduces as a reason why all could not read the Bible, "ignorance and the pressure of business," οὐ πάντες δύνανται τὰς γραφὰς ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἰδιωτεία, τοὺς δὲ ἀσχολία τις ἐμποδίζει. Cateches. l. V. § 7. Augustin makes a distinction between the book of creation and the book of the sacred writings: In istis codicibus non ea legunt, nisi qui litteras noverunt, in toto mundo legat et idiota. In Psalm. 45 § 7. Augustin was in want of a Bible, when the desire first arose in his mind at Milan to become more accurately acquainted with the divine doctrines: Ubi ipsos codices quærimus? Unde aut quando comparamus? Confess. l. VI. § 18. A difficulty which, to be sure, he could easily surmount, when he was in right earnest about the matter.

ask them, can poverty, however great it may be, hinder a man when he does not possess, complete, all the tools of his trade? What, then! is it not singular that in this case he never thinks of laying the blame to his poverty, but does his best that it may not hinder him; while, on the other hand, in a case where he is to be so great a gainer, he complains of his poverty?"[1]

As to those who were prevented from studying the Scriptures themselves, the reading of the Scriptures in the church, as Chrysostom explains in the passage last referred to, and in other places, was to serve as a remedy for this want, for on these occasions not single passages merely, but entire sections and whole books of the Bible, were read in connection. Hence many who could not read had still been able, by a constant attendance at church, and by carefully listening to the portions read in each year, to treasure up in their memories a familiar knowledge of the sacred Scriptures.[2]

2. *Relation of Public Worship to Art. Church Buildings; their Embellishments; Images.*

The same law of Christian development which required that the abrupt opposition to the world characterizing the preceding period should give place to the Christian appropriation of the world, is to be applied also to the relation of Christianity to Art. But here, too, the danger threatened, of a confused intermingling of worldly with Christian elements, instead of a right appropriation of the former by struggle and by conquest; that the *artistic* principle, predominating over the *religious*, would cause the spiritual side to be overpowered by the sensuous. Yet the great teachers of the church in the fourth and fifth centuries were well aware of this danger, and did all they could do to avert it.

As, in the preceding period, the whole outward form of the church and of church life betokened a community persecuted and oppressed; so, in the present, the altered situation of this community manifested itself in its whole external appearance. The churches destroyed under the Diocletian persecution were again rebuilt in greater magnificence; the Christian emperors emulated each other in erecting splendid structures, and in embellishing and enriching them in every way. Wealthy and noble laymen followed their example; and the delusive notion insinuated itself, that, in so doing, men performed a work of peculiar merit, and of the highest service to religion. Many believed that by thus contributing to adorn the churches, by presenting them with costly vessels, mounted with gold, silver, and precious stones, they could atone for their sins. Hence Chrysostom felt himself constrained to say: "God forbid that we should believe it is enough for our salvation, if *we* rob widows and orphans, and present

[1] Hom. XI. in Johan. § 1, ed Montf. T. VIII. p. 72.

[2] As was done by Parthenius, afterwards bishop in Lampsacus, in whose youth, it is related, literarum imperitus, sanctarum autem scripturarum vel maxime valens memoria. See his life, which seems to be at least not without a genuine foundation. Acta Sanctorum mens. Febr. T. II. f. 38.

to the altar a golden chalice, set with precious stones! Wouldst thou honor the offering of Christ? Then present him thy own soul as an offering, for which he himself has offered up his life. Let this become a golden one; for the church is not a storehouse of gold and silver manufactures, but it is the community of angels; hence we ask for souls; for even this (donation made to the church) God accepts only for the sake of souls."[1] The pious and enlightened abbot, Isidorus of Pelusium, in a beautifully written letter, complains of his bishop that he superfluously decorated, with costly marbles, the outward structure of the church; whilst he persecuted the pious, and thus destroyed the true church consisting of the community of believers. He admonishes him to be careful, and distinguish between the church building and the church itself; the latter being composed of pure souls, the former of wood and stone.[2] In the time of the apostles, said he, church buildings did not as yet exist; but the church consisting of the communities was rich in the gifts of the Spirit. Now, the church structures were resplendent with marbles; but the church itself was barren of those gifts of the Spirit.[3]

Magnificent public buildings, already erected, and pagan temples, were also occasionally presented as gifts to the churches, and were consecrated and altered for the purposes of Christian worship. Yet it might well be that, in the provincial towns, especially of the East, the more simple places of assembly, which bore the impress of Christian antiquity, continued for a long time to form a striking contrast with the splendid church edifices in the large cities. Zeno, bishop of Verona (who lived after the middle of the fourth century),[4] labors to show, in one of his discourses, that the distinguishing mark of Christianity, as compared with Judaism and Paganism, could not consist in the beauty of its outward buildings, in which it was excelled by both those religions; but what constituted the peculiarity of Christianity, what it had in preference to both these religions, was the spiritual being of the church, the community of believers, God's true temple. The living God would have living temples. In this discourse he remarks, that no Christian churches were to be found, or at least but very few, which could be compared with the ruins of the neglected heathen temples.[5] Doubtless this language is not to be taken as literally true. We must make allowance for what should be attributed to rhetorical exaggeration, or explained as too general a conclusion from individual examples.

[1] Chrysost. in Matth. Hom. L. § 3. So also he says in his 80th homily on Matth., § 2: "Instead of presenting to the church splendid vessels, and expending large sums in ornamenting the walls and the grounds of the church, it would be better to provide first for the support of the poor." There were, on the other hand, to be sure, bishops like Theophilus of Alexandria (who hence bore the surname of λιθομανής), that were very willing to deprive the poor of what was their due, and expend it on the erection of splendid buildings.

[2] Ὅτι ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία καὶ ἄλλο ἐκκλησιαστήριον, ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀμώμων ψυχῶν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομεῖται.

[3] See lib. II. ep. 246.

[4] See above, p. 90.

[5] Lib. I. Tract XIV. Quod aut nullum aut perrarum est per omnem ecclesiam Dei orationis loci membrum, quod possit quavis ruina in se mergentibus idololatriæ ædibus nunc usque aliquatenus comparari.

The Christian churches were planned in general after the pattern of the temple at Jerusalem; and this threefold division was closely connected with the whole peculiar form of worship, as it had sprung out of the idea of a Christian priesthood corresponding to the Jewish, and of a New Testament sacrificial service corresponding to that of the Old Testament. The three parts were, *first*, the front court,[1] where all the unbaptized, Pagans, Jews, and Catechumens, could stand and hear the sermon and the reading of the Scriptures; the place assigned to all the unconsecrated; *next*, the proper temple, the place assigned to the community of laymen, believers and baptized persons:[2] *finally*, the sanctuary,[3] — the place appropriated to the offering of the New Testament sacrifices, and to the priests who presented them, and therefore separated by a veil[4] and railing[5] from the other parts of the church. Here stood the altar: here stood the θρόνος, the chair (cathedra) of the bishop; and in a semicircle around it were seats for the clergy. The clergy alone had the privilege of receiving the holy supper within the limits which separated the altar from the other parts of the church.[6]

The consecration of new churches was celebrated with great solemnity. It was a popular festival, which such bishops as Theodoret courteously invited even Pagans to attend; and the day of the year in which this consecration had been made, was likewise solemnized. The unevangelical notion which, like so many other errors of church life, grew out of the confusion of outward things with spiritual, was already becoming fixed, that by this consecration the churches acquired a peculiar sanctity of their own; although, as may be gathered from what has already been said, an evangelical tendency of spirit which placed the essence of the church rather in the communion of hearts, and derived all true consecration and holiness solely from the direction of the Spirit, opposed itself to this error. Chrysostom says the church is fellowship, not wall and roof, but faith and life.[7] He represents the benefit of prayer in the church to consist, not in *the holiness of the place*, but in the *elevation of the feelings by Christian communion*, by *the bond of love*.[8] But how powerfully the tendency

[1] Πρόναος, *νάρθηξ*, ferula, so called from its oblong form.

[2] The *νάος*, the *ἱερὸν* in the more restricted sense of the term; called from its shape *ἡ ναῦς* or navis ecclesiæ (the nave), where also was the chancel, from which the holy Scriptures were read, and occasionally the sermon was delivered (*ἄμβων*, pulpitum, suggestus). Usage was not always alike in this respect. Sometimes the sermon was preached from the steps of the altar, sometimes from the tribune, *βῆμα*, or exedra of the bishop.

[3] Τὰ *ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων*, τὰ *ἄδυτα*, sanctuarium, *βῆμα* metonymice.

[4] Ἀμφίθυρα.

[5] Κιγκλίδες, cancelli.

[6] As in this distinction of the clergy is exhibited the false notion of the priesthood, so the Byzantine spirit, which tended to drag into the church even the distinctions of worldly rank, is betrayed in the circumstance that an exception was made in this case with regard to the emperors, who were also permitted to take their place within the limits of the sanctuary. Ambrose is reported to have been the first to make a change in this respect, with the approbation of the emperor Theodosius: he assigned the latter a place at the head of the church, immediately in front of the limits (*πρὸ τῶν ὀρυφάκτων*). Sozom. hist. eccles. VII. 25.

[7] Ἐκκλησία *συστήματος καὶ συνόδου ἐστὶν ὄνομα*. In Psalm. 149, T. V. f. 498. *ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐ τοίχος καὶ ὄροφος, ἀλλὰ πίστις καὶ βίος*. Sermo in Eutrop. T. III. f. 386.

[8] Ἐνταῦθά *ἐστί τι πλέον, οἷον ἡ ὁμόνοια, καὶ ἡ συμφωνία, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ σύνδεσμος*. It is true, he adds, on the false principle

to magnify the outward acted upon the spirit of the age, is shown in the example of those great men, who, while contending against this very tendency, yet in particular instances did not escape its influence. Thus Chrysostom, for example, in order to show the superiority of the church to the temple of the Old Testament, mentioned, among other things, the higher virtue of the sacred lamp in the church, compared to that in the temple; since, by the oil of the former, miraculous cures had been wrought by those who used it in the exercise of true faith.[1] It was charged as a high misdemeanor on Athanasius, that on the Easter festival he had assembled the community, whom the other churches had not room enough to accommodate, in a large edifice recently founded by the emperor Constantine, before it had been consecrated according to the usual form. Prayer and worship, it was alleged, ought never to be offered on any unconsecrated spot. Athanasius met his accusers with the words of our Lord, that he who would pray should shut himself in his chamber: no place therefore was, in itself considered, too profane for prayer.[2]

As it regards the external representations of religious objects, it is necessary to distinguish here, from other images, the symbol of the cross, which, as the sign of the victory of Christ over the kingdom of evil, the token of redemption, was already, in the first centuries, especially dear to Christians. As the Christian's whole life, in sorrow and in joy, should be passed with one constant reference to the redemption, and sanctified thereby; so the symbol which represented this one thing to the Christian consciousness, was employed in every transaction, whether domestic or ecclesiastical. But even here that tendency found entrance, which suffered men to forget the inward in the outward, or to exchange the one for the other, and thus men fell into a superstitious veneration of the symbol itself. The cross, hitherto simple and destitute of all ornaments, was now gorgeously decorated, as the altered condition of the church was thought to require, with gold, pearls, and precious stones. The universal use of this symbol is thus described by Chrysostom: "The sign of universal execration, the sign of extremest punishment, has now become the

of the priesthood, by which he too was fettered: *καὶ αἱ τῶν ἱερέων ἐνχαί.* De incomprehensibili, § 6, T. I. f. 469.

[1] Hom. XXXII. in Matth. § 6. *Ἴσασιν ὅσοι μετὰ πίστεως καὶ εὐκαίρως ἐλαίῳ χρισάμενοι νοσήματα ἔλυσαν.*

[2] Athanas. apologia ad Constantium, § 17. To what profanation of holy things that superstitious reverence for the external signs of the holy was capable of leading, this example may show. Two bishops in Lybia, about the year 420, were engaged in a quarrel about the possession of a place, which may have been of some importance as a fortified place of refuge from the incursions of the barbarians. To secure this spot for his church, one of them resorted to the following stratagem. He pressed his way in by force, caused an altar to be brought, and consecrated upon it the sacrament of the supper. Now in the opinion of the superstitious multitude, the whole place was consecrated, and could no longer be used for any ordinary purpose of social life. Very justly was it remarked by the bishop Synesius, complaining of this transaction to Theophilus, patriarch of Constantinople, that in this way the holiest ordinances could be abused for the accomplishment of the vilest purposes. He said it was not the manner of Christianity, to exhibit the divine as a thing which could be charmed with magical necessity by certain formulas of consecration; but as something that had its dwelling in the pure and godlike temper of mind: *Ὥστε παρεῖναι ταῖς ἀπαθέσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκείαις τῷ θεῷ διαθέσεσιν.* Synes. ep. 67 ad Theophilum.

object of universal longing and love. We see it everywhere triumphant: we find it in houses, on the roofs and the walls;[1] in cities and villages; on the market-place, the great roads and in deserts; on mountains and in valleys; on the sea, on ships; on books and on weapons; on wearing apparel, in the marriage chamber, at banquets, on vessels of gold and of silver, in pearls, in pictures on the walls, on beds; on the bodies of brute animals that are diseased;[2] on the bodies of those possessed by evil spirits;[3] in the dances of those going to pleasure, and in the associations of those that mortify their bodies."[4] Men like Augustin denounced the mere mechanical practice of making the sign of the cross, and, on the other hand, gave prominence to that which it was designed to indicate, the inward bent of the affections, to that which should have a living existence in the temper of the heart. The sign of the cross was to remind believers of the nature of the Christian calling, of their destination to suffer for the cause of God, and through sufferings to follow Christ to glory. God wanted not such as described this sign on their foreheads, but such as practiced what this sign denoted in their daily lives, — such as bore the imitation of Christ's humility in their hearts.[5]

On the other hand, the tendency to avoid with care every approach to Paganism, which was so noticeable in the preceding period, continued, in the first times of this period, to oppose the artistic use of human figures in connection with religion. But as Christianity gradually pressed its way into popular and domestic life, the cases must continually become more frequent, where, in place of the objects of pagan worship, those would be substituted which were dear to the faith and feelings of Christians. Besides this, a change had now taken place in the views and in the taste of the Christians. Those who, at an earlier period, had shrunk from the outward splendor of religion as savoring of Paganism, as opposed to the idea, so often mentioned, of Christ's appearance in the form of a servant, were, by the altered condition of the church, led rather to wish to see Christianity emblazoned by external pomp; and the conversion of many was of such a kind, that in truth their tendency to materialism in religion merely took another shape and turn. They would fain have, in Christianity

[1] Also on windows, — Hom. LIV. in Matth. § 4. Ἐπὶ τῶν θυρίδων; pavements too were laid with signs of the cross; a practice forbidden by the second Trullan council, 691, c. 73.

[2] See above, p. 13, n. 4, the narration of the rhetorician Severus.

[3] It being the intention to expel the evil spirit by the power of the cross.

[4] See the homily on Christ's divinity, § 9, T. I. f. 571. We frequently find it mentioned also, that Christians wore *the sign of the cross on their foreheads*, effingere crucem in fronte, ἐκτυποῦν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ, portare crucem in fronte; and, in several places, we are to understand by it, or at least may without hazard understand by it, that they frequently made the sign of the cross with the finger on their foreheads. But there are also several places where this explanation does not suffice, and which perhaps can be understood in no other sense, than that Christians actually imprinted in some way or other, or hung the sign of the cross on their foreheads. Augustin. in Psalm. 73, § 6. Jam in frontibus regum pretiosius est signum crucis, quam gemma diadematis. In Ps. 32, Sermo 2, § 13, compared with what Chrysostom says, Exposit. in Ps. 109, § 6, T. V. f. 259. Πάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τὸν σταυρὸν περιφέρομεν, οὐ μὲν ἰδιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τὰ διαδήματα περικείμενοι ὑπὲρ τὰ διαδήματα αὐτὸν βαστάζουσι.

[5] Augustin. S. 302, § 3; S. 32, § 13.

too, a religion presented under images of sense. This tendency, the imperial family of the Constantines certainly had to a remarkable degree, and in many things they gave the tone to others. As a substitute for the remains of old pagan art, Constantine lavished on the public monuments with which he embellished the new imperial city, the representations of religious objects taken from the circle of the Old and New Testaments; as, for example, Daniel in the lion's den, Christ under the image of the Good Shepherd.[1] The sister of this emperor, Constantia, the widow of Licinius, petitioned the bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea for a figure of Christ.

It was not the church teachers, then, nor the leaders and heads of the communities, but the great mass of the Christians, with whom we reckon also the lofty ones of the earth, that introduced the use of religious images. At Rome, the names of the Apostles Peter and Paul being often coupled together as martyrs, and the memory of both celebrated on the same day, it came about, that the figure of Christ, attended by these two apostles, was painted on the walls; a fact by which many of the heathen were misled to suppose that Paul had been chosen among the apostles by Christ during his earthly lifetime.[2] Images of martyrs, venerated monks,[3] and bishops, were dispersed far and wide. The Antiochians had the likeness of their deceased bishop Meletius engraven on their signets, and painted on cups, goblets, and on the walls of their chambers.[4] The figure of Abraham offering up Isaac was a favorite subject of Christian art.[5] Among the rich and noble men and women in the large cities of the Byzantine empire, Christianity was affected even in the mode of dress. When it was the fashion for men and women of rank to wear garments on which the whole representation of a chase was embroidered in gold and silver threads, they who made pretensions to piety, on the other hand, chose the representation of the marriage feast at Cana; of the man sick of the palsy, who took up his bed and walked; of the blind man restored to sight; of the woman with the issue of blood; of the Magdalene who embraced the feet of Jesus; of the resurrection of Lazarus. Bedizened with such figures, they supposed — as Asterius, bishop of Amasea, in Pontus, in the last half of the fourth century, asserts — that their dress must be well approved in the sight of God.[6] This excellent church teacher advises them rather to dispose of such garments for as much as they would bring, and use the avails to honor the *living* images of God: instead of carrying about the sick of the palsy on their garments, rather to look up the actually sick and relieve them; instead of wearing on their bodies a kneeling penitent in embroidery, rather to mourn over their own sins with a penitent spirit.

[1] Euseb. de v. C. III. 49.

[2] Christus simul cum Petro et Paulo in pictis parietibus. Augustin. de consensu Evangelistarum, l. I. § 16.

[3] As for example, Simeon the Stylite. See above, p. 293.

[4] Chrysostom. Homil. in Meletium, T. II. f. 519.

[5] See Gregor. Nyss. orat. in Abrah. T. III. opp. Paris. 1638, f. 476. Comp. Augustin. c. Faustum. l. 22, c. 73, tot locis pictum.

[6] Asterius de divite et Lazaro: Ταῦτα ποιοῦντες εὐσεβεῖν νομίζουσιν, καὶ ἱμάτια κεχαρισμένα τῷ θεῷ ἀμφιέννυσθαι.

At the same time we should take pains to distinguish the different points of view from which men took their departure, in their judgments on the subject of images. If church teachers opposed the use of images in the church because they feared the abuse of an idolatrous veneration,—the predominance of the sensuous element; if they had *special* grounds of objection against the *images of Christ*,—yet we are not warranted for these reasons to conclude that they condemned, in general, *all* representations of religious objects.

Against images of Christ in particular, there might be the more decided opposition, inasmuch as the whole tradition of the church witnessed that no genuine likeness of Christ existed: in fact, the very reason why men resorted so much to symbolical and parabolical representations, in reference to the Saviour and his work, was, that they were conscious of possessing no genuine image of his person.

The strongest to declare himself against images, was Eusebius of Cæsarea, in his letter in reply to Constantia's request for an image of Christ.[1] On the other hand, we observe, still manifesting itself in Eusebius, that aversion to images which was closely connected with the more ancient Christian view of Christ's appearance, and with that sterner opposition to everything bordering on Paganism; not less, too, the by no means ungrounded anxiety, lest the devotion of the princess, taking too sensuous a direction, might be turned wholly aside from the essence of Christianity: on the other hand, along with these common traits of Christianity, we see a great deal besides, derived from the peculiar notions in Origen's system of faith, which Eusebius was inclined to favor. "What do you understand, may I ask, by an image of Christ?" says Eusebius. "You can surely mean nothing else but a representation of the earthly form of a servant, which, for man's sake, he for a short time assumed. Even when, *in this*, his divine majesty beamed forth at the transfiguration, his disciples were unable to bear the sight of such glory; but now the figure of Christ is become wholly deified and spiritualized,—transfigured into a form analogous to his divine nature.[2] Who, then, has power to draw the image of such a glory, exalted above every earthly form? Who, to represent in lifeless colors the splendor which radiates from such transcendent majesty?[3] Or could you be satisfied with such an image as the Pagans made of their gods and heroes, which bore no resemblance to the thing represented? But if you are not seeking for an image of the transfigured godlike form; but for one of the earthly, mortal body, so as it was constituted before this change, you must have forgotten those passages in the Old Testament, which forbid us to make any image of that which is in the heavens above or on the earth beneath. Where have you ever seen any such in the church, or heard of their being there from others? Have not such things

[1] See the preceding page.

[2] Πῶς δὲ τῆς οὕτω θαυμαστῆς καὶ ἀλήπτου μορφῆς, εἴγε χρὴ μορφὴν ἔτι καλεῖν τὴν ἔνθεον καὶ νοερὰν οὐσίαν, εἰκόνα τίς ζωγραφήσειεν; We recognize the Origenist. Comp, vol. I. sect. 4, p. 633. Τῆς τοῦ δούλου μορφῆς τὸ εἶδος εἰς τὴν τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ θεοῦ δόξαν μετεσκευάσατο.

[3] Τίς οὖν τῆς τοσούτης ἀξίας τε καὶ δόξης τὰς ἀποστιλβούσας καὶ ἀπαστραπτούσας μαρμαρυγὰς ὁιός τε ἂν εἴη καταχαράξαι νεκροῖς καὶ ἀψύχοις χρώμασι καὶ σκιογραφίαις;

(images, therefore, of religious objects) been banished far from the churches over the world?"[1] He said he once saw in a woman's possession, two figures of men in the garb of philosophers, which she pretended were Christ and Paul. But he made her give them up, lest some scandal might result from them either to herself or to others; lest it might seem that the Christians, like idolaters, carried about their God in an image.[2] Paul, he observed, exhorts all Christians to cleave no longer to the things of sense,[3] saying: "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him thus no longer." The godless sect of the Simonians had an image of Simon Magus; and he himself had seen among the Manicheans a figure of Mani. "But we," he concludes, "who confess that our Lord is God,—we must let the whole longing of our hearts be directed to the intuition of him in his divine character; we must therefore cleanse our hearts with all earnestness, since none but the pure in heart can see God. Still, should any one be anxious to see an image of the Saviour, before beholding him face to face, what better could he have, than that which he himself has drawn in the sacred writings?"[4] Thus, a truer image of Christ could be found in the exhibition of his life, as recorded in the gospel history, than in the representation of his bodily form. The manner in which Eusebius speaks, in his church history, concerning the busts of Christ which it was said the woman cured of the issue of blood at Cæsarea Philippi had made, as a memorial of her gratitude to Christ; and the manner in which he there speaks of other ancient images of Christ and of Paul, perfectly accord with the views expressed by him in the present letter: for, in this latter passage also, he considers it as a *pagan* way of expressing reverence to the benefactors of mankind.[5]

In respect to Asterius, his polemical attacks were directed, as may be gathered from the passages already cited, not so much against the use of religious images generally, as against that pomp and display, which, to the injury of active Christian charity, followed in its train. Yet even he expressed his disapprobation on the same grounds with Eusebius, particularly of images to represent Christ; and maintained that men ought not to renew and multiply the servant-form which Christ once, during the days of his flesh, voluntarily assumed for the salvation of mankind. "Bear," said he, "the Logos, who is a spirit, in a spiritual manner, within your souls."[6] But although As-

[1] Οὐχὶ δὲ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξώρισται καὶ πόρρω τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πεφυγάδευται τὰ τοιαῦτα;

[2] Ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν δίκην εἰδωλολατρούντων τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐν εἰκόνι περιφέρειν.

[3] Παύλου τε ἀκούω πάντας ἡμᾶς παιδεύοντος, μήκετι τοῖς σαρκικοῖς προσανέχειν.

[4] A fragment of this letter is preserved among the transactions of the council of Iconoclasts at Constantinople, A. D. 754; and from these it has been adopted into the sixth action of the seventh œcumenical council, or of the second council of Nice, A. D. 787. More of it has been published by Boivin in the remarks on the second volume of Nicephorus Gregoras, f. 795.

[5] Ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἷα σωτῆρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τούτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον. Euseb. h. e. VII. c. 18.

[6] Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ μία τῆς ἐνσωματώσεως ταπεινοφροσύνη, ἣν αὐθαιρέτως δι' ἡμᾶς κατεδέξατο. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς σου βαστάζων νοητῶς τὸν ἀσώματον λόγον περίφερε. Respecting the connection of these views with the peculiar form of his system of faith, see below in the fourth section.

terius thus declared himself against the images of Christ, he could nevertheless approve of the pictures of suffering martyrs, and speak with lively interest of the impression which a picture of this sort had made on himself.[1]

But in the tendency which objected to images of Christ we may discern a certain one-sideness, a preponderant inclination to the side of idealism or intellectualism, which did not sufficiently recognize the significance of the purely human in Christ. Such a tendency, when pushed to an extreme against which the Christian heart must revolt, would only serve to promote the general introduction of that which it strove to suppress.

In the same sense in which Asterius spoke against those who were in the habit of displaying on their dress the representation of sacred stories, as a mark of piety, — in this same sense another church-teacher, near the close of the fourth century,—Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium in Phrygia, — rebuked those whose piety consisted in multiplying dead images of the saints, instead of copying their example in the practice of Christian virtues.[2] Thus, too, Chrysostom agrees with Eusebius in disclaiming all knowledge of a sensuous image of Christ, but ever speaking of Christ's moral image alone, in the copying of his holy walk, or pointing away to the intuition of Christ glorified in the eternal life. In respect to the former he remarks: "Teach the soul to form a mouth which is like the mouth of Christ; for she can form such a one if she will. And how is this to be done? By what colors? By what materials? By no colors, no materials; but only by virtue, by meekness, and humility. How many are there amongst us who wish to see his form? Behold, we can not only see him, but also be like him, if we are really in earnest.[3] And with regard to the latter he says, after having spoken of the majesty of Christ's appearance: "Perhaps you are now seized with the desire of beholding that image. But if we *will*, we may see a far better one."[4] The same spirit is manifest also in Augustin, as when he says: "Let us hear the gospel with such a mind, as if we saw the Lord present before us; and let us not say to ourselves, 'Blessed are they who could see him;' since many among those who saw him have perished; but many among us who have not seen him, believe on him. The Lord is above; but here, too, in the very midst of us, is the Lord of truth."[5]

In the course of the fourth century, men began, by degrees, to decorate the churches also with images, — a practice, however, which did not become general until near the close of this century.[6] Men of

[1] See his discourse on the martyrdom of Euphemia.

[2] Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς πίναξι τὰ σαρκικὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων διὰ χρωμάτων ἐπιμελὲς ἡμῖν ἐντυποῦν, ὅτι οὐ χρῆζομεν τούτων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκμιμεῖσθαι. See this fragment in the VI. act. of the second Nicene council.

[3] In Matth. H. LXXVIII. vel LXXIX. § 4.

[4] In Matth. H. XXVII. vel XXVIII. § 2.

[5] In Evang. Joh. Tract. 30, § 4.

[6] In the sermons delivered by Chrysostom at Constantinople, as well as at Antioch, there is not to be found — though he frequently alludes in his figures, metaphors, and comparisons, to the manners and customs of his time — any reference to images in the churches. Montfaucon, indeed, supposed that he found such an allusion in the H. X. Ephes. § 2, but wrongly; for, in this place, Chrysostom is speaking not of the visible, but of the invisible

wealth and rank who founded churches wished them to be set out with all the embellishments of art, and so, too, with the rich ornament of pictures; and, in particular, the churches dedicated to the memory of martyrs were adorned with the representations of their sufferings, and with pictures from the historical parts of the Old and New Testaments. When, on the festivals of the martyrs, great multitudes of the people flocked to these churches, these paintings were to serve the purpose of entertaining, touching, edifying, and instructing the rude and ignorant, who could not be instructed and edified by means of books.[1] Still, many influential voices were heard objecting to the superfluity of picture ornaments; and others, against the use of them at all in the churches. A respectable man at Constantinople, who wished to erect a church in memory of the martyrs, conceived the plan of ornamenting it with various pictures from nature, which, perhaps, were to have some symbolical meaning, and also with many signs of the cross. But the pious monk Nilus, a worthy disciple of Chrysostom, to whom he communicated his design, advised him to be sparing of picture ornaments: it was a childish thing, said he, to dissipate the eyes and attention of the faithful by such objects.[2] Instead of this, he should erect in the sanctuary, and in each compartment of the nave of the church, a single cross, and decorate the church with paintings of stories from the Old and New Testaments; so that those who could not read the sacred Scriptures themselves might be reminded, by looking at the paintings, of those examples of piety, and thus excited to imitate them. He ought to abstain from all superfluities, and seek rather, by fervent prayer, by steadfast faith, by invincible hope in God, by alms, humility, *study of the* holy Scriptures, compassion towards his fellow-men, kindness to *servants*, and observance of all the commandments of the Lord, to adorn and preserve himself and all his family.[3] When the aged bishop, Epiphanius of Salamis or Constantia in the isle of Cyprus, in making a visit to Jerusalem, came to a church in one of the neighboring villages, and there found on a curtain a human image, whether it was of some representation of Christ or of a saint, he immediately rent the cloth, expressing great indignation. It was contrary, said he, to the authority of holy Scripture, that the image of a man should be hung up in a Christian church.[4] The cloth would be in better use to shroud the body of some poor man. This arbitrary proceeding having excited dissatisfaction, after his return he sent to the parish priest of the church another curtain, to replace the one he had torn down, and called upon the bishop John of Jerusalem to see to it that for the future no such church-hangings, so contradictory to the Christian

church, — of the pillars in this according to a spiritual sense; and in truth he there compares the invisible church, not with a splendid *church edifice*, in which case unquestionably we should find an allusion here to images in the churches, but with the palace of a lord, which is ornamented with columns and statues.

[1] See Paulinus of Nola, carmen IX. et X. de S. Felicis natali.

[2] Νηπιῶδες καὶ βρεφοπρεπὲς, τὸ τοῖς προλεχθεῖσιν περιπλανῆσαι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῶν πιστῶν.

[3] Nil. l. IV. ep. 61.

[4] Detestatus in ecclesia Christi, contra auctoritatem scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem.

religion, should be used.[1] We see in this the pious, indeed, but impatient and narrow zeal which characterized this man generally. Had he better understood the spirit of the Old Testament command, and been capable of duly distinguishing from each other the Old and the New Testament economies, he would not have been so greatly excited by what he saw. Still, however, it was the way of thinking of the ancient church, which he followed out in this case; and at all events it is to be remarked that it was not the *principle*, as it seems, on which he proceeded here, but simply his arbitrary *mode* of proceeding, which excited opposition.[2] But, without much question, this zeal of pious men is justified, when we reflect how easily the prevailing spirit of piety, which was directed on sensible and outward things, might betray the rude multitude, who were to be gradually weaned from Paganism, to the superstitious veneration of images; especially, as the excessive reverence paid to saints would soon be transferred also to their pictures, and as reports of the marvelous effects produced by their images, which men were accustomed to regard with peculiar veneration, as also by the reliques of the saints, soon became widely spread.

Augustin, as early as the last times of the fourth century, was forced to complain of the fact that many worshippers of images were to be found among the rude Christian multitude,[3] — which worship of images the Manicheans laid as a reproach against the whole church; but he reckoned those image-worshippers as belonging to the great mass of nominal Christians to whom the essence of Christianity was unknown.[4]

In the Western church this moderate tendency, between unconditional opposition to images and image worship, maintained itself till

[1] Quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt. See ep. 51, Hieronym. ejusd. opera, ed. Vallarsi, T. I. f. 254.

[2] The council of the Inconoclasts at Constantinople cited several writings of Epiphanius against images, in which he maintained that they ought to be used neither in the church, nor at the cemeteries of the martyrs, nor in private dwellings; but the genuineness of these pieces is extremely liable to suspicion. As well the enemies as the friends of images indulged themselves in fabricating writings under ancient venerated names, in favor of their respective principles. The friends of images appealed to the fact that these writings, ascribed to Epiphanius, had remained hitherto unknown to everybody. And though this cannot be considered a decisive proof against their genuineness, yet these fragments bear on their face many marks of having been fabricated. The first cited words of Epiphanius (Concil. Nic. II. actio VI. Concil. ed. Harduin. T. IV. f. 390) correspond, in fact, too nearly with the ordinary modes of expression among the enemies of images in the period. Next occurs a letter of Epiphanius to the emperor Theodosius, f. 391, in which he writes to him, that he had often called on his colleagues to abolish the images, but they would not listen a moment to his representations. It is hardly probable, however, that at this early period Epiphanius would have found any occasion for resorting to the authority of an emperor against the images; and this very incident with John, bishop of Jerusalem, renders it improbable that Epiphanius, in his declarations against the images, could have found at that time so violent a resistance. It should rather seem that the enemies of images in the eighth century fabricated, in this case also, occurrences of an earlier period, corresponding to what was done in their own time. Probably that single incident in the life of Epiphanius which has been related, was the occasion of such writings being forged in his name.

[3] Novi multos esse picturarum adoratores. De moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ. l. I. § 75.

[4] Professores nominis Christiani nec professionis suæ vim aut scientes aut exhibentes.

late into the following period; as we see, for example, in the case of the Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, with whom we shall begin the next following period.

But the spirit of the East could not so easily preserve the right mean, and already, in the Oriental church, not only did the *multitude* pass over from the use of images to the worship of them, but even the church teachers suffered themselves to be carried along by the prevailing spirit, and sought to defend their course on scientific grounds. In the course of the sixth century, it was already a ruling custom in the Greek church for persons to prostrate themselves before images as a token of reverence to those represented by them (the προσκύνησις). Already did the Jews lay hold of this prevailing worship of images to accuse the Christians of apostasy from the divine law, which forbade the use of images in religion, and of idolatry. Leontius, bishop of Neapolis, in the isle of Cyprus, who, near the end of the sixth century, wrote an apology for Christianity and for the Christian church, against the accusations of the Jews, was forced already to pay particular attention to these charges. What remains to us of this writing[1] is of importance, as giving us information respecting the character of the veneration paid to images in this period, and respecting the light in which this practice was regarded by those who expressed with consciousness the prevailing spirit of the times.

It is to be seen that figures representing Christ, the apostles, the martyrs and other saints existed to a wide extent, and that people were in the habit of prostrating themselves before such figures. But, instead of representations of Christ on the cross, which were repulsive to a certain æsthetic sense of propriety, it was customary to follow the ancient practice, and to use only the symbol of the cross as a memorial of Christ's passion.

Leontius maintains, against the Jews, that the Mosaic law was not directed unconditionally against all devotional use of images, but only against the idolatrous use of them; since, in fact, the tabernacle and the temple both had their images. But from the idolatrous adoration of images, the Christians were assuredly far removed. They showed, in the symbol of the cross, their love and reverence towards Christ, who was represented by it, in accordance with a principle grounded in human nature. "As affectionate children, whose father is on a journey, if they do but see his coat, his chair, or his mantle in the house, embrace every such article and kiss it with tears," says he, "so, too, we believers, out of our transcendent love to Christ, reverence everything which he did but touch, and for this reason we represent the symbol of his passion in churches, in houses and shops, in the market-place, on the articles of clothing; so that we may have it constantly before our eyes, and may be reminded of it, and not forget it, as the Jews have forgotten their God." He argues that in the Old Testament the ceremony of prostration sometimes occurs as a mark of respect even to men, and therefore could not by any means imply the no-

[1] The fragments in the fourth action of the second Nicene council. Harduin Concil. T. IV. f. 194.

tion of idolatry. He refers to the cures said to have been wrought on energumens by means of images; to the sudden conversions wrought by the sight of images, — as evidence of the virtue residing in them, — that, "in almost every part of the world, abandoned men, murderers, robbers, profligates, idolaters, were every day, by the sight of the cross, awakened to conviction, and not only so, but led to renounce the world and practice every virtue." We cannot doubt that what Leontius here says, though rhetorically overwrought, is yet drawn from the life, and that impressions which had really been produced, in certain mental conditions, by the sight of the images, lie at the foundation of his representation. If the images could operate thus upon the emotional nature, it is explained how the feelings so powerfully excited became exaggerated into image worship. And thence also arose the stories of miracles wrought by the images, the stories of images from which blood had been seen to trickle. Such facts, also, Leontius adduces, in defending the worship of images, and he calls those persons fools, who set down these narrations as fables.[1] Summing all together, he says: "The images are not our gods; but they are the images of Christ and his saints, which exist and are venerated in remembrance and in honor of these, and as ornaments of the churches.[2] Image worship was promoted by those stories of the miraculous origin of the images of Christ, already current in the sixth century, as it was believed that such an one, miraculously produced by Christ himself, and sent by him to king Abgarus, was preserved at Edessa.[3] And such traditions show what value the images had already come to have for religious feeling. Yet, even in this century, there are still to be found the vestiges of an opposition, growing out of the purely Christian spirit, against the spreading superstition. The respectable Monophysite church teacher, Xenayas, or Philoxenos, bishop of Hierapolis, in Syria, in the early times of the sixth century, decidedly opposed the representations of angels in the human form, and the representation of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove; doubtless led to it by the rude sensuous notions which were attached to these symbols. He said men should not think they honored Christ through the images of Christ; no worship was pleasing to him but the worship in spirit and in truth. All such images he removed from the churches.[4]

We now proceed to consider the seasons for divine worship and the festivals.

3. *Seasons for holding Divine Worship and Festivals.*

As we remarked in the introduction to this section, the Christian idea of divine worship as a thing which was not to be confined to any particular time or place, had not, as yet, become wholly obscured by

[1] Πολλάκις αἱμάτων ῥύσεις ἐξ εἰκόνων γεγόνασι.

[2] Πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἐκκλησιῶν προκείμενα καὶ προσκυνούμενα.

[3] Θεότευκτος εἰκών. Evagr hist. eccles. l. IV. c. 27.

[4] So relates the Monophysite historian, John the Schismatic (Ἰωάννης ὁ διακρινόμενος), in his church history, from which a fragment has been preserved in the fifth action of the second Nicene council. Harduin. Concil. IV. f. 306.

the predominant Jewish element. It gleams out, occasionally, in the language employed by distinguished church teachers when they speak of the feasts. Thus Jerome asserts,[1] that, considered from the purely Christian point of view, all days are alike: every day is for the Christian a Friday, to be consecrated by the remembrance of Christ crucified; every day a Sunday, since on every day he could solemnize, in the communion, the fellowship with the risen Christ. But festivals and meetings for divine worship, at stated seasons, were instituted for the good of those who were not yet capable of rising to this position, who were not yet so minded or so disciplined as, every day of their life, before engaging in the business of the world, to offer God the sacrifice of prayer. Chrysostom delivered a discourse on the day of Pentecost, at Antioch, in which he showed that those who never attended church, except on the principal festivals, adopted the Jewish point of view; that, on the other hand, the Christian celebration of festivals was not necessarily restricted to certain times, but embraced the whole life grounded in faith; and that this was so, he endeavored to demonstrate from the nature and design of the principal Christian festivals. "Our first feast," said he, "is the feast of Christ's appearance, (the Epiphany, τὰ ἐπιφάνια). What, then, is the object of this feast? To show that God appeared on earth and dwelt with men; that the only-begotten son of God was with us. *But he is ever with us.* We may, then, every day, celebrate the feast of Christ's appearance. What is the meaning of the feast of the passover? We then announce the Lord's death. But this, too, we do not signify merely at one stated season; for, when Paul would free us from being confined to stated times, he showed that it was possible continually to celebrate the passover, and said, 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death.' And what is the import of the feast of Pentecost? That the Spirit has visited us. Now as *Christ* is ever with us, so the Holy Spirit, too, is ever with us: we may, then, continually celebrate also the feast of Pentecost."[2] In like manner, the church historian Socrates, remarks, that Christ and the apostles, conformably to Christian freedom, gave no law respecting feasts, but left everything open here to the free expression of the feelings. The diversity that existed in the celebration of festivals among the Christian churches of different countries, he traces to this very fact, — that everything here had, from the beginning, with perfect freedom and by slow degrees, spontaneously shaped itself after different ways.[3] In the principle lying at the basis of the state laws on this point, and from which many of the arrangements of the Roman church proceeded, we no longer recognize this more liberal way of regarding the subject.

The reference to Christ crucified, arisen and glorified, continued to be, as in the preceding period, the central point of the weekly and of the yearly festivals and fast-days. The celebration of the *dies*

[1] L. II. ep. ad Galat. c. IV. ed. Martianay, T. IV. f. 272; ed. Vallarsi, T. VII. 1. p. 457.

[2] In Pentecost. Hom. I. § 1, T. II. f. 458.

[3] Socrat. V. 22.

stationum, of Wednesday and of Friday, respecting the origin of which we have spoken in the preceding period, passed over into this, but was observed only in several of the churches, and in these not after the same manner. Socrates mentions it as a peculiarity of the Alexandrian church, that, on *Wednesday* and on *Friday*,[1] the holy Scriptures were there read in the church and expounded by homilies; and in general the whole service conducted as on Sunday, the celebration of the communion excepted. This custom probably vanished by degrees in most of the churches;[2] only *Friday* continued to be consecrated to the memory of Christ's passion. The emperor Constantine, as Sozomen relates,[3] enacted a law, that on *Friday* as on Sunday, there should be a suspension of business at the courts, and in other civil offices, so that the day might be devoted with less interruption to the purposes of devotion.[4] At Antioch the communion was celebrated on Friday, as well as on Sunday.[5] Also at Constantinople, Friday was observed by the more serious Christians, as a day of penitence and fasting, consecrated to the memory of Christ's passion;[6] and the sacrament of the supper was distributed. It is true, the great mass of the citizens took no concern in it; as we learn from a discourse of Chrysostom's,[7] complaining of the people, because, while *he*, with a few who had met with him, were rendering thanks to God, on a Friday, for deliverance from threatening famine, most of them had flocked to the public games of the circus.

We noticed, in the preceding period, the origin of the difference which prevailed as to the celebration of the Sabbath. The custom, derived from the Jews, of paying a certain respect to the Sabbath, still continued to be handed down in the *Oriental* communities.[8] In several of the Eastern churches, the Sabbath was celebrated nearly after the same manner as Sunday. Church assemblies were held, sermons delivered, and the communion celebrated on this day.[9] The

[1] On the τετρὰς and on the παρασκευή. Respecting the service which was held at Alexandria on Friday morning, see Athanas. hist. Arianor. ad. monachos, § 81. σύναξις τῇ παρασκευῇ.

[2] Yet Epiphanius, in his exposit. fid. cathol. c. 22, still mentions fasting on the τετρὰς and on the προσάββατον as a universal custom of the church. Also in the churches of Milan, it seems to have been the custom to assemble on these days about noon, sing together, and partake of the communion, and with this terminated the fast. Ambros. expositio in Psalm. 118, § 48, in case we are to understand the plerique dies in this passage, as we probably should, to refer to the dies stationum. According to Epiphanius, these assemblies convened about three o'clock in the afternoon.

[3] Soz. I. 8.

[4] This may have stood in the law, which has not been preserved to our times, by which Constantine ordered this in respect to Sunday already before the year 321. See cod. Theodos. l. II. Tit. 8. l. I.

[5] See Chrysostom. Hom. V. in epist. I ad Timoth. § 3, T. XI.

[6] Chrysostom. H. in the sermon first published by Montfaucon, T. VI. f. 273, § 1. Ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ νηστεύειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἔδει.

[7] The one just referred to.

[8] In the apostolic constitutions, l. II. c. 59, the Sabbath is particularly mentioned along with Sunday as a day for the assembling together of the church: l. VIII. c. 33, that on the Sabbath and on Sunday the slaves should rest from their labors, and attend church with the rest to hear the sermon: l. V. c. 15, that, the Easter Sabbath excepted, there should be no fasting on the Sabbath, when God rested from the work of creation. The 66th, among the apostolic canons, excludes from the fellowship of the church those who fasted on the *Sabbath* and on Sunday.

[9] As it concerns the last at Antioch, see the passage referred to above respecting Friday.

direction given by the council of Laodicea deserves to be noticed,[1] viz: that on the Sabbath, the gospels should be read along with the other parts of the holy Scriptures. It may be, that the new arrangement which this council designed to introduce by the above-cited canon, was simply that the Scriptures generally should be read in church on the Sabbath in the same manner as on Sunday. And in this case, we must suppose, the council wished to restore the custom, formerly observed, of assembling for worship on the Sabbath as well as on Sunday, which had now become obsolete in many of the Eastern churches. Or this ordinance may be understood as simply indicating the design of the council, that, in the meetings for divine worship on the Sabbath, the *gospels* should be read together with other parts of the holy Scriptures; whence we might infer, that, as the celebration of the Sabbath had been taken from the Jews, it had been the custom also to make use of the *Old Testament only* on this day, in the church lessons.[2] In many districts, a punctual Jewish observance of the Sabbath must doubtless have become common: hence the council of Laodicea considered it necessary to ordain, that Christians should not celebrate this day after the Jewish manner, nor consider themselves bound to abstain from labor.[3] It was a general rule in the Eastern church, that there should be no fasting on the Sabbath: hence the Sabbath also, as well as Sunday, was excepted from the period of fasting before Easter.[4] But in many of the Western churches, particularly in the Roman and the Spanish, opposition to the Jews and Judaists[5] had led to the custom of observing the Sabbath rather as a day of fasting.[6] They who were truly enlightened by the gospel spirit, and knew how to distinguish essentials from non-essentials in religion, such men as Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, and Augustin, sought to avoid all controversy on matters of this sort, which had not been decided by divine authority, and which had no particular connection with the essence of faith and of sanctification. They held it as a principle, that, in such matters, each individual should follow the custom of his own church, or of the country in which he resided, and strive that the bond of charity might not be broken by differences in such unimportant matters, and that occasion of offense might not be given to any man. Ambrose, when questioned on this point, replied that at Rome he was accustomed to fast on the Sabbath, but in Milan

[1] C. 16. Περὶ τοῦ ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια μετὰ ἑτέρων γραφῶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι.

[2] It is an objection to the last interpretation that both εὐαγγελία and ἑτέρων γραφῶν stand without the article; accordingly, do not express here any antithesis; but the whole of the sacred writings, according to their different parts, seems to be indicated here generally. Moreover, if such an antithesis had been intended, instead of ἑτέρων γραφῶν, the phrase παλαίας διαθήκης would doubtless have been used. But the difficulty with the first interpretation is, that the customary celebration of the Sabbath is everywhere presupposed by this council, and they consider themselves bound rather to moderate the Judaizing tendency to carry this celebration to an extreme.

[3] C. 29. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ χριστιανοὺς ἰουδαΐζειν καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν.

[4] Hence by the decrees of the council of Laodicea, c. 49 and 51, the communion and the commemoration of the martyrs might be celebrated, during the period of fasting, on the Sabbath as well as on Sunday.

[5] See vol. I. p. 296.

[6] See Cassian. institut. cœnobial. l. III. c. 9 et 10. Hieronym. ep. 71 ad Lucinium, § 6.

he did not. Augustin rightly applies the rules given by Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, to this diversity of practice. He complains, that weak minds were disturbed by the controversial obstinacy or the superstitious scruples of many, who would insist on that practice as being the only right one, for which they supposed they had found certain reasons, no matter how weak, or which they had brought with them as the ecclesiastical usage of *their own* country, or which they had seen in foreign lands; although neither the holy Scriptures, nor the universal tradition of the church, decided anything as to the point, and although it was a matter of perfect indifference as to any practical advantage.[1] But that rigid hierarchical spirit of the Roman church, which, from a very early period, required uniformity in things unessential, would, in this case also, put a restraint on religious freedom. In the Roman church, it was affirmed that this custom came down from Peter, the first of the apostles, and hence ought to be universally observed. The idle tale was there set afloat, when the origin of that custom from the old opposition between the original pagan and the original Jewish communities was no longer known, that the apostle Peter instituted a fast on the Sabbath in preparing for the dispute with Simon Magus.[2] The Roman bishop Innocent decided, in his decretals addressed to the Spanish bishop Decentius (at the very time that men like Augustin expressed themselves with so much liberality on this difference), that the Sabbath, like Friday, must be observed as a fast day.[3] In defense of this rule, he offered a better reason at least than did those unhistorical monks; viz.: that the Sabbath necessarily belonged to the period of sorrow which preceded Sunday, the joyful day of the feast of the resurrection; since on both the former days the apostles were plunged in grief, and on the Sabbath had hid themselves for fear.

That which already in the third century had become a principle in respect to the observance of Sunday, namely, that Christians should, on this day, abstain from all worldly business, and devote themselves solely to religious concerns, was established by a synodal law, the twenty-ninth canon of the council of Laodicea, yet with this limita-

[1] Ep. 54 ad Januarium, § 3. Sensi sæpe dolens et gemens multas infirmorum perturbationes fieri per quorundam fratrum contentiosam obstinationem vel superstitiosam timiditatem, qui in rebus hujusmodi, quæ neque scripturæ sanctæ auctoritate, neque universalis ecclesiæ traditione, neque vitæ corrigendæ utilitate, ad certum possunt terminum pervenire (tantum quia subest qualiscunque ratiocinatio cogitantis, aut quia in sua patria sic ipse consuevit, aut quia ibi vidit, ubi peregrinationem suam, quo remotiorem a suis, eo doctiorem factam putat), tam litigiosas excitant quæstiones, ut, nisi quod ipsi faciunt, nihil rectum existiment. To this point of dispute, the two beautiful letters of Augustin relate, the one just cited, and ep. 36 ad Casulanum.

[2] That Roman spirit expresses itself after a characteristic manner in the following language of a treatise which was probably composed by some member of the Roman clergy, and was intended to procure the general recognition of the Roman custom: Petrus, apostolorum caput, cœli janitor et ecclesiæ fundamentum, extincto Simone, qui diaboli fuerat, nonnisi jejunio vincendi figura (that Simon Magus could be vanquished by Peter only through fasting, was represented as a typical allusion to the fact, that Satan also, whom Simon Magus represented, could be conquered only by fasting), id ipsum Romanos edocuit, quorum fides annuntiatur universo orbi terrarum.

[3] § 7. Sabbato jejunandum esse ratio evidentissima demonstrat.

tion, that all Christians should abstain from their worldly business *if they were able*.[1] Laws enacted by the state also did homage to this principle. We have already said that the emperor Constantine, in a law enacted previous to the year 321, commanded the suspension of all suits and courts of justice on Sunday. It was a beautiful exception, wholly in accordance with the spirit of Christianity, by which he provided that the *emancipation* of slaves, after the usual forms, should be permitted to take place on Sunday.[2] As Eusebius, in his life of Constantine, relates, he also forbade all military exercises on this day.[3] By a law of the year 386, those older changes effected by the emperor Constantine were more rigorously enforced, and, in general, civil transactions of every kind on Sunday were strictly forbidden. Whoever transgressed was to be considered, in fact, as guilty of sacrilege (as a sacrilegus).[4]

Owing to the prevailing passion at that time, especially in the large cities, for running after the various public shows, it so happened that when these spectacles fell on the same days which had been consecrated by the church to some religious festival, they proved a great hindrance to the devotion of Christians. Church teachers, such as Chrysostom (see above), were, in truth, often forced to complain, that in such competitions the theatre was vastly more frequented than the church. And among those who gave up the church for the theatre, many might be found not wholly unsusceptible of right feelings, who, if they had not been hurried along by the prevailing corruption, would have employed Sunday in a way more serious and more healthful for their inner life. Moreover, by the civil relations of those times, many were obliged, on account of their particular place among the citizens, to take part in the arrangements necessary for the support of the public shows, and so to be interrupted in their devotions even against their will. Hence, the North African church resolved, at an ecclesiastical convention held at Carthage in 401, to petition the emperor, that the public shows might be transferred from the Christian Sunday and feast days to some other days of the week.[5] Owing to the prevailing passion for the shows, this petition could not be granted, perhaps, without considerable difficulty. First, in the year 425, the exhibition of spectacles on Sunday, and on the principal feast days of the Christians, was forbidden, in order that the devotion of the faithful might be free from all disturbance.[6] But without that secular spirit, which in this period seized upon the church, she would certainly never have needed assistance through such laws of the state.

The yearly festivals had arisen, as we observed in the preceding

[1] Εἴγε δύναιντο σχολάζειν.
[2] L. II. Tit. VIII. l. I.
[3] Euseb. vit. Constantin. IV. 18, 19, 20.
[4] Cod. Theodos. lib. VIII. Tit. VIII. l. 3.
[5] It is adduced as a reason: Populi ad circum magis quam ad ecclesiam conveniunt; and on the score of those obligations devolving on many classes of citizens: Nec oportere quemquam Christianorum cogi ad hæc spectacula, maxime, quia in his exercendis, quæ contra præcepta Dei sunt, nulla persecutionis necessitas a quopiam adhibenda est; sed, uti oportet, homo in libera voluntate subsistat sibi divinitus concessa. Cod. can. eccles. Afr. c. 61.
[6] Totæ Christianorum ac fidelium mentes Dei cultibus occupentur. Cod. Theodos. l. XV. Tit. VII. l. 5.

period, out of the same fundamental idea with the weekly festivals. And thus, at first, it still remained.[1] Hence, Augustin, about the year 400, still mentions, as the celebrations recognized in the whole church, only those of Christ's passion and resurrection, of his ascension, and of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost.[2]

The difference of views with regard to the feast of the passover, which we had occasion to notice in the preceding period, continued to exist also in this; but men were wise enough not to allow the bond of Christian fellowship to be ruptured by this difference.[3] Yet the spirit of church uniformity which sprung up in the West, sought to insinuate itself also here. The council of Arles, in 314, already decreed that the paschal feast should be celebrated on the same day throughout the world;[4] but this ecclesiastical assembly, to which the people of the East paid little attention, had no such great and general influence as to be able to triumph over the old Asiatic custom. Now to the emperor Constantine it seemed scandalous, that the commemoration of the fact which laid the foundation for the recovery of mankind should not be celebrated by all Christians on the same day; and that, while some were fasting, others should be feasting. To him, such a difference would perhaps appear more grave, and less compatible with the unity of the Catholic church, than an important dogmatical difference, known by him to exist about this time, in respect to the doctrine of Christ's divinity. He attempted, first through the negotiations of Hosius, bishop of Cordova, to bring the churches together in one usage. In this, however, he did not succeed; he therefore convoked, partly for this object, the general council of Nice, in 325. As the reason which, in earlier times, had led to the oriental custom, and which especially contributed to preserve it, viz., the adherence to Judaism, no longer existed, — but, on the contrary, a polemical tendency in opposition to the Jewish spirit rather predominated,— this change in the way of thinking would naturally lead to the laying aside of the ancient custom.[5] Accordingly an agreement was entered into, at this council, to abandon the old Jewish custom, and to celebrate the remembrance of Christ's passion always on Friday, the remembrance of Christ's resurrection on Sunday. It was acknowledged that, by the sacrifice of Christ for mankind, the feast of the passover had lost its significance; that the thanksgiving for the sacrifice of Christ in the sacrament of the supper had taken the place of the pass-

[1] This was acknowledged even by the Roman bishop Innocentius; and from this very fact he inferred, that as fasting was practiced not merely on Good Friday, but on the Friday of each week, the same practice should be observed also in respect to the Sabbath. (L. c. § 7. Quod si putant semel atque uno sabbato jejunandum; ergo et Dominica et sexta feria semel in Pascho erit utique celebranda).

[2] Quæ toto terrarum orbe servantur, — quod Domini passio et resurrectio et adscensio in cœlum et adventus de cœlo Spiritus Sancti anniversaria solennitate celebrantur. Ep. 54 ad Januar. and the passage above referred to from Hieronym. comment. ep. ad Galat. l. II. c. 4.

[3] Sozom. I. 16.

[4] C. I.

[5] This reason, that it was so disgraceful a thing for the Christian church to govern itself by the pattern of the unbelieving Jews, who had crucified the Lord, is made particularly prominent, therefore, by the emperor, *μηδὲν ἔστω ἡμῖν κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄχλου.* See Euseb. de vita Constantini, l. III. c. 18.

over, and that the former was restricted to no particular time.[1] But, as it usually happens, there were still many communities and individuals in the East, who refused to depart from the old traditional custom, on account of its very antiquity, without assigning any further reason for their refusal. Instead of winning them over by love, the church excluded them from her communion.[2] Persecution made the old custom still dearer to them; they accused the Nicene council of having altered it out of flattery to Constantine.

The council of Nice, it is true, had decreed[3] that the feast of the passover should, for the future, be celebrated on one and the same day; but they had suggested no means for securing uniformity in the reckoning of the time; and the purpose of the council, therefore, was still far from being attained. In the Alexandrian churches, where astronomical and mathematical knowledge was very generally diffused, the most accurate calculations were instituted, which the whole Eastern church followed. The bishop of Alexandria made known every year, at the *feast of Epiphany*, by a circular letter[4] to his whole diocese, the day on which the next Easter festival would fall. But, as the Roman church was not so exact, differences arose as to the time of Easter, between the Eastern churches and those of the West, which amounted sometimes to a week, occasionally even to a month; until at length, particularly by means of the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, the Alexandrian mode of reckoning was introduced also into the Roman church.[5]

It became, by degrees, as we have observed already in the preceding period, a more universally prevailing custom to prepare for the jubilee of the feast of the resurrection by a season of penitence and fasting. This fast was compared with the forty days' fast of Christ (see vol. I. p. 300); hence it received the name of τεσσαρακοστή, quadragesima; although the whole time of forty days was by no means observed so generally as the name was applied.[6] It was sought by degrees, however, to make the period of fasting, in its whole extent,

[1] This is now τὸ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν, says Chrysostom against the advocates of the Jewish custom. Orat. c. Judæos. III. § 4, T. I. f. 611.

[2] They were denominated as a separate sect (after that fourteenth day of the month Nisan), Quartodecimani, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατιταί, τετραδῖται (probably by an abbreviation), πρωτοπασχῖται.

[3] It is remarkable that this decree occurs only in the letter in which the emperor Constantine (see above) made known and recommended the decisions of this council, and that among its own canons no one is to be found which has any reference to it. Perhaps it was omitted out of indulgence to the adherents of the ancient custom, who, it was hoped, would be induced to yield by degrees.

[4] Libellus paschalis, γράμματα πασχάλια.

[5] The more accurate and detailed development of this point is to be found in a dissertation of F. Walch, in the novis commentariis Soc. Reg. Gottingensis, T. I. Ideler's Chronology, Bd. II. p. 202, etc.

[6] About this difference Socrates treats, V. 22. At Antioch the number of forty days was accurately observed as early as the fourth century; for Chrysostom says, orat. III. c. Judæos, § 4, T. I. f. 611, in a discourse delivered during the fast: Νηστεύομεν τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ταύτας ἡμέρας, where the only question that arises is, whether the Sundays and Sabbaths, in which no fasts were observed, were also reckoned among these forty days. The difference related not alone to the number of days, but also to the extending of the fast to each day, and to the kind of abstinence which was practiced at meals during this period. Not only among the communities of different countries, but also among individuals of the same communities, a different custom existed in this respect. Some,

actually correspond to the ancient name (quadragesima). But still a difference of usage must ever prevail between the Eastern and the Western churches, arising from the fact, that, in the former church, it was not the custom to fast on Saturday, therefore another week must be reckoned in making out the number of fast days.

This period of fasting was designed to furnish the Christians an opportunity of preparing themselves, by a more moderate indulgence of the sensual appetites, by abstinence from the pleasures of the world, and by the diligent reading of God's word, to enter more worthily upon the celebration of the days consecrated to higher spiritual enjoyments; to commemorate the new creation in humanity which came from the resurrection and glorification of Christ; to engage, by means of self-examination and repentance, in a worthy celebration of the holy supper, in which so many participated at the time of the Easter festival.[1]

A portion of the year so consecrated might also send a healthful influence through the rest of it. An occasion was offered to those who divided their whole time between worldly business and sensual pleasures, for collecting their thoughts from this dissipation and for self-examination. The holy Scriptures, which at least they heard read in the church, and sermons pointedly exhorting to repentance, would remind them of this. Their minds, less absorbed in the things of sense, would be more open to spiritual impressions. The solemn, earnest stillness following at once upon tumult and dissipation in the large cities, the sudden change in the aspect of public life, was calculated to arouse the trifling mind out of its sleep of security, and render it susceptible of higher influences. In truth, the commencement of the fasts must have produced a striking change in the large towns. "Quiet, to-day, is nowhere disturbed," says Chrysostom in a fast sermon preached at Antioch;[2] "nowhere do we hear cries; nowhere the noise of the shambles, the bustle of cooks. All this is past; and our city presents to-day the appearance of a sedate and modest matron. To-day, there is no difference between the table of the emperor and that of the poor man." And in another sermon:[3] "Then, no songs are heard in the evening, no revels of the drunkard in the day; the voice of clamor and contention is hushed, and profound quiet everywhere reigns." Still, as it usually happens with such sudden revolutions of life, this change was more often transient than enduring, more apparent than real. If there was a horse-race at the circus during the fast, all was over; the city rapidly assumed another look. The same persons who had been momentarily aroused by the

who would be eminently pious, passed two entire days without food. Others not only refrained, like the rest, from wine, flesh, and oil at their meals, but supported themselves wholly on bread and water. H. IV. de statuis, § 6, T. II. f. 58.

[1] This aim is assigned to the institution by Chrysostom, orat. adv. Judæos, III. § 4, T. I. f. 611. Οἱ πατέρες ἐτύπωσαν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα νηστείας, εὐχῶν, ἀκροάσεως, συνόδων, ἵν' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις καθαρθέντες μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντες καὶ δι' εὐχῶν καὶ δι' ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ διὰ νηστείας καὶ διὰ παννυχίδων καὶ διὰ δακρύων καὶ δι' ἐξομολογήσεως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, οὕτω κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος προσίωμεν.

[2] H. II. in Genesin, § 1, T. IV. f. 8.

[3] In Annam H. I. § 1, T. IV. f. 700.

earnest, impressive words of a Chrysostom, who had beaten their breasts and sighed over their sins, now filled the circus, and took a passionate interest in the contending sides.[1] True, men soon returned back again to the previous quiet and repose of the fast; but, if this could be so easily disturbed by other impressions from abroad, it is plain how superficial must have been the change produced on these occasions. As is usually the case with such changes, prescribed by law and enforced by constraint, the end often failed of being attained because confounded with the means. Men looked for justification and increase in holiness, in outward fasting, and entirely forgot in this the essential things, true repentance and sanctification, which the period of fasting was only designed to remind them of. Or the end was missed because men submitted to the laws of the church from constraint, and in opposition to their inward feelings, partly influenced by the sense of shame, and partly by dread of the divine punishment. Hence many sought to indemnify themselves beforehand for the forced abstinence imposed on them by the fasts, by indulging in the more riotous excess on the days immediately preceding them.[2] Many only complied with the laws of fasting in their literal sense; refraining from meat, but taking care to provide themselves with the daintier fare out of what was permitted by the fast laws literally interpreted.[3]

The more eminent church teachers of this period, Chrysostom, Augustin, Maximus of Turin, Cæsarius of Arles, Leo the Great, often warned against this hypocritical tendency of the fasts. They showed that fasting was without force or meaning, except as accompanied with the hearty forsaking of sin and sincere penitence. They exhorted Christians to use fasting as a means of learning how to subdue sinful passions and desires, propensities and habits. They gave examples, especially Chrysostom, to show how this must be done. They took this occasion to rebuke the corrupt tendencies particularly prevailing in their own times and under their own eyes, and warned men against them. They called upon Christians to unite charity and benevolence with fasting; to appropriate to these purposes what they saved by abstinence; to forgive each other's offenses; to lay aside contentions; as, in fact, the bishops made it a point, at this particular season of fasting, to close all disputes in the communities, and bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties; using as a means for this end, the general conviction of sinfulness and need of redemption awakened by the season, and the approaching celebration of the remembrance of Christ's sufferings for the sins of mankind: they moreover called on masters, in particular, to treat their servants with kindness.

The season of fasting ended with the week which, on account of the great events connected with the salvation of mankind, and commemo-

[1] See the admonitory discourse of Chrysostom, preached after an incident of this sort at Antioch. H. VI. in Genesin, T. IV. opp.

[2] Chrysost. de Pœnitentia, H. V. § 5, T. II. f. 315. Παραινῶ ὥστε μὴ τὴν ἐκ τῆς νηστείας ἐσομένην ὠφέλειαν προανελεῖν λαιμαργίᾳ καὶ μέθῃ.

[3] Augustin. p. 209, § 3, et 208, § 1. Pretiosiores sine carnibus animalium escas. On the other hand: Restringendæ sunt deliciæ, non mutandæ.

rated in it, was called the *great* week (ἑβδομὰς ἡ μεγάλη).[1] It began with Palm-Sunday (ἡμέρα τῶν βαίων), and closed with the great Sabbath, as it was called. The approach of the Easter festival reminded all, high and low, of their individual sins, and of the grace to which they owed their forgiveness. Hence the emperors made laws[2] to release those who had been arrested for minor offenses; and on Palm-Sunday special decrees of mercy were frequently issued by them. "As on this day," says Chrysostom in one of his discourses, "our Lord delivered men from the chains of sin, so his servants will do all in their power to imitate his love to mankind, and, as they cannot deliver men from spiritual fetters, will release those who are bodily bound."

In this week of solemnities, some days were particularly distinguished; Thursday, for example, in which was commemorated the last supper of Christ with his disciples, and the institution of the Eucharist.[3] On this occasion great numbers were accustomed to participate in the sacrament of the supper.[4] While, on other occasions, the holy supper was only to be received with fasting, it was dispensed on this day, in memory of the original institution, in the afternoon, and could be received after a meal.[5] Next came the day commemorative of Christ's passion.[6] At Antioch, perhaps also in other churches of the East, it was customary for the church on this day to hold its assemblies in the grave-yard, to commemorate the crucifixion of Christ without the gates of Jerusalem.[7] The week was closed by the great *Sabbath* (τὸ μέγα σάββατον), on which many were baptized, and put on their white robes; and in the evening the cities were illuminated, and appeared like streams of fire. The whole population poured along with torches to church, and vigils were kept till the dawn of the morning of universal jubilee, the feast of the resurrection. The small number of Pagans who still dwelt amongst the Christians, must also, in one way or another, have been affected, in spite of themselves, by what so moved the whole multitude on this occasion of general Easter vigils.[8]

The custom having been borrowed from the Jews, of holding a last festival on the eighth day after the commencement of the series, the celebration of the passover was concluded with the following Sunday as the eighth day of the feast. Throughout the whole of this week,

[1] See the Homily of Chrysostom respecting the meaning of this name.

[2] See, in the codex Theodos., the titulus de indulgentiis.

[3] Ἡ ἁγία πεντὰς, quinta feria Paschæ, dies anniversarius, quo cœna Dominica celebratur.

[4] See Chrysostom's discourse delivered on this day. T. II. f. 386.

[5] Thus it was at least in the North African church, by the decree of the council of Hippo, A. D. 393, in the cod. canon. eccles. Afr. c. 41. Augustin. ep. 54 ad Januar. § 9.

[6] The ἡμέρα τοῦ σταυροῦ, also called in a more restricted sense, Pascha.

[7] See the discourse of Chrysostom on this day, T. II.

[8] Respecting this Sabbath: Λαμπροφορία καὶ φωτιγωγία, ἣν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ συνεστησάμεθα. Πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μικροῦ καὶ ἀξία πᾶσα, δαψιλεῖ τῷ πυρὶ τὴν νυκτα καταφωτίζοντες. Gregor. Nazianz. orat. II. in Pascha v. orat. 42, at the beginning. Augustin: Clara vigiliæ hujus celebritas toto orbe terrarum. Respecting the Pagans: Ista nocte multi dolore, multi pudore, *nonnulli etiam qui fidei propinquant, Dei jam timore* non dormiunt. P. 219.

from the Easter Sabbath and onward, the persons then baptized had worn their white garments, and, as new Christians, the new-born,[1] had formed a separate division of the community, easily distinguished by their dress. This sacred time of the celebration of their new birth being now over, they laid aside their white robes: the bishop exhorted them to a faithful observance of their baptismal vow, and they joined the rest of the community. This important transaction gave its name to this Sunday. So it was at least in the Western church.[2] Thus, then, the whole period of fourteen days, reckoning from Palm-Sunday, was a festival. As such, it was recognized also by the civil authority, and in it no court of justice could be held.[3] Moreover the fifty days after Easter were specially distinguished, although the feast of Ascension, and the feast of Pentecost, in the more restricted sense — the feast of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, were selected from the rest for particular celebration. In the Eastern church, the Acts of the Apostles were read during this time, in the public worship, as recording what the risen and glorified Christ had wrought through the apostles; and in the year 425, it was decreed, that during this whole period the devotion of Christians should not be disturbed by any public sports.[4]

To these were added two principal festivals, which, as we observed in the preceding period, most probably existed in their germ in very early times, but which first began to be more generally observed during the course of the fourth century, and that in an opposite order, — the one coming from the East to the West, and the other from the West to the East; the festival of *Christ's baptism*, and the festival of *his nativity*.

As to the first, we find it mentioned by Chrysostom as an ancient principal feast of the church in Eastern Asia, under the name of the feast of the appearance or manifestation of Christ, who had till then been hidden from the world; ἡ ἐπιφάνεια or τὰ ἐπιφάνια, according to Tit. 2: 11.[5] But if, in the region where this feast originated, another festival having reference to the first appearance of the Logos in human nature, a feast of Christ's nativity, was already existing, the latter would hardly have become so entirely lost sight of, and a name which belonged to it transferred to the feast of Christ's baptism. More

[1] Novi, infantes.

[2] Octava infantium, dies novorum, Dominica in albis, κυριακὴ ἐν λευκοῖς. Augustin. p. 376. Hodie octavæ dicuntur infantium; miscentur hodie fidelibus infantes nostri. P. 260. Hodie completis sacramentum octavarum vestrarum. Comp. ep. 55, § 33. Respecting the newly baptized: Veste dealbatus intra octavas suas. Ep. 34, § 3. It may perhaps have been otherwise in the Eastern church, where, as it seems, the newly baptized wore their white garments until the end of the feast of Pentecost. See the passage presently to be referred to from the Cod. Theodos.

[3] Dies feriarum, sancti quoque Paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero vel sequuntur. Cod. Theodos. l. II. T. VIII. l. 2.

[4] Cod. Theodos. l. XV. Tit. VII. l. 5. Quamdiu cœlestis lumen lavacri imitantia novam sancti baptismatis lucem vestimenta testantur (which is probably said only in conformity with the use of the Eastern church), quo tempore et commemoratio apostolicæ passionis, totius Christianitatis magistræ, a cunctis jure celebratur. Which refers to the reading of the Acts.

[5] Chrysostom in his Homily on this feast, § 2, T. II. f. 369. Ἐπειδὴ οὐχ' ὅτε ἐτέχθη, τότε πᾶσιν ἐγένετο κατάδηλος, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐβαπτίσατο.

probably, this was the only festival which in that district had reference to the first appearance of Christ. Accordingly Chrysostom actually denominates it, in the discourse already cited, which he pronounced at the feast of Pentecost in Antioch, the festival of Epiphany, the first among the principal feasts, and the only one which had reference to the appearance of Christ among men.[1] It is here presupposed that a festival in memory of Christ's birth was originally unknown in the East. The present festival (Epiphany) was generally regarded as the festival of the baptism; and in a certain sense men had, doubtless, some reason for this; inasmuch as it was at his baptism that Christ first revealed himself as the one from whom that communication of divine life to humanity, to which baptism has reference, should proceed; but this ideal connection now became so transformed into a merely outward thing, that, as men ascribed to the water in baptism a supernatural power to sanctify, so they supposed that Christ first imparted to the water its power to sanctify, by his own baptism.[2] The first indication of the celebration of this feast having spread to the Western church we find about the year 360; for the historian Ammianus Marcellinus relates,[3] that the emperor Julian, then residing at Vienna in the month of January, celebrated the feast of Epiphany in the Christian church. By means of the union of the Greek colonial and mercantile towns in the south of France with the East, this feast may have been adopted, perhaps, in these districts, at an earlier period than in the other countries of the West. It was because this festival was originally unknown to the Western church, that the Donatists, who had separated themselves from the dominant church at a time when as yet no knowledge of any such feast existed among the people of the West, rejected it as an innovation; as they did other regulations that arose after their secession.[4] And as this festival was originally unknown to the Western church, so it happened that its meaning also was changed, though in such a way as to be easily connected with the fundamental idea of the festival. The general conception of a manifestation of Christ in his divine dignity, or in his divine calling as a Redeemer, was applied in a way which must have been more agreeable to the point of view taken by the communities of the West, which were formed of pagan Christians, than the view of it which had first sprung out of the peculiar conceptions of Jewish Christians (see vol. I., sect. 3, p. 302); and, at the same time, this festival was brought into closer connection with Christmas, which had been established here for a long time already. While, in the countries where the feast

[1] H. I. in Pentecost. § 1, T. II. f. 458. Ἰὰρ' ἡμῖν ἑορτὴ πρώτη τὰ ἐπιφάνια. Τίς δὲν ὑπόθεσις τῆς ἑορτῆς; ἐπειδὴ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη.

[2] Τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἡγίασε φύσιν. Chrysostomus. Out of this false notion also sprung the custom at Antioch, of very zealously drawing water about midnight of this feast, to which water was attributed the wonderful property of remaining fresh several years. Even Chrysostom partook of this superstition, Hom. de baptismo Christi, § 2. Being the feast of *Christ's* baptism, and of baptism generally, it was also called in the Eastern church, ἑορτὴ τῶν φωτῶν, or τὰ φῶτα. So in Gregory of Nazianzen.

[3] L. 21, c. 2.

[4] Augustin. p. 202, § 2. Merito istum diem nunquam nobiscum Donatistæ celebrare voluerunt, quia nec unitatem amant, nec Orientali ecclesiæ communicant.

of Christ's baptism had its distinct traditional meaning as the feast of Epiphany, it was adhered to without any change; but everything which had reference to Christ's infancy was connected with the newly introduced festival of Christmas: in the Western church, on the other hand, the idea of the manifestation of Christ was applied in a preëminent sense to his manifestation to the heathen world, as the Redeemer of all mankind. The festival was referred to the coming of the three wise men from the East, who were supposed to be Heathens; and so this feast became the feast of the first announcement of salvation to the heathen world, of the first conversion of some Heathens, as the precursors of the approaching general conversion of the pagan nations.[1] When these two points of view became united in one, the general conception of the Epiphany was referred to the first manifestation of the miraculous power of Jesus after his baptism, in the first miracle at Cana, the dies natalis virtutum Domini.[2]

The case was directly the reverse with the *festival of Christ's nativity*, which in its origin belonged to the Western church. As it was particularly from the church of the West the *dogmatic* tendency proceeded, by which the doctrine of original sin cleaving to all men from their birth, and of the necessity of their being renewed and sanctified in order to deliverance from this corrupt nature, was clearly unfolded; as it was in the church of the West that the practice of infant baptism first became generally spread; so too in the Western church originated the festival which refers to the sanctification of man's nature, from its first germ, by participation in a divine life. This feast first makes its appearance, as one generally celebrated in the Roman church, under the Roman bishop Liberius, after the middle of the fourth century.[3] The general participation in the celebration of this feast, which we already perceive in this first mention of it, leads to the inference, that it was not at that time a festival wholly new. It was not till later, however, that it spread from the Roman church to Eastern Asia. From what we have previously observed respecting the celebration of the feast of *Epiphany* in this part of the church, it would already seem clear, that the Christmas feast could not be one which originated there; but Chrysostom says expressly, in a discourse pronounced at Antioch in celebration of this festival, on the 25th of December of the year 386, that it *had first become known there*

[1] Augustin. p. 203. Hodierno die manifestatus redemptor omnium gentium, fecit sollennitatem omnibus gentibus. The mystic interpretation of Psalm 72, v. 10, led to the converting of the three Magi into three kings. See Tertullian. adv. Judæos, c. 9.

[2] Maximus of Turin, in the beginning of the fifth century, says, after having cited all the three modes of explaining the feast: Sed quid potissimum hoc factum die, novit ipse, qui fecit. H. VI. He calls it a certain tradition, that the three facts collectively occurred on the same day, the sixth of January; but in H. VII. he says, that although the tradition respecting what occurred on that day, and respecting that to which the feast alluded, was different, yet there was but one faith and one devotion.

[3] Ambrose relates, that when his sister Marcella was consecrated as a nun on the dies natalis Salvatoris, in St. Peter's church, by the bishop Liberius, the latter said to her: Vides quantus ad natalem sponsi tui populus convenerit. Ambros. de virginib. l. III. c. 1.

less than ten years before.[1] In a sermon which Chrysostom pronounced on the 20th of December in the same year, on the feast of a martyr,[2] he digresses from the proper subject of his discourse for the purpose of inviting his hearers to participate in the approaching festival of Christmas.[3] The way in which he speaks of it shows how desirous he was of making the interest more general, which he himself felt in a festival still new to this portion of the church.[4] In the next following discourse, on the 25th of December, he says indeed, that this feast, although still new in that part of the world, yet soon acquired equal authority with the more ancient high festivals: of this, the crowded assemblies, which the churches could scarcely contain, bore witness. But still it is evident from his own remarks, that, as usually happens with new church regulations, all were not satisfied with the celebration of this new festival. A controversy arose about it. While some denounced the festival as an innovation, others affirmed in its defense that it had been known of old from Thrace to Cadiz.[5] This difference of opinion led him into a detailed argument in support of the festival. Its object would of course be acknowledged by every Christian of the orthodox church at that time, as worthy of commemoration. The grounds of opposition, therefore, could relate only to the arbitrary determination of the time: hence Chrysostom labored only to show that the true time was determined.

He appeals, in the first place, to the rapid and general reception of the festival, to its authority increasing every year, as evidence that

[1] Hom. in diem natal. Christi, § 1, T. II. f. 355. Οὕπω δέκατόν ἐστιν ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ δήλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγένηται. True, he is speaking in that place particularly of *the celebration of this feast on the twenty-fifth of December;* yet the course and mode of his argument shows that it was only on the assumption of the twenty-fifth of December as the birthday of Christ, that a distinct feast for the celebration of this birthday had there been founded. If it had already been the custom there at an earlier period to celebrate some festival of this sort, but on a different day, he would without doubt have separated the celebration of such a feast generally from the assumption of the twenty-fifth of December for its celebration. He would have endeavored to show the want of foundation for reckoning of the time previously fixed upon, before he adduced the reasons for the new calculation. Moreover, it would assuredly have been yet more difficult to introduce the determinate time adopted at Rome into the Antiochian church, if another time had there already been fixed upon. The authority of the Roman church would hardly have been such as to induce the whole community to transfer a feast already existing, to another day. It may be conjectured, that, previous to this time, people were as far from thinking to consecrate a feast to the birthday of Christ, as they were from the thought of chronologically determining when this birthday occurred; as we find the bishop Jacob of Edessa still declaring in the seventh century, that nobody knew on what day Christ was born. See Assemani bibl. oriental. T. II. f. 1636. It was not until men believed that there was some account which could be relied on respecting this last-mentioned fact, that they were led to connect with it the celebration of a particular feast. At the same time it may be said, perhaps with truth, that the interest in behalf of a festival which must have commended itself to the feelings of Christians, contributed to create the belief and admission that the time had been truly determined.

[2] Of Philogonius. T. I. f. 492.

[3] L. c. § 3.

[4] Which he here styles "the mother of all other feasts, μητρόπολις πασῶν τῶν ἑορτῶν," as indeed all the others presuppose the birth of Christ; and he names on this occasion the principal feasts, "ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης τὰ θεοφάνια καὶ τὸ πάσχα καὶ ἡ ἀνάληψις καὶ ἡ πεντεκοστὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔλαβον."

[5] Ἄνωθεν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Θράκης μέχρι Γαδείρων οἰκοῦσι κατάδηλος καὶ ἐπίσημος γέγονε. Though this assertion cannot pass for a credible historical testimony, yet it is something in favor of the supposition, that the festival existed from early times in many countries of the West.

the time had been rightly assumed; applying here the well-known remark of Gamaliel. But it is plain that in the settling of a date this argument can decide nothing; although there is certainly good reason for supposing that the natural propriety of such a festival, its entire accordance with the feelings which glowed in every Christian breast, promoted its reception on its own account, and created a general belief that the true time for it had been rightly determined. Next, he appeals to the precise time, preserved in the Roman archives, of the census of the Procurator Quirinus. On this point it is possible he may have been deceived by false reports; or perhaps, at Rome itself, certain apocryphal records had been allowed to pass as genuine. In other homilies, also, written towards the close of the fourth century, by Greek fathers, who notice this festival as one which Christians very generally observed, there are nevertheless marks of its comparatively recent introduction.[1]

On account of this more recent introduction of the Christmas festival from the West into the East, the Christians in many countries of the East preferred, instead of adopting a festival altogether new, to unite the commemoration of Christ's nativity with the ancient feast of the Epiphany. Thus it was at Jerusalem, and in the Alexandrian church. And it was attempted to justify this simultaneous celebration on the authority of Luke 3: 23, from which passage it was inferred that the baptism of Christ took place on the very day of his nativity.[2] Hence again it was, that, in many of the Greek churches where, from the earliest times, neither of the two feasts had been observed, and where the feast of Christ's nativity was now introduced because it appeared the more important of the two, the name *Epiphany* or *Theophany* was transferred to the latter.[3]

[1] It seems to be the wish of Gregory of Nyssa to defend the authority of this festival against those who were not disposed to place it on the same level with the ancient principal feasts, which commemorated the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Christ, when he says (Hom. in natalem Christi, T. III. ed. Paris, 1638, f. 352): Μηδείς τῷ κατὰ τὸ πάσχα μυστηρίῳ μόνην τὴν τοιαύτην εὐχαριστίαν πρέπειν ὑπονοείτω, and therefore endeavors to show, like Chrysostom, that that which constituted the object of this festival was presupposed by everything else Christ had wrought for the salvation of mankind. So in a homily, ascribed incorrectly to Basil of Cæsarea (T. II. opp. ed. Garnier, f. 602, § 6), it is said: Οὐδεὶς ἀσυντελὴς (let there be no one but what contributes something to the general joy), οὐδεὶς ἀχάριστος, φθεγξώμεθά τινα καὶ ἡμεῖς φωνὴν ἀγαλλιάσεως, ὄνομα θώμεθα τῇ ἑορτῇ ἡμῶν θεοφάνια, — from which passage we may infer, perhaps, that in the country where this was said, not even the old *Epiphany festival* of the Syrian church was as yet introduced; since, were it otherwise, its name would hardly have been transferred to the new feast of Christ's nativity.

[2] See Cosmas Indicopleust. topographia Christiana in Montfaucon, collectio nova patrum, T. II. l. V. f. 194; Cassian Collat. 10, c. 2, respecting the simultaneous celebration of these festivals by the Egyptians. This custom of the Alexandrian church must have been altered, it is true, at a later period; for in a homily delivered at Alexandria, in the year 432, by Paulus, bishop of Emesa in Phœnicia, we find the feast of Christ's nativity described as an independent feast by itself. According to the title, this festival was held on the 29th of the Egyptian month Choyac, which answers to the 25th of December. See acta concilii Ephesini pars IV. Harduini Concil. T. I. f. 1694. It might be, that the intimate connection of the Alexandrian church with the Roman in the time of Cyrill; the posture of opposition in which the former stood at that time to the churches of Eastern Asia; the dogmatical interest in the polemics waged against the Antiochian type of doctrine, — all this contributed to bring about the change.

[3] So in the passage above cited from the sermon extant under the name of Basil, and in the expositio fidei of Epiphanius: Ἡμέρα τῶν ἐπιφανίων, ὅτε ἐγεννήθη ἐν σαρκὶ

If it became necessary, however, to designate some particular reason why this festival was first observed in the Roman church, and why the time for its observance was transferred to the precise date of the 25th of December, — the attempt was made to explain this from the opposition to heathenism, and more ancient narratives already point in this direction.[1]

Precisely in this season of the year, a series of heathen festivals occurred, the celebration of which among the Romans was, in many ways, closely interwoven with the whole civil and social life. The Christians, on this very account, were often exposed to be led astray into many of the customs and solemnities peculiar to these festivals. Besides, these festivals had an import which easily admitted of being spiritualized, and with some slight change transformed into a Christian sense. First came the *saturnalia*, which represented the peaceful times of the golden age, and abolished for a while the distinction of ranks, the distance between servants and free men. This admitted of being easily transferred to Christianity, which, through the reconciliation of man with God, through the restoration of the fellowship between God and man, had introduced the true golden age, demonstrated the equality of all men in the sight of God, and brought the like true liberty as well to the freeman as to the slave. Then came the custom, peculiar to this season, of making presents (the strenæ),[2] which afterwards passed over to the Christmas festival; next, *the festival of infants*, with which the saturnalia concluded, — the sigillaria, where the children were presented with images;[3] just as Christmas was the true festival of the children. Next came a festival still more analogous to the Christmas, that of the shortest day, the winter solstice; the birthday of the new sun about to return once more towards the earth (dies natalis invicti solis).[4] In the case of this last-named feast, a transition to the Christian point of view naturally presented itself, when Christ, the sun of the spiritual world, was com-

ὁ κύριος. Jerome disputed the propriety of this use of the term *Epiphania*, in his Commentary on Ezekiel, c. 1: Epiphaniorum dies non, ut quidam putant, natalis in carne, tum enim absconditus est et non apparuit.

[1] The account of Johannes, bishop of Nice, in Combefis. auctarium bibliothecæ patrum novissimum, Paris, 1648, T. II., and with supplementary additions in the edition of the patres apostolici, by Cotelier. — Cleric. T. I. 313, is from too late a period, and too fabulous, to possess any historical importance whatever.

[2] The participation in the customs of this pagan festival, as well as the mutual sending of presents, were practices for which the Christians were already reprimanded by Tertullian.

[3] Macrob. Saturnal. l. I. c. 11, quæ lusum reptanti adhuc infantiæ oscillis fictilibus præbent.

[4] The Manichean Faustus actually brings it as a charge against the Christians of the Catholic church, that they celebrated the solstitia with the Pagans: Solennes gentium dies cum ipsis celebratis, ut kalendas et solstitia. See Augustin. l. XX. c. 4, c. Faustum. The Roman bishop, Leo the Great, complains that many Christians had retained the pagan custom of paying obeisance from some lofty eminence to the rising sun; so too, when in the morning they were ascending the steps of St. Peter's church. Leo, S. XXVI. c. 3. The second Trullan council, or quinisextum, 691, were still under the necessity of forbidding the Christians to take any part in the celebration of the Brumalia. Now if it was the case that the remains of heathen customs still existed among the Greeks, at a time when Paganism had already almost wholly vanished, much more must this have been the case among the Roman Christians in the earlier centuries.

pared with that of the material. But the comparison was carried still further; for, as in the material world, it is after the darkness has reached its highest point that the end of its dominion is already near, and the light begins to acquire fresh power; so, too, in the spiritual world, after the darkness had reached its utmost height, Christ, the spiritual sun, must appear, to make an end of the kingdom of darkness. In fact, many allusions of this kind are to be found in the discourses of the church fathers on the festival of Christmas.[1]

That Christian festival which could be so easily connected with the feelings and presentiments lying at the ground of the whole series of pagan festivals belonging to this season, was now, therefore, to be opposed to these latter; and hence the celebration of Christmas was transferred to the 25th of December, for the purpose of drawing away the Christian people from all participation in the heathen festivals, and of gradually drawing over the Pagans themselves from their heathen customs to the Christian celebration. This view of the matter seems to be particularly favored in a New Year's discourse by Maximus, bishop of Turin, near the close of the fourth century, where he recognizes a special divine providence in appointing the *birth of Christ to take place in the midst of the pagan festivals;* so that men might be led to feel ashamed of pagan superstition and pagan excesses.[2]

But these allusions to the series of heathen festivals happening in this season of the year, furnish, however, no decisive evidence that the Christian festival was instituted on this account generally, or that it was transferred to this particular time for the purpose of being opposed to the pagan celebrations. In fact, the resorting to this means for drawing away men from the pagan superstitions was a very hazardous experiment, and might easily lead men to confound Christianity with Heathenism, and to lose out of sight the true import of the Christian festival. Of this, indeed, Leo the Great found it necessary to give warning.[3] Yet we must allow, that, from the unsuitableness of the means, it in nowise follows that such a means was not then resorted to. Only it should be remarked, in general, that the accommodation of Christian to pagan institutions proceeded, in most cases,

[1] Thus says Gregory of Nyssa, in his sermon on this festival, T. III. f. 340, — It was not a matter of chance that Christ's nativity took place at this season, *ἐν ᾗ μειοῦσθαι τὸ σκότος ἄρχεται καὶ τὰ τῆς νυκτὸς μέτρα τῷ πλεονάζοντι τῆς ἀκτῖνος συνωθεῖται πρὸς ἔκλειψιν. Μυστήριόν τι διὰ τῶν φαινομένων τοῖς διορατικωτέροις διηγεῖται ἡ κτίσις.* Augustin. S. XX. § 1. "Since the infidelity which covered the whole world like a night, was to diminish, while faith increased; for this reason, on the nativity of the Lord Jesus Christ, the night begins to grow less, and the day to increase. Let us, then, celebrate this festival, not like the unbelievers, on account of this sun, but on account of the Creator of this sun." So, too, Leo the Great (S. XXV. § 1) says, that this day, more than any other, presents, by the new light beaming forth even in the elements, an image of this wonderful birth.

[2] Maximus Taurinens. H. V. in Kal. Jan. bibl. patr. Galland. T. IX. f. 353: Bene quodammodo Deo providente dispositum, ut inter medias gentilium festivitates Christus Dominus oriretur et inter ipsas tenebrosas superstitiones errorum veri luminis splendor effulgeret, ut perspicientes homines in vanis superstitionibus suis puræ divinitatis emicuisse justitiam, præterita obliviscerentur sacrilegia, futura non colerent.

[3] S. XXII. c. 5: Diabolus illudens simplicioribus animis de quorundam persuasione pestifera, quibus hæc dies sollennitatis nostræ non tam de nativitate Christi, quam de novi, ut dicunt, solis ortu honorabilis videatur.

from the side of the people; the church teachers resisted, at first, the intermingling of pagan customs with Christian; afterwards they gave way, or were themselves carried along by the spirit of the times. Individual exceptions, it is true, are to be met with; yet in no point which could be compared with the institution of such a principal festival, and which reached back to so early a period as the origin of Christmas. Originally, the prevailing mode of procedure, in the Western church, was by no means to connect the celebration of Christian festivals with pagan; but rather to set over against the pagan festivals, days of fasting and penitence.[1] The passage of Faustus, in which Christians of the Catholic church are accused of taking part in the festivities of Paganism,[2] seems, it is true, at first glance, to confirm the conjecture above mentioned; but, on closer examination, it will be found rather opposed to it. Faustus accuses the Christians, first, of merely changing the heathen into a Christian superstition; for example, substituting the worship of the martyrs in place of the worship of idols;[3] and secondly, of imitating, without any change, heathen festivities, as heathen,—and here he names the *kalendæ* and the *solstitia*. Now, with regard to the first of these charges, we know certainly,— a fact presently to be mentioned, — that the church never had anything to do with those pagan festivities, but constantly expressed the warmest opposition to all participation in them. The same would be true, therefore, of the celebration of the solstitia, since this belonged in the same category with the rest. But if Faustus had had any ground whatever for accusing the Christians of altering the pagan celebration of the solstitia into a seeming Christian celebration of the nativity, it is the less to be supposed that he would have omitted to bring such an accusation against them, as the feast of *Christ's nativity* must have been particularly disagreeable to him as a Manichean, who looked upon the birth of Christ in the *flesh* as a sorry superstition.

And what necessity is there, in truth, of searching for outward causes to account for a fact which explains itself, as growing out of the inner development of the Christian life, — a fact like that of the institution of a festival referring to the birth of Christ? It is indeed very possible to distinguish between the introduction of the feast in itself, and the designation of a particular point of time for its observance. But it is not, however, by any means to be supposed that, if a Christmas festival had already existed, men would have transferred it to another day, through the opposition to Paganism. And as it respects the designation of this particular day for such a festival, it should not be forgotten, that, in the earlier ages, there were several different determinations of the day of Christ's nativity; and we might, with the same good reason, repeat the question with regard to

[1] Leo the Great cites it, in his VII. Sermo, as an old tradition, ut quoties cœcitas paganorum in superstitionibus esset intentior, tunc præcipue populus Dei orationibus et operibus pietatis (under which he comprised alms and fasts, which were not allowable on the principal festivals) instaret.

[2] See above, p. 347, n. 4.

[3] Idola eorum vertistis in Martyres, to which passage we shall again revert on a future occasion.

each one of these, — How was this ascertained? It is very probable that, in the Roman church, this point was settled by the authority of some historical tradition, founded on apocryphal records. Now it is very possible, we may admit, that, allowing the existence of such an apocryphal tradition, it might have been helped along — not indeed by any design of imitating or rivaling the pagan ceremonies, but quite independently of these — by the mystical interpretation given to that season of the year.[1]

That principle of the church by which it rather placed itself in opposition to pagan festivals, and pagan extravagances, than adopted them, we see illustrated in the case of the New Year's festival, the Kalendæ Januariæ. The celebration of this grandest of the Roman festivals, which began with the end of December and lasted several days, was, more than that of any other, interwoven with the whole public and private life of the Romans; with all civil, social, and domestic arrangements, manners and customs. It was, in fact, the commencement of the civil year, according to which all sorts of business had to be adjusted and arranged. It was the time when the magistrates entered upon their several offices. It was, therefore, the ordinary season of congratulations, when presents were mutually given and received. Tertullian already found reason to complain that Christians participated in all these customs. In defense of this participation it could ever be alleged, as it was still alleged by many in the beginning of the fifth century, that this whole festival was in truth of a purely civil nature, having no necessary connection with religion, and that it might be joined in, therefore, without the least danger to the faith.[2] But *with* this celebration were united customs standing directly at variance with the principles of the Christian faith and the rules of Christian conduct — riotous excesses, abandoned revelry, and various kinds of heathen superstition, which sought, by means of omens and the arts of divination, to unveil the destinies of the whole year. The first day was spent by many of the Pagans in an unrestrained indulgence of sensual enjoyments, under the persuasion that such a beginning would be followed by a corresponding year of pleasure.[3] It is manifest what a corrupting influence this contagious example of pagan immorality and superstition would exert on the Christian life: indeed the Christian teachers were often forced to complain of it in their homilies.[4] Yet, even in this case, the pagan festival could have been converted into a Christian one, having no connection with the pagan in religion, by simply giving to the commencement of the *civil* year a Christian import, on the principle that every change

[1] How easily the determination of chronological questions of this sort might proceed from mystical interpretations of Scripture texts, may be seen, e. g. by consulting Hieronym. in Ezechiel. c. 1. v. 1, where, on the principle that the first month of the civil year of the Jews must nearly correspond to the month of October, the fourth month therefore to January, the author concludes that the baptism of Jesus, on the fifth of January, is here typified.

[2] Petrus Chrysologus, S. CLV.: Esse novitatis lætitiam, non vetustatis errorem, anni principium, non gentilitatis offensam.

[3] See Liban. ἐκφρασις Καλανδῶν. Chrysost. Homil. Kalend.

[4] See the homilies of Asterius of Amasea, of Maximus of Turin, of Chrysostom, Augustin, Leo the Great.

and new beginning in earthly things should be sanctified by religion. And, in this manner, a Christian celebration of the commencement of the year would be most appropriately opposed to the pagan celebration of the day. Such considerations are to be met with; for instance, in Chrysostom's discourse on the commencement of the new year. But to no one does the obvious thought seem to have occurred, of converting the civil observance wholly into an ecclesiastical one: for this thought lay too remote from the original Christian point of view, conformably to which all festivals were referred exclusively to the momentous facts connected with man's salvation, and had their origin in a *purely* religious interest, — with the exception of individual local feasts, instituted in memory of the deliverance from some great danger, as from war, or from an earthquake,[1] — while, at the same time, there was a strong reluctance to fall in with the pagan custom of celebrating the commencement of the year with religious observances. It would have been nearer the Christian point of view, to separate the ecclesiastical year from the civil, and to make the year begin either with Easter or the Christmas festival.[2] It was only *to oppose a counter influence to* the pagan celebration, that Christian assemblies were finally held on the first day of January; and they were designed to protect Christians against the contagious influence of pagan debauchery and superstition. Thus when Augustin had assembled his church, on one of these occasions, he first caused to be sung the words, "Save us, O Lord our God! and gather us from among the heathen!" Ps. 106: 47; and hence he took occasion to remind his flock of their duty, especially on this day, to show themselves as men who had in truth been gathered from among the heathen into one community; to exhibit in their life the contrast between the Christian and the heathen temper; to substitute alms for New Year's gifts (the Strenæ), edification from Scripture for merry songs, and fasts for riotous feasting. This principle was gradually adopted in the practice of the Western church, and three days of penitence and fasting opposed to the pagan celebration of January,[3] until, the time being designated, the festival of Christ's circumcision was transferred to this season; when a Jewish rite was opposed to the pagan observances, and its reference to the circumcision of the heart by repentance, to heathen revelry.

Besides these festivals, should be mentioned also the days consecrated to the memory of holy men, who had endeared themselves to

[1] The γενέσια τοῦ σεισμοῦ at Alexandria (Sozom. l. VI. c. 2); the feast after Licinius was conquered by the Emperor Constantine, and the church delivered from the danger that threatened her. Euseb. de vita Constantini l. II. c. 19.

[2] With the Easter festival, since the resurrection of Christ was the beginning of a new creation, and the spiritual spring might be associated with the spring of nature. With the Christmas festival, since the nativity of Christ was the beginning of his life, which laid the foundation for man's salvation, and the festival was the one from which all the others proceeded.

[3] See Isidor. l. I. c. 40, de officiis and Concil. Turonense II. A. D. 567, c. 17. Triduum illud, quo, ad calcandum gentilium consuetudinem, patres nostri statuerunt privatas in Kalendis Januariis fieri litanias, ut in ecclesiis psallatur, et hora octava in ipsis Kalendis circumcisionis missa Deo propitio celebretur. It may be a question, whether the latter refers to the circumcisio cordis, or already to the memoria circumcisionis Christi.

the church as teachers, or as martyrs to the faith. Of these we shall speak more particularly hereafter. We now pass to consider the particular acts of Christian worship.

4. *Particular Acts of Christian Worship.*

Among these, *the reading of the Holy Scriptures* held always an important place. Of the great influence which this practice had on the church life of this age, we have spoken already. At the beginning, it was left for each bishop to appoint such portions of the Bible as he chose, to be read at each meeting of the church. The historical and practical allusions to the above-mentioned parts in the cycle of Christian festivals, first led to the practice of selecting certain portions of Scripture with reference to the principal feasts; and this practice was gradually converted, by tradition, into a standing rule.[1]

As to the relation of the *sermon* to the whole office of worship, this is a point on which we meet with the most opposite errors of judgment. Some who looked upon the clergy as only offering priests, and who considered the main part of Christian worship to consist in the magical effects of the priestly services, were hence inclined greatly to overvalue the liturgical, and wholly to overlook the necessity of the didactic element of worship. While they made everything to depend on the supernatural gifts, imparted to the priest through ordination, that ability to teach, which it was needful for him to strive after, did not come under their consideration. In the Greek church, on the other hand, as far as the higher classes, in the larger cities, were concerned, the sermon alone was of special importance; and, from the position of their miseducated rhetorical taste, they knew not how to prize anything else that related to Christian edification. Hence the church would be thronged when some famous speaker was to be heard; but only a few remained behind when the sermon was ended and the church prayers followed. "The sermons," said they, "we can hear nowhere but at church; but we can pray just as well at home."[2] Against this abuse Chrysostom had frequent occasion to speak, in his discourses preached at Antioch and Constantinople.

[1] What Augustin says in the prologue to his homilies on the first epistle of John, may serve as a proof: Solennitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint. Thus, in Easter week, the history of Christ's resurrection was read in turn from all the gospels. See Augustin, S. CCXXXI. and S. CCXXXIX. Chrysostom, in Hom. IV. in principio actorum, T. III. f. 85, says, the fathers had introduced such apportionments of Scripture to particular times, not for the sake of abridging Christian liberty (*οὐχ ἵνα ὑπὸ ἀνάγκην καίρων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῖν ὑποβάλωσιν*), but out of condescension to the necessities of the weak. But the natural propensity of men to bind themselves to forms once sanctioned by use, was shown also in the present case. In the North African church it was customary to read, on Good Friday, the history of the passion from Matthew. When Augustin, to give his church a more varied and full knowledge of the history of the passion, proposed to read the different gospels yearly, in turn, and on a certain Good Friday caused the portion to be read from another gospel, disturbances arose: for many were disappointed not to hear what they had been accustomed to: Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos, secundum omnes evangelistas *etiam passio* legeretur. Factum est, non audierunt homines quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt. S. CCXXXII, § 1.

[2] See Chrysostom. H. III. de Incomprehensib. § 6, T. I. 469.

Hence, too, without regard to the essential character of the church, a style borrowed from the theatre or the lecture-rooms of declaimers was introduced into the church assemblies. Hence the custom of interrupting such speakers, at their more striking or impressive passages, with noisy testimonials of approbation (κρότος). Vain ecclesiastics, men whose hearts were not full of the holy cause they professed, made it the chief or only aim of their discourses to secure the applause of such hearers; and hence labored solely to display their brilliant eloquence or wit, to say something with point and effect. But many of the better class too, such men as Gregory Nazianzen, could not wholly overcome the vanity which this custom tended to foster, and thus fell into the mistake of being too rhetorical in their sermons,[1] and yet Gregory well knew how easily the judgment of the multitude might be corrupted, for when Jerome once asked him for the explanation of a difficult word in the holy Scriptures, he jestingly invited Jerome to hear him explain it from the pulpit, for then, when the whole multitude shouted applause, he would be compelled to understand what he understood not, or, if he alone were silent, he would be set down by all as a fool;[2] and Jerome says, in relating this, "There is nothing so easy as, by fluency of tongue, to deceive the ignorant multitude, which, when it does not understand, wonders so much the more."[3] Men of holy seriousness, like Chrysostom, strongly rebuked this declamatory and theatrical style,[4] and said that, through such vanity, the whole Christian cause would come to be suspected by the heathens.

Many short-hand writers eagerly employed themselves in taking down, on the spot, the discourses of famous speakers, in order to give them a wider circulation.[5] The sermons were sometimes — though rarely — read off entirely from notes, or committed to memory; sometimes they were freely delivered, after a plan prepared beforehand; and sometimes they were altogether extemporary. The last we learn incidentally, from being informed that Augustin was occasionally directed to the choice of a subject by the passage which the "prælector" had selected for reading; when, he tells us, he was sometimes urged by some impression of the moment, to give his sermon a different turn from what he had originally proposed.[6] We are

[1] Gregory Nazianzen says himself, in his farewell discourse at Constantinople: Κροτήσατε χεῖρας, ὀξὺ βοήσατε, ἄρατε εἰς ὕψος τὸν ῥήτορα ὑμῶν.

[2] The words of Jerome, ep. 52, ad Nepotianum, § 8: Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus rogatus a me, ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Luca sabbathum δευτερόπρωτον eleganter lusit, docebo te, inquiens, super hac re in ecclesia, in qua mihi omni populo acclamante cogeris invitus scire quod nescis, aut certe si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis.

[3] Nihil tam facile, quam vilem plebeculam et indoctam concionem, linguæ volubilitate decipere, quæ quidquid non intelligit, plus miratur.

[4] Thus on one occasion he says: "This is no theatre; you are not sitting here as spectators of comedians" (οὐδὲ γὰρ θέατρόν ἐστι τὰ παρόντα, οὐ τραγῳδοὺς κάθησθε θεώμενοι νῦν). In Matth. H. 17, § 7.

[5] Hence Gregory Nazianzen, in his farewell discourse, preached at Constantinople, says: Χαίρετε γραφίδες φανεραὶ καὶ λανθάνουσαι. Hence the complaint of Gaudentius of Brescia, that his sermons had been inaccurately transcribed by note-takers who sat out of sight. See the Præfat. to his Sermones. Hence the different recensions we have of so many of the ancient homilies.

[6] Augustin. in Psalm. 138, § 1. Maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito.

also informed by Chrysostom, that his subject was frequently suggested to him by something he met with on his way to church, or which suddenly occurred during divine service.[1]

Church Music was cultivated, in this period, more according to rule. In connection with the "prælectors," [2] were appointed church-choristers, who sung sometimes alone, sometimes interchangeably with the choirs of the congregation. It was considered very important that the whole church should take part in the psalmody.[3]

Besides the Psalms, which had been used from the earliest times, and the short doxologies and hymns consisting of verses from the holy Scriptures, spiritual songs composed by distinguished church teachers, such as Ambrose of Milan and Hilary of Poictiers, were also introduced among the pieces used for public worship in the Western church. To the last named practice, much opposition, it is true, was expressed. It was demanded, that, in conformity with the ancient usage, nothing should be used in the music of public worship, but what was taken from the sacred Scriptures. And as sectaries and heretical parties often had recourse to church psalmody, as a means for circulating their own peculiar religious opinions, all those songs which had not been for a long time in use in the church were particularly liable to suspicion.[4]

It must already have become a matter of complaint, however, as well in the Western as in the Greek church, that the ecclesiastical music had taken too artificial and theatrical a direction, and departed from its ancient simplicity; for we find the Egyptian abbot Pambo, in the fourth century, inveighing against the introduction of heathen

[1] See the sermon of Chrysostom, of which the theme was chosen on his way to church, when he saw, in the winter time, lying in the vicinity of the church, many sick persons and beggars, and touched with pity, felt constrained to exhort his hearers to works of brotherly kindness and charity. T. III. opp. ed. Montf. f. 248. Compare also the turn which he gave to his discourse in a certain sermon, when the lighting of the lamps drew away the attention of his hearers. See T. IV. f. 662.

[2] Ψάλται, cantores, who, like the Lectores, were taken from the younger clergy.

[3] In the 15th canon of the council of Laodicea, it was ordered, that no others besides the regularly appointed church cantors should sing in divine service (*περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας* (the church song-books) *ψαλλόντων ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*). But this is hardly to be understood as meaning that the participation of the congregation in the church music was to be wholly excluded. At least, if this were the case, it must be regarded as a temporary and provincial regulation; and it would be in direct contradiction to the usage of the Eastern church, in which the distinguished church teachers, such as Basil of Cæsarea and Chrysostom, expended much labor in improving the style of congregational singing. Most probably this canon is to be understood in the sense, that none but persons of the clerical order should hold the post of professed church-singers, so that the singing of the congregation was to be regarded as a wholly independent thing.

[4] See Concil. Laodicen. c. 59. *Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* The first council of Braga, in the year 561, c. 12, against the Priscillianists, directed, ut extra psalmos vel Scripturas canonicas nihil poëtice compositum in ecclesia psallatur. On the other hand, the fourth council of Toledo, A. D. 633, c. 13, defended the use of such sacred hymns as were composed by Hilary and Ambrose. Even the ancient hymns and doxologies, taken from Scripture, were not, they said, wholly free from human additions. As prayers and liturgical forms of human composition were used in divine service, the same use might be made also of sacred hymns indited by men.

melodies into church psalmody;[1] and the abbot Isidore of Pelusium complaining of the theatrical style of singing, particularly among the women, which, instead of exciting emotions of penitence, served rather to awaken sinful passions;[2] and Jerome, in remarking on the words of the Apostle Paul, in Ephes. 5: 19,[3] says, "Let our youth hear this; let those hear it whose office it is to sing in the church. Not with the voice, but with the heart, must we make melody to the Lord. We are not, like comedians, to smooth the throat with sweet drinks, in order that they may hear theatrical songs and melodies in the church: but the fear of God, piety, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, should inspire our songs; so that not the voice of the singer, but the divine matter expressed, may be the point of attraction; so that the evil spirit, which entered into the heart of a Saul, may be expelled from those who are in like manner possessed by him, rather than invited by those who would turn the house of God into a heathen theatre."

We now proceed to consider the administration of *the sacraments*.

Although, from the middle of the third century, infant baptism was generally recognized as an apostolical institution, yet it was very far from being the case, that the practice, particularly in the Greek church, corresponded with the theory. In part, the same habit of confounding the external sign with the inward grace, which, at a still later period, caused an undue value to be attached to infant baptism, and partly the frivolous tone of thinking, the indifference to all higher concerns, which characterized so many who had only exchanged the pagan for a Christian outside, — all this together contributed to bring it about, that among the Christians of the East, infant baptism, though in theory acknowledged to be necessary, yet entered so rarely and with so much difficulty into the church life during the first half of this period.

Thus many pious but mistaken parents, accustomed to confound regeneration with the external ordinance of baptism, dreaded intrusting the baptismal grace to the weak, unstable age of their children, which grace, once lost by sin, could never be regained. They wished rather to reserve it against the more decided and mature age of manhood, as a refuge from the temptations and storms of an uncertain life.

To a mother who acted on this principle, says Gregory of Nazianzen: "Let sin gain no advantage in thy child; let it be sanctified from the swaddling clothes, consecrated to the Holy Ghost. You fear for the divine seal, because of the weakness of nature. What a feeble and faint-hearted mother must you be! Anna consecrated

[1] See the conference of the abbot Pambo with his disciples, on the too artificial church music of Alexandria, in imitation of the heathen melodies (*κανόνες καὶ τροπάρια*). "The monks," says he, "have not retired into the desert, to sing beautiful melodies, and move hands and feet:" (*μελῳδοῦσιν ᾄσματα καὶ ῥυθμίζουσιν ᾄχους καὶ σείουσι χεῖρας καὶ μεταβαίνουσι (βάλλουσι?) πόδας*). See the Scriptores ecclesiastici de Musica, published by the abbot Gerbert, T. I. 1784, p. 3.

[2] Isidor. Pelus. l. I. ep. 90. *Κατάνυξιν μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων ὕμνων οὐχ' ὑπομένουσι, τῇ δὲ τοῦ μέλους ἡδύτητι εἰς ἐρεθισμὸν παθημάτων χρώμενοι, οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἔχειν πλέον τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ᾀσμάτων λογίζονται.*

[3] See his Commentar. in ep. Ephes. l III. c. 5, T. IV. f. 387, ed. Martianay, T VII. 1, f. 652, ed. Vallarsi.

her Samuel to God, even before he was born; immediately after his birth, she made him a priest, and she trained him up in the priestly vesture. Instead of fearing the frailty of the man, she trusted in God!"[1] With this habit of confounding the sign with the thing signified was united, in the case of others, a deep-lurking spirit of ungodliness, leading them to look forward to baptism as a certain magical remedy, whereby sin could be suddenly extinguished without the renunciation of it. They were disposed to enter into a sort of compact or bargain with God and Christ,[2] to be permitted to enjoy, as long as possible, their sinful pleasures, and yet in the end, by the ordinance of baptism, which like a charm was to wipe away their sins, to be purified from all their stains, and attain to blessedness in a moment.[3] Hence many put off baptism, until they were reminded by mortal sickness, or some other sudden danger, of approaching death.[4] Hence it was, that in times of public calamity, in earthquakes, in the dangers of war, multitudes hurried to baptism, and the number of the existing clergy scarcely sufficed for the wants of all. Gregory of Nyssa, in his sermon on baptism, mentions a case which ought to have served as a warning example to many, but should also have been employed to caution men against that conception of baptism as something merely outward. A young man of a respectable family in the town of Comana in Pontus was fatally wounded by the Goths, — who had already taken the suburb, — as he was going out to reconnoitre. As he fell dying, he begged with a cry of despair, for baptism, which at the moment no one was at hand to bestow on him.

In the case of many, who first received baptism in the later period of life, this proceeding was no doubt attended with one advantage, — that the true import of the baptismal rite might then be more truly expressed. It was not until after they had been led, by some dispensation affecting the outward or the inner life, to resolve on becoming Christians with the whole soul, that they applied for baptism; and the ordinance, in this case, was not a mere opus operatum; but really constituted to them the commencement of a new era of life, truly consecrated, in the temper of the heart, to God. Thus it was, that many made it a point, from the time of their baptism, to enter upon the literal observance of Christ's precepts: they would no longer take an oath; and not a few outwardly renounced the world and became monks, which, at all events, shows what importance they attached to this ordinance. But, on the other hand, the cause of delaying baptism, with numbers, was their want of any true interest in religion, their ambiguous position between heathenism and Christianity, their being bred and living along in a medley of pagan and Christian superstitions; nor can it be denied, that the neglect of infant baptism, springing out of this sad state of things, contributed also to maintain and prolong it.

[1] Orat. 40, f. 648.

[2] They are very justly styled by Gregory of Nazianzen, l. c. f. 643: "*χριστοκατήλους καὶ χριστεμπόρους.*"

[3] Gregory of Nyssa, de baptismo, T. II. f. 221, aptly calls it: "*καινὴ καὶ παράδοξος ἐμπορία, οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἀλλὰ πλήθους ἀνομιῶν, καπηλεία περίεργος τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν καθάρσεως.*"

[4] *Πρὸς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἀναπνοὰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀναβαλλόμενοι σωτηρίαν.* Chrysostom. H. 18, in Joh. § 1.

By means of baptism, children would have been immediately introduced into a certain connection with the church, and at least brought more directly under its influence; instead of being exposed, as they now were, from their birth, to pagan superstition, and often kept at a distance, in their first training, from all contact with Christianity. To commend their children to God and to the Saviour in prayer, was not the custom of parents; but rather to call in old women, who were supposed to possess the power of protecting the life of infants by amulets and other devices of heathen superstition.[1]

We observed, in the preceding period, that the catechumens were distributed into two classes. To these, until the beginning of the fourth century, was added a third. At first a distinction was made, generally, between those who professed Christianity, though they had not, as yet, attained to a complete knowledge of the Christian doctrines, nor received baptism,— the catechumens, who were, in the common meaning of the word, called also Christians,[2] though in a vaguer sense, — and the fully instructed baptized Christians.[3] The lowest class among the former constituted the ἀκροώμενοι, ἀκροαταὶ, or auditores, audientes, who took this name from the circumstance that they were admitted to hear only the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon, and then were immediately dismissed.[4]

The second class consisted of those who had already received more full and accurate instruction in Christianity. In behalf of these a special prayer of the church was offered, and they received, kneeling, the blessing of the bishop: whence their name ὑποπίπτοντες, γονυκλινόντες, Genuflectentes, Prostrati; also Catechumens in the stricter sense of the term. This prayer of the church was so composed and arranged, as to bring directly before the consciousness of these individuals their need of illumination by the Holy Spirit, without which the divine doctrines could not be vitally apprehended, and the necessary connection between faith and practice; as well as to assure

[1] Chrysostom contrasts the Christian consecration which the child ought to receive from the first, with the pagan superstition to which it was immediately exposed: Τὰ περίαπτα καὶ τοὺς κώδωνας τοὺς τῆς χειρὸς ἐξηρτημένους καὶ τὸν κόκκινον στήμονα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πολλῆς ἀνοίας γέμοντα, δέον μηδὲν ἕτερον τῷ παιδὶ περιτιθέναι ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ φυλακήν. Hom. 12, in ep. I. ad Corinth. § 7.

[2] Hence the act of the bishop or presbyter, who received those who were not Christians, as candidates for the Christian church, into the first class of catechumens, by making over them the sign of the cross: Ποιεῖν χριστιανούς. Concil. œcum. Constantinop. I. c. 7. Ποιεῖν χριστιανόν.

[3] The distinction Christiani ac fideles, and Christiani et catechumeni. Cod. Theodos. de apostat. l. 2.

[4] Some have supposed that there was a still lower class, those who were not as yet permitted to attend the meetings of the church, the ἐξωθούμενοι. But as this attendance was allowed even to Pagans and Jews, it is scarcely possible to suppose that a class of catechumens were particularly designated by a name which signified their present exclusion. Neither would the term ἐξωθούμενοι, denoting, as it does, not the fact that persons have not been received, but that those once received have been excluded, be suited to the case in question. The V. canon of the council of Neocæsarea (in which it was simply ordered that those ἀκροαταί who had fallen into any sin rendering them unworthy of the Christian name, inasmuch as they could not be transferred to a lower class of catechumens, should be wholly excluded from the list), furnishes no warrant for the hypothesis of a particular class of *excluded* persons among the catechumens: on the contrary, the canon here speaks of such as were no longer to be considered as belonging to the catechumens in any sense.

them of the sympathy of the whole community in all their concerns.[1]

On leaving *this class*, they next took their place among those who proposed themselves for baptism, the baptismal candidates,[2] the Competentes,[3] φωτιζόμενοι. They learned by heart the confession of faith, since this was to be orally transmitted, as written on the living tablets of the heart, and not in a dead, outward letter (see vol. I. sect. 3, p. 308); and this confession, as containing the sum and essence of Christian doctrine, was explained to them by the lectures of the bishop or the presbyter. To the symbolical usages connected with the preparation for baptism, and with the rite of baptism itself, of which we have spoken in the preceding period, new ones were added, yet not the same in all the churches. It seems to have been a custom which very generally prevailed, for the candidates, until the time they were incorporated, on the octave of the completed rite of baptism (in the Western church, see above), with the rest of the church, to wear a veil on the head and over the face, which perhaps was meant, in the first place, as it is explained by Cyrill of Jerusalem, to serve as a symbol, expressing that the attention should not be diverted by foreign objects; afterwards, on the ground of St. Paul's declaration in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the additional meaning was given to it, that, as the act of veiling was a sign of dependence and of tutelage, so the removing of the veil was a sign of freedom and of maturity

[1] As an example of the manner in which the Christian feeling expressed itself in these prayers, we will insert here the form of this prayer, according to the liturgy of the ancient church of Antioch: "That the all-merciful God would hear their prayer, that he would open the ears of their hearts, so that they might perceive what eye hath not seen nor ear heard; that he would instruct them in the word of truth; that he would plant the fear of the Lord in their hearts, and confirm the faith in his truth in their souls; that he would reveal to them the gospel of righteousness; that he would bestow on them a godly temper of mind, a prudent understanding, and an upright and virtuous walk, so that they might at all times meditate and practice what is of God, might dwell in the law of the Lord day and night; that he would deliver them from all evil, from all devilish sins, and from all temptations of the evil one; that he would vouchsafe to them, in his own time, the new birth, the forgiveness of sins, the investiture of the new, imperishable, divine life (ἐνύμα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. See vol. I. and below, the doctrine concerning baptism); that he would bless their coming in and their going out, their families, their domestics; that he would multiply their children, bless them, preserve them to the ripeness of age, and make them wise; that he would cause all things that awaited them to work together for their good." The deacon then bade the catechumens, who had remained kneeling during this prayer, to arise, and invited them to pray themselves, "for the angel of peace, for peace upon all that awaited them, peace on the present days, and on all the days of their life; and for a Christian end." He concluded by saying: "Commend yourselves to the living God and to his Christ." They then received the blessing from the bishop, in which the whole community joined by saying, Amen. See Chrysostom, in epist. II. ad Corinth. Hom. II. § 5.

[2] Their names were inscribed for this purpose in the church books, the *diptycha*, the matricula ecclesiæ; which was: nomen dare baptismo. The ὀνοματογραφία is mentioned in Cyrill's prologue to his Catecheses, § 1; and to this the mystical exposition of Gregory of Nyssa alludes, de baptismo, T. II. f. 216, where he says, "that, as he inscribed the names with ink in the earthly roll, so might the finger of God write them down in his imperishable book" (ὅτε μοι τὰ ὀνόματα, ἵνα ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὰ ταῖς αἰσθηταῖς ἐγχαράξω βίβλοις). In the fifth act of the council under Mennas, A. D. 536, a deacon occurs, ὁ τὰς προσηγορίας τῶν εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα προσιόντων ἐγγράφειν τεταγμένος.

[3] Simul petentes regnum cœlorum. Augustin. S. 216.

conceded to them as regenerated persons.[1] To exorcism, was now added *insufflation*, or breathing on the candidates (ἐμφυσᾷν, insufflare), to denote the communication of the Holy Ghost, as the former had denoted deliverance from unclean spirits. The bishop next touched the ear of the candidate, saying, in the words of Mark 7 : 34, "Ephphatha, Be opened, and may God send thee an open understanding, that thou mayst be apt to learn and to answer."[2] In the North African church, the bishop gave to those whom he received as competentes, while signing the cross over them as a symbol of consecration, a portion of salt, over which a blessing had been pronounced. This was to signify the divine word imparted to the candidates as the true salt for human nature.[3] When the baptism was to be performed, the candidate was led to the entrance of the baptistery, where he first stood with his face towards the West, as a symbol of the darkness which he was now to renounce, and pronounced, addressing Satan as present, the formula of renunciation, the origin and meaning of which were explained under the preceding period: "I renounce thee, Satan, all thy works, all thy pomp, and all thy service."[4] Next he turned to the East, as a symbol of the light into which he would now enter from the darkness, and said: "To thee, O Christ! I devote myself."[5]

We noticed as existing already in the preceding period the custom of *anointing* at baptism.[6] In this period, when there was an inclination to multiply symbols, the custom arose of a double unction; one as a preliminary rite, denoting the consecration to be imparted to the believer by his fellowship with Christ, whereby he was to be delivered from the sins of the old man, the putting away of whom had just been symbolized by the laying aside of the garments.[7] The second unction, with the consecrated oil (the χρίσμα), the same symbolical act which we found existing already in the preceding period, denoted the completion of baptism by a perfect communion of divine life with the Redeemer, — the communication of the Holy Spirit consecrating the individual to the spiritual Christian priesthood.[8] At the first anointing, the head only was marked; at the second, the forehead, ears, nose, and breast, to show how this consecration by the divine life should pervade and ennoble the entire human nature.

We noticed in the preceding period, how, in the Western church, a distinct sacrament had arisen out of *confirmation*, or the laying on the hands of the bishop as a symbol of the communication of the Holy Spirit (see above), which originally made a part of the rite of bap-

[1] Cyrill. Præf. ad Catech. c. 5. Ἐσκέπασταί σου τό πρόσωπον, ἵνα σχολάσῃ λοιπὸν ἡ διάνοια. Augustin. S. 376, § 2. Hodie octavæ dicuntur infantium, revelanda sunt capita eorum, quod est indicium libertatis.

[2] The sacramentum apertionis. Ambros. de iis, qui mysteriis initiantur, c. 1. See the work ascribed to him, de sacramentis, l. I. c. 1.

[3] Augustin. de catechizandis rudib. c. 26. Confession. l. I. c. 11.

[4] Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, σατανᾶ, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου.

[5] Συντάσσομαί σοι, Χριστέ.

[6] See vol. I. sect. 3, p. 315.

[7] Cyrill. Mystagog. II. c. 3. Κοινωνοὶ ἐγίνεσθε τῆς καλλιελαίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Constitut. apostol. VII. 22.

[8] Τοῦτον τοῦ ἁγίου χρίσματος καταξιωθέντες, καλεῖσθε χριστιανοί, says Cyrill of Jerusalem, Catech. Mystagog. III. c. 4, conf. Concil. Laodic. c. 48.

tism. The ideas which men associated with the administration of that chrism, and with the imposition of hands by the bishop, were originally so kindred that they might easily be led to comprehend them both under one and the same conception, and to unite them in one transaction. Yet on this point the usage was still unsettled.[1]

The baptized now arrayed themselves in white robes, as a sign of regeneration to a new divine life, of infantile purity. Next followed a custom, in the Western churches, also handed down from the foregoing period, of giving them a mixture of milk and honey, as a symbol of childlike innocence (a foretype of the communion which was to be received by them).[2]

To the times of administering this rite more particularly observed in the preceding period, among which, however, the Easter Sabbath ever continued to be the principal one, was now added, in the Greek church, the *feast of Epiphany*, a favorite season for the administration of this ordinance, on account of its reference to the baptism of Christ; while, by the same church, the feast of Pentecost was not reckoned among the other customary seasons for administering baptism.[3] The free evangelical spirit of Chrysostom declared strongly against those who would confine baptism to particular seasons, and who imagined that a genuine baptism could not be administered at any other: he brings against this opinion the examples in the Acts of the Apostles.[4] The narrow spirit of the Roman church, on the other hand, was here again the first to lay a restraint on Christian liberty. The Roman bishop Siricius, in his decretal addressed to Himerius, bishop of Tarraco in Spain, A. D. 385, styled it arrogant presumption in the Spanish priests that they should baptize multitudes of people at Christmas, at the feast of Epiphany, and at the festivals of the apostles and martyrs, as well as at the other regular times; and decreed, on the other hand, that the baptism of infants should take place immediately after birth, and that, cases of necessity excepted,

[1] Jerome reckons among the things reserved to the bishop the manus impositio and invocatio Spiritus Sancti, as constituting together only one act. *Adversus Luciferianos*, § 8. Moreover, Augustin, in his work de baptismo contra Donatistas, l. V. § 33, considers the manus impositio to be the only thing necessary in the case of those who had already received baptism in a heretical church (and so, too, Siricius ep. ad Himerium. § 2); so that, according to this, confirmation would consist simply in the laying on of the hands of the bishop. But the seventh canon of the council of Laodicea ordains, that the Fideles from several sects whose baptism was recognized as valid, should not be admitted to the communion till they had received the chrism. The Roman bishop, Innocent, finally decided, in his Decretals to the bishop Decentius, A. D. 416, § 6, that the anointing of the forehead belonged to the act of consignation (in the middle age called confirmation), which was specially appropriated to the bishop. Hoc autem pontificium solis deberi episcopis, ut vel consignent vel paracletum Spiritum tradant Presbyteris chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum, non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, cum tradunt Spiritum paracletum.

[2] Hieronym. adv. Lucif. § 8. Cod. canon. eccles. Afr. canon. 37. "Mel et lac et quod uno die solennissimo — probably Easter Sabbath or Easter Sunday — (more probably the former, because on Easter Sunday they already united together in the communion) — in infantum mysterio solet offerri."

[3] Chrysost. H. I. in act. ap. § 6. He here intimates as the reason, that fasts belonged, with other things, to the preparation for baptism, and that no fasts were held during the season of Pentecost.

[4] H. I. in act. ap. § 8

baptisms should only be administered at the festivals of Easter and Pentecost.[1]

With reference to these two constituent portions of the church assemblies, the *catechumens*[2] and *baptized believers*, the whole service was divided into two portions: one in which the catechumens were allowed to join, embracing the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon, the prevailingly *didactic* portion; and the other, in which the baptized alone could take part, embracing whatever was designed to represent the fellowship of believers, — the communion, and all the prayers of the church which preceded it. These were called the missa catechumenorum, and the missa fidelium (λειτουργία τῶν κατηχουμένων and τῶν πιστῶν);[3] which division must of course have fallen into disuse after the general introduction of infant baptism.

We now leave the Missa Catechumenorum, to speak of the Missa Fidelium; and first of the preparations for the celebration of the communion.

The separation of the sacrament of the supper from the Agapæ had, as we have observed (see vol. I. sect. 3, p. 325), been made long before, in the preceding period. The original celebration of the latter was a thing so remote from the views and feelings of this present period, that the homiletic writers find it difficult even to form a just conception of it.[4] The Agapæ had lost their original meaning. They were at present banquets with which the wealthier members of the community sometimes entertained the poorer Christians, and at which

[1] See the Decretals, § 3.

[2] In respect to what took place between the two portions of time, the arrangements seem not to have been everywhere alike; and this is true especially so far as it concerns the number of the single prayers of the church, appointed for the different classes of Christians. In the nineteenth canon of the council of Laodicea, the prayer for the catechumens is mentioned first after the sermon; then, after their dismission, the prayer for the penitents (Pœnitentes). In the Apostolic Constitutions, there occurs also a special prayer for the baptismal candidates (Competentes); but the author of these Constitutions seeks in every way to multiply the liturgical services, and it may be questioned whether such a church prayer was ever in actual use. We find no indication of it in Chrysostom. There certainly occurs, however, in the latter writer (H. III. de incomprehensib. § 6, T. I. f. 469), the notice of a special church prayer for the Energumens, while the same is not mentioned in the above-cited canon of the Laodicean council. But it may be well supposed, that persons of this description would be found only in the larger towns, and under particular circumstances of climate, in sufficient numbers to constitute a class by themselves in the public worship, for whom a particular prayer would be offered. All these church prayers, however, are known to us only from Eastern sources. The question comes up, whether these special church prayers were in use also in the Western church, in addition to the universal prayer of the church for the different classes of Christians. Augustin, Sermo 49, § 8, represents the dismission of the catechumens, and next the Paternoster, which was designed only for baptized believers, the εὐχὴ τῶν πιστῶν, as following immediately after the sermon.

[3] The term *missa*, in the Latinity of this period, is a substantive, and synonymous with *missio*. The dismission of any assembly was called missa. Avitus of Vienna, ep. I. In ecclesia palatioque missa fieri pronuntiatur, cum populus ab observantia dimittitur. In this sense Augustin used the word, p. 49, § 8. Post sermonem fit missa catechumenorum. As the term then properly denoted the dismission of the catechumens, so it was next applied metonymically to the different portions of divine service which preceded or followed this dismission; and finally, in an altogether peculiar sense, to the communion which came afterwards, and by synecdoche to the whole of a complete service. Thus the word missa, *mass*, in its ordinary acceptation, came gradually into use.

[4] As, for example, Chrysostom, in the twenty-seventh homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

the latter enjoyed a somewhat better fare than ordinarily fell to their lot.[1] The more gloomy and morose spirit, whose opposition to the Agapæ we have already noticed in the preceding period, continued to show the same dislike to them in this. The above-mentioned council of Gangra, which manifested some resistance to this one-sided ascetic tendency, took the Agapæ under its protection; pronouncing sentence of condemnation, in its eleventh canon, on those who treated these festivals with contempt when they were made from Christian motives, and discourteously refused to attend them when the brethren were invited in honor of the Lord. Other councils did not object to the Agapæ, *in themselves considered*, but only forbade them to be held *in the churches*.[2]

In respect to the liturgical service connected with the sacrament of the supper in this period,[3] it is to be observed that it was based on the genuinely Christian view of the holy supper as representing the fellowship of divine life subsisting between believers, their Redeemer, and one another. The whole design, therefore, was to bring up to lively exercise in the minds of Christians the thought that they were now called to enter into communion with the ascended Christ, and should, in spirit, ascend up to where he is in heaven; that though the whole was a free gift of divine grace, yet they should be prepared to receive it by the direction of their affections to the Redeemer and by faith in him; that, without mutual love towards each other, they could not enter into communion with the Saviour. The deacon invited all present to bestow the mutual kiss of charity, as a sign of the fraternal communion of hearts, without which no true celebration of the sacred supper could be observed.[4] Next, the deacon called upon the assembled church to examine themselves and one another, to see that no unworthy person was among them;[5] meaning by this, that they should see, not merely that no catechumens, unbelievers, or heretics were present, but also that there was no one who harbored wrong feelings against his brother, no one playing the part of a hypocrite.[6] "Let us all stand up; our eyes directed to the Lord, with fear and trembling (in the sense of our own unworthiness and weakness, and the exalted character of him who is willing to commune with us.")[7]

[1] Augustin. c. Faustum. l. 20, c. 20. Agapes nostræ pauperes pascunt, sive frugibus sive carnibus. Plerumque in agapibus etiam carnes pauperibus erogantur.

[2] Concil. Laodicen. c. 28 Concil Hippon. 393, or Cod. canon. eccles. Afr. 42. Later Concil. Trullan. II. c. 74.

[3] As we learn from the Apostolic Constitutions, from l. V. among the *λόγοις μυσταγωγικοῖς* of Cyrill, and from the scattered fragments in the homilies of Chrysostom; also from single hints in the sermons of Augustin and of others.

[4] *Ἀσπάσεσθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ*, or in Cyrill, *ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβετε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα*: which last formula doubtless was to show that the clergy should consider this as addressed not only to the flock, but also to themselves.

[5] *Ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους*, according to Chrysostom.

[6] *Μή τις κατὰ τινος, μὴ τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει.*

[7] *Ὀρθοὶ πρὸς κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν.* In the word *προσφέρειν* lies, it is true, the notion of sacrifice; yet in this connection the term may still have reference to the notion of sacrifice, taken in the spiritual, symbolical sense. See vol. I. sect. 3, p. 330; and it is singular to observe, that here the sacrificial act is set forth *according to the original view*, which held the clergy to be only the representatives of the church in the exercise of the universal Christian priesthood, as a common transaction of the priest and the flock, not as a special act of the priest alone.

Then, for the purpose of making it still more distinctly felt, that none but the heart whose affections were bent on heavenly things could take any part in communion with the Saviour, the deacon once more said: "Lift up your hearts;"[1] to which the church responded, "Yes, to the Lord we have lifted them up."[2] Next, in conformity with that original view, of a spiritual thank-offering connected with the supper, followed the invitation of the bishop, calling on the church to unite in giving thanks for all the blessings of creation and redemption;[3] and the church replied to the bishop's invitation in the words, "Yes, it is meet and right to give thanks unto the Lord."[4] Before the elements were distributed, the bishop, to signify that only a holy temper was prepared to participate in a holy ordinance, exclaimed, "The holy, to the holy."[5] But the church expressed the consciousness, that no man is holy out of his own nature, that only one is holy, and the sinful could be made holy only through faith in him, by exclaiming, "One is holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ, blessed forever to the glory of God the Father."[6] During the celebration of the supper the 34th Psalm, particularly the 8th verse, was sung, as an invitation to the communicants.

In the consecration of the elements, it was considered to be essentially important, that the words of the institution, according to the gospel, and according to the Apostle Paul, should be pronounced without alteration; for it was the general persuasion, that when the priest uttered the words of Christ: "This is my body, my blood," by virtue of the magical power of these words, the bread and wine were, in some miraculous way, united with the body and blood of Christ.[7] (Concerning the particular notions on this point, see Sect. IV.) These words of institution were, however, introduced into a prayer,[8] in which God was invoked graciously to accept this offering.[9] When the bishop or presbyter was about to finish the consecration, the curtain which hung before the altar was drawn up,[10] and the consecrating minister now showed to the church the outward elements of the supper, which till now had been concealed from their eyes, lifting them up, as the

[1] Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας, or ἄνω τὸν νοῦν, or both together, ἄνω τὰς καρδίας καὶ τὸν νοῦν: sursum corda.

[2] Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

[3] See vol. I. sect. 3, p. 329.

[4] Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

[5] Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

[6] Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος εἷς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

[7] See Chrysostom. Hom. I. de proditione Judæ, § 6, T. II. f. 384. Τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα μεταῤῥυθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα· ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη ἅπαξ λεχθεῖσα καθ' ἑκάστην τράπεζαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τὴν θυσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται. De sacramentis, lib. IV. c. 4. Ubi venitur, ut conficiatur sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi; ergo sermo Christi hoc confecit sacramentum.

[8] Basilius, de Sp. S. c. 27, says that besides the words taken from the gospels and from Paul, many others were here used from tradition: προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα.

[9] Such a form of prayer has been preserved to us in the work de sacramentis, l. c.; and it is remarkable, that here, too, the primitive way of thinking and feeling still manifests its presence, since it was not Christ, but the bread and wine, the symbols of his body, which were represented as the object of the sacrificial act. Hanc oblationem, — it runs, — quod est figura corporis et sanguinis domini nostri, offerimus tibi hunc panem sanctum.

[10] Chrysostom. Hom. III. in epist. ad Ephes. § 5: ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα.

body and blood of Christ.[1] That the church then fell on their knees, or that they prostrated themselves on the ground, cannot indeed be proved by the authority of any ecclesiastical writer of this period. We know it was not until a much later period, that this usage was introduced into the Western church; but the custom, to say the least, fell in with the prevailing views and language of the Greek church;[2] and this outward sign of reverence was, in fact, more frequently used by the latter,[3] and in a less rigid sense, than among the people of the West.

We already noticed, in the preceding period, the origin of the diversity of custom which prevailed in respect to the less frequent, or the daily, participation in the communion. This difference of practice continued to prevail also in the present period. In the *Roman*, the *Spanish*, and the *Alexandrian* churches,[4] daily communion was still practiced, at least in the fourth century. In other churches, the custom was to observe the communion less frequently; each individual, in fact, joining in it according as his own inward necessities required. This diversity of practice, also, grew out of the different views which prevailed respecting the use of this means of grace. Some, who were in favor of the less frequent participation of the sacrament, said certain seasons ought to be chosen in which Christians might prepare themselves by a life of severity and abstinence, by collecting the thoughts, and by self-examination, for a worthy participation, so as not to join in the holy ordinance to their own condemnation. Others maintained that Christians ought never to keep away from the ordinance, except when, on account of some great transgression, they were, by the sentence of the bishop, suspended from the communion and condemned to church penance; on all other occasions they ought to look upon the Lord's body as a daily means of salvation.[5] Augustin and Jerome reckoned these differences also among the ones where each individual, without prejudice to Christian fellowship, was bound to proceed according to the usage of his own church and according to his own subjective point of view. "Each of them," says Augustin, "honors the Lord's body, in *his own way;* just as there was no difference betwen Zaccheus and that centurion, when one of them received the Lord joyfully into his house, Luke 19: 6, and the other said, 'Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof,' (Matt. 8: 8), — both honoring the Saviour in different, and, so to speak, opposite ways; both felt themselves wretched in their sins, both obtained grace." Chrysostom inclines to the opinion that, as the celebration of the communion of believers with the Lord and with one another, in the sacred supper, belonged to the essential being of every

[1] Basil. de Sp. S. c. 27: *ἀνάδειξις τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου.* Dionys. Areopagit. hierarch. 3. Of the consecrating officer it is said: *ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγει ἀνακαλύψας.*

[2] See Theodoret. Dial. II. inconfus. respecting the outward elements in the supper: *προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται.*

[3] See, above, the account of image worship.

[4] Respecting the two first, see Hieronymus, ep. 71 ad Lucinium, § 6; respecting the latter, Basilius of Cæsarea, ep. 93.

[5] See Augustin. ep. 54 ad Januar. § 4.

church assembly, therefore, whenever the communion was celebrated in the church, all should participate in it: but here assuredly everything depends on its being done in the right temper of heart; else it must only redound to the condemnation of him who unworthily participates in the ordinance. "Many," says he, in a discourse preached at Antioch,[1] "partake of the sacrament *once* in the year, others *twice*. The anachorets in the deserts oftentimes can partake of it only once in two years. Neither of these cases can be approved, in itself considered. We can give our unqualified approbation only to those who come to the communion with a pure heart, a conscience void of offense, and a blameless life. Such may continually repair to the sacrament of the supper; but those who are not so disposed eat and drink condemnation to themselves, even though they partake of it but once." Here also he was obliged to contend against those errors which proceeded from the confusion between the inward and the outward. He was forced to complain that many, who, on ordinary occasions, felt themselves unworthy to participate in the communion, still had no scruples in communicating once a year, after the fasts, at the festival of Easter, or of the Epiphany; just as if they did not incur the same condemnation, whether they received the holy supper at these or at any other times, in an unholy temper of mind.[2] He complains[3] that of those who, on other days when the church assembled, attended the entire missa fidelium, very few participated in the communion, to which the whole liturgy had reference; so that the whole act in this case was a mere formality. "They either belong to the class of the unworthy, who are notified (see above) to depart from the assembly, or they remain behind as belonging with the worthy, in which case they ought to partake of the communion. What a contradiction, that while they join in all those confessions and songs, they yet cannot participate of the Lord's body!"

In those cases, however, where the custom of daily communion still prevailed, but divine service was held and the sacramental supper consecrated only once or twice on Sunday and Friday, or at most but four times a week, on Sunday, Saturday, Wednesday, and Friday, no other course remained for those who were desirous of having the body of the Lord for their daily nourishment, except to take home with them a portion of the consecrated bread, — for a superstitious dread prevented them from taking with them the wine, which might be so easily spilled, — and to reserve it for future use, so that now they might every day, before engaging in any worldly employment, participate of the sacrament, and consecrate and strengthen themselves by communion with the Lord.[4] In voyages by sea, also, Christians were in

[1] H. XVII. in ep. ad Hebr. § 4.

[2] H. V. in ep. I. ad Timoth. § 3. In ep. ad Ephes. H. III. § 4.

[3] The last-cited place, § 5.

[4] This is said by Jerome, in ep. 48 ad Pammachium, § 16, concerning Rome: Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant; and subsequently, in reference to those who, although they were afraid to come to church, yet had no fear of participating in the Lord's body at home, he says: An alius in publico, alius in domo, Christus est? In like manner, Basil of Cæsarea says of Alexandria, ep. 93, that, in that place, each one communicated, whenever he pleased, at home.

the habit of taking with them a portion of the consecrated bread, so as to have it in their power to partake of the sacrament by the way.[1]

This abuse, so contradictory to the original design of the holy supper, whereby it was converted into a sort of amulet,[2] was the occasion, too, of bringing about the first deviation from the original form of institution; for Christians were now satisfied when they partook of the consecrated bread without the cup. In other respects, the full participation of the sacrament in both kinds was uniformly held to be necessary. The contrary practice was condemned as savoring of Manicheism; since the Manicheans, conformably to their ascetic principles, avoided partaking of the wine in the sacrament of the supper.[3]

The preceding period shows us how, by a change of the idea of the Christian priesthood, another shape and direction was given also to the original idea of a sacrificial act in the sacrament of the supper. In the present period we may still trace, by various marks, the separate existence of these very different elements, out of which the notion of a sacrifice in the Lord's supper gradually arose. On the one hand, was the *older form of intuition* and the *older phraseology*, according to which the name sacrifice was referred to the *outward elements*, and the offering of the same was regarded as an expression of the temper of thankful childlike love, with which one is ready to consecrate all to the service of God: on the other, was the later form of intuition, which referred the sacrifice to the body of Christ himself. As regards this notion of sacrifice, the thought is undoubtedly expressed, that here we should only have in mind the *celebrating* of that sacrifice which was offered, once for all, by Christ; as Chrysostom says: "Do we not sacrifice every day? True, we sacrifice; but so only as we celebrate the memory of Christ's death.[4] We ever present the same offering; or rather, we celebrate the memory of that one sacrifice."[5] So Augustin also says, that Christians, by the presentation and participation of the body and blood of Christ celebrate the memory of the sacrifice made once for all.[6] He denominates the Lord's supper a sacrifice in the sense that it is the sacra-

[1] See Ambros. oratio funebris de obitu fratris Satyri. This notion of a magical virtue residing in the bread, is illustrated by an example which Ambrose here relates in the case of his own brother. The latter, at some period before he had received baptism, being on board a ship which ran ashore and was wrecked, obtained from some of his fellow voyagers who had been baptized, a portion of the consecrated bread, which they carried with them. This he bound round his neck, and then confidently threw himself into the sea. He was the first to get to the land, and of course ascribed his deliverance to the power of this charm.

[2] Meanwhile we find, in the third canon of the council of Cæsaraugusta (Saragossa), A. D. 380, and in the fourteenth canon of the first council of Toledo, A. D. 400, a stringent decree against those who did not partake of the sacrament of the supper at church; but this decree may perhaps have been directed, not so much against the abuse of treasuring up the consecrated element, by itself considered, as against the hypocritical catholicism of the Priscillians.

[3] See Leo the Great, Sermo 41.

[4] Hom. XVII. in epist. ad Hebr. § 3, Ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

[5] Μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας.

[6] Peracti ejusdem sacrificii memoriam celebrant. c. Faustum. l. XX. c. 18.

ment of the celebration of the memory of Christ's sacrifice.[1] Yet although this idea lay at the basis, it was still something more than this for feeling, and for the dogmatic conception in which this feeling expressed itself. Unconsciously blended with it was the notion of the peculiar effects belonging to a priestly sacrifice, though men could not bring this *more* under the form of definite conceptions.

At this point came in many traditional usages from the preceding period, which, though they proceeded originally from a purely Christian feeling, yet from their connection with the false notion of a sacrifice, took upon them an unevangelical meaning. With the prayer of thanksgiving at the celebration of the supper, were joined intercessions for all the different classes of Christendom as well as for the conversion of unbelievers, and also for the repose of the souls of the dead. In joining together these objects, the purely Christian idea at bottom was, that all prayers of Christians, both thanksgivings and intercessions, had their Christian significance from their reference to the Redeemer and the redemption; that the spirit of love actuating the community of believers, longed to have the blessed effects of the redemption experienced by every member of Christ's body, and by those too who did not yet belong to it, who needed first to be incorporated with it by divine grace; that nothing which concerned the individual members of Christ's body could be alien from this love; that the fellowship between those who had died in the faith of the Lord, and the living members of the same community of the Lord, still endured and could not be interrupted by death; that the celebration of the memory of Christ's sufferings for the redemption of mankind was especially suited to call forth all these feelings. It is this combination of ideas, too, though not so distinctly apprehended, which lies at the basis of those rhetorico-poetical representations in the Greek homilists, concerning the connection of these church prayers with the celebration of the Lord's supper.[2] Petitions were offered for those who had fallen asleep in Christ, and for those who celebrated their memory.[3] On this occasion, too, the individuals were particularly mentioned by name, who had made donations to the church; a practice certainly calculated to inspire the more wealthy with a false confidence, by leading them to imagine that by such gifts they could purchase the remission of their sins, or to flatter their vanity, since they considered it a special honor to have their names thus publicly proclaimed.[4] Parents, children, husbands and wives, celebrated the

[1] L. c. c. 21: Sacrificium Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur.

[2] E. g. Chrysostom. H. XXI. in act. apostol. § 4. *Καταγγέλλεται τότε τὸ μυστήριον τὸ φρικτὸν, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ θεὸς, μετὰ τοῦ θαύματος ἐκείνου εὐκαίρως ὑπομιμνήσκει αὐτὸν τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων.*

[3] *Ὁ διάκονος βοᾷ· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένων.*

[4] See Hieronymus, lib. II. in Jeremiam, c. 11, v. 16, opp. ed. Martianay, T. III. f. 584. ed Vallarsi, T. IV. 2. f. 921. Nunc publice recitantur offerentium nomina et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem — also the 29th canon of the council of Elvira, nomen alicujus ab altare cum oblatione recitare. The Roman bishop Innocent directed, that all the gifts presented should first be commended to God, as consecrated to his service by the love of the Christians; and that then all the individuals should be mentioned by name in the prayers of the church at the celebration of the communion. Prius oblationes

memory of their departed friends, by laying a gift on the altar at their death and on each returning anniversary of it, thus causing them to be particularly remembered in the prayers of the church.[1]

But now, when the idea of a commemorative celebration of the sacrifice of Christ for mankind passed insensibly into the idea of an efficacious sacrificial act of the priest standing as a mediator between God and men, it was just from the connection of these intercessions and offerings with this sacrificial act, that a special efficacy was attributed to them.[2] The expressions, more rhetorical than dogmatically precise, which were employed by the Greek homilists, for the purpose of representing to the imagination the efficacy of these intercessions,[3] likewise contributed to promote the tendency, already existing in the popular belief, to regard this ordinance in the light of a charm, just as in other cases we may often observe a similar action and reaction between the dogmatical and the liturgical departments.

The purest way of seizing the idea of a sacrifice in the Lord's supper, we find in Augustin. He makes the true sacrifice to consist in this, that the soul, consumed by the flame of divine love, consecrates itself wholly to God; all acts proceeding from such a disposition he regarded as a sacrifice *in this sense*. The whole redeemed city of God, the community of saints, is the universal sacrifice presented, by the High-priest who offered himself for us to God, in order that we, by following his example, might be the body of so great a Head. It is this, that the celebration of Christ's sacrifice in the Lord's supper represents. In the sacrifice of Christ, the church offers, at the same time, herself to God as a sacrifice.[4] We must own, that although the designating the Lord's supper a sacrifice is somewhat unscriptural, yet the thoughts placed in connection with it by Augustin convey a genuinely Christian meaning: for assuredly, the sacrifice offered by Christ for sinful mankind can only be vitally appropriated by a *self*-sacrifice accomplished in fellowship with him; and the life of the whole community of believers, consecrated to God

sunt commendandæ ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt, edicenda, ut *inter sacra mysteria* nominentur, ep. 25 ad Decentium, § 5. The patrons of the church were also specially mentioned on this occasion; for Chrysostom represents it as a special privilege of the proprietor who allows a church to be built on his land, *τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναφοραῖς ἀεὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐγκεῖσθαι.* H. 18, in act. ap. § 5.

[1] Chrysost. H. 29, in act. ap. § 3. *Ἔθος ὁ δεῖνα ἔχει ποιεῖν τὴν ἀνάμνησιν τῆς μητρὸς ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τοῦ παιδίου.* Epiphanius cites among other ancient usages of the church, expos. fid. cathol.: *ἐπὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐξ ὀνόματος τὰς μνήμας ποιοῦνται, προσευχὰς τελοῦντες καὶ λατρείας καὶ οἰκονομίας.* Chrysostom distinguishes expressly the presentation of the Lord's supper, in reference to the departed, from the prayer and the alms connected therewith. *Οὐκ εἰκῇ προσφοραὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπελθόντων γίνονται, οὐκ εἰκῇ ἱκετηρίαι, οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐλεημοσύναι.* In act. ap. H. XXI. § 4.

[2] Thus the words of Innocent, in the above-cited passage from his Decretals, refer to this connection: Ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus.

[3] See Chrysostom. H. 21, in act. ap. § 4. "As, on the celebration of an imperial victory, the imprisoned obtain their liberty, but he who lets this opportunity slip obtains no further grace, so it is here." And Cyrill of Jerusalem, Cateches. Mystagog. V. § 7. "Just as when the emperor condemns one to banishment, but, if his kinsmen present a chaplet in his behalf, the emperor is induced to show him favor; so we present to God, in behalf of those who are asleep, though they were sinners, the Christ who was offered for our sins."

[4] De civitate Dei, l. X. c. 6. Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re, quam offert, ipsa offeratur.

through the priesthood of Christ, constitutes such a sacrifice. But although this idea of sacrifice thus receives a Christian meaning, still there was ever present in this unscriptural designation of the holy supper a foothold for those foreign notions which even Augustin himself adopted from the general consciousness of the church; for he believed he had no authority for denying that offerings for the souls of the dead might be of some advantage to them.[1]

To that which, in itself considered, had sprung out of a purely Christian root, but had received a different turn by becoming diverted and estranged from the original Christian spirit, belonged also the *celebration of the memory of the great teachers of the universal church, divinely enlightened by the Holy Spirit*, or of distinguished individual confessors of the faith. Considered by itself, a purely Christian feeling and interest manifested themselves in this fact, — that men not only expected and recognized the working of the Holy Spirit in the great body of the church, but had their attention also directed, in a particular manner, to special forms of this working, in sanctified and enlightened individuals, who had been especially employed as the organs of the Spirit, — that in these, and in their works, men specially honored the power and grace of God, the Redeemer and Sanctifier; giving this particular direction to the views of their contemporaries, and of following generations which were to be trained under the influence of Christian remembrances. The days commemorative of holy men passed over from the preceding period into this. Many such days were celebrated in the particular portions of the church where these men were born, or where they had labored; and some of them throughout the whole church, with more than usual pomp and circumstance. The latter was the case with feasts in commemoration of the martyrdom of *Peter* and *Paul*, which were among the principal feasts at Rome, and with the feast in honor of *St. Stephen*.

There was also a consciousness of the right relation of the saints to Christ lying at bottom, when the Western church made the day consecrated to Stephen follow next after the feast of Christmas. Thus was Stephen to be represented as the first witness of Christ, who was born on the day before. Thus it was to be signified, that a Saviour must be born, before a Stephen was possible, before he could have the strength required for such a martyrdom. This martyrdom was to be a perpetual memorial of the power human nature had obtained through the birth of Christ. The Western homilists knew very well how to unfold and apply this connection of ideas; particularly Augustin.

To the general rule, requiring that the day of the death of holy men should be celebrated as the day of their higher birth, the Western church made an exception of the case of John the Baptist, both on account of the relation of his nativity to the nativity of Christ, and on account of the peculiar circumstances attending it.

[1] Ep. 22 ad Aurelium, § 6. Oblationes pro spiritibus dormientium, quas vere aliquid adjuvare credendum est.

A distinguishing mark of Christian judgment was also shown in this, that people no longer shrunk from contact with a dead body, as if it were unclean or defiling; but regarded the body as the organ of a purified soul, and destined to be exalted to a higher mode of existence. Hence the remains of such a body as had once been a temple of the Holy Ghost were watched over and protected by the faithful memory of reverence and affection; they were gladly received and deposited in newly erected churches, so as to connect these places, as it were, by an outward historical bond, with the Christian deeds of the church achieved in more ancient times. But we saw how already in the preceding period the multitude began to incline towards a deification of human instruments. Even those church teachers who, in one respect, resisted this popular inclination,[1] were in another respect carried away themselves by the same spirit; and they certainly fostered in its germ that tendency, the extravagances and manifestly pagan-like offshoots of which they contended against. The churches now erected over the graves of martyrs, tended to promote the veneration of them. The feelings and remembrances here awakened by the place itself, might, in many cases, lead to extraordinary effects on the mind. Thus it may be explained how the conscience of many a guilty individual might here be aroused, and impel him to the confession of his crime;[2] how many kinds of diseases, where a particular bent of the imagination or state of the nervous system had special sway, might here be relieved, — especially mental diseases, as indeed many of the churches of the martyrs were celebrated for the cure of demoniacs. The same effects were attributed to the reliques of saints and martyrs, the sight and touch of which often produced great effects, by virtue of what they were for the mind of the beholder. The fact was triumphantly appealed to, that the divine grace revealed itself in so manifold ways, through these consecrated organs, that the body of each martyr was not preserved in a single burial-place, but cities and villages shared it between them; and that although the martyr's body was thus distributed in fragments, yet the gracious virtue of the remains continued to be undivided.[3] But while veneration was thus turned aside to the instruments of Christ, the consequence followed, that the single relation of men's souls to Christ fell more into the background, and there arose a deification of the human, by which occasion was given for the incorporation, under a Christian form, of much that was essentially heathen, with Christian modes of feeling and thinking. The ten-

[1] At the death of a venerated monk, contentions might arise between the people of the city and the country about the possession of his body. See Theodoret. hist. religios. c. 21, T. III. p. 1239. But pious monks, as has been already seen in the case of Anthony, took care beforehand to have the place of their burial concealed, and to prevent their bodies from becoming objects of worship. See hist. religios. p. 1148 and 1221, in the vol. just cited.

[2] Augustin tells the story of a thief, who was about to perjure himself in the church of a martyr, but was so wrought upon as to confess his theft, and restore the stolen property. Novimus Mediolani apud memoriam sanctorum, ubi mirabiliter et terribiliter dæmones confitentur, furem quendam, qui ad eum locum venerat, ut falsum jurando deciperet, compulsum fuisse confiteri furtum et quod abstulerat reddere. Augustin, ep. 78, § 3.

[3] Theodoret. Ἑλληνικ. θεραπεύτικ. παθήματ. disputat. 8, T. IV. f. 902. Πόλεις καὶ κώμαι ταῦτα διανειμάμεναι· μερισθέντος τοῦ σώματος ἀμέριστος ἡ χάρις μεμένηκε.

dency to convert Christian ideas into mere external forms, bears on one side the Jewish stamp; or, where, as here, it is connected with a Christian principle opposed to the Jewish position, it takes the character of paganism. There were to be found in the churches of the martyrs, as formerly in the temples of pagan gods, representations in gold or silver, of limbs supposed to have been healed by help of the martyrs, and which were suspended there as consecrated gifts.[1] Transferring to these churches the old practice of incubation in the temples of Æsculapius, sick persons laid themselves down in them, and sought for the cure of their complaints by such remedies as it was supposed the martyrs would reveal in dreams during the night; and many were the legends told of their appearances on these occasions. If a man was about to start on a journey, he besought some martyr to accompany and protect him; and on his safe return, he repaired again to the church to return thanks. As, under Paganism, every province and city had its tutelary deity, so now the martyrs were converted into these tutelary beings.[2] Sometimes pagan myths were mixed up with Christian legends, martyrs converted into mythical personages, and others invented who never lived. Thus the fable of Castor and Pollux was transferred to Phocas, a martyr, said to have been a gardener at Sinope, in Pontus, — whether any such person ever lived, or the whole was but a mythical invention, — and he was converted into a patron saint of sailors, whose opportune appearance and friendly interposition formed the subject of many a legend.[3] The pagan celebrations in memory of the dead (the parentalia), offerings and sacrificial banquets in honor of the manes, were transferred to martyrs and other deceased persons, at whose graves the people prepared feasts, which they were invited to attend as guests. Well-meaning bishops had overlooked these things in the untutored multitude, hoping that, by the triumph of Christianity over sensual rudeness, these abuses would disappear of themselves.[4] But it was by means of this unwise connivance, springing from an anxiety to promote conversion by masses, that encouragement was given to the habit of confounding pagan and Christian customs, and the pervading influence of the Christian spirit greatly retarded. The abuse, which might have been more easily suppressed at the beginning, was now upheld by the authority of the older bishops, and, by length of time, became so inveterate, that a North African council could only decree

[1] Theodoret. l. c. T. IV. f. 922.

[2] As Theodoretus says himself, l. c. f. 902: *Σωτῆρας καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων καὶ ἰατροὺς ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ὡς πολιούχους τιμῶσι καὶ φύλακας·* and Synesius says of the Thracian martyrs: *Θεοὺς*
Δρηστῆρας ὅσοι
Γόνιμον Θρᾴκης
Ἔχουσι πέδον.
Hymn III. v. 458.

[3] Connected with this was the following beautiful, though not purely Christian custom. During a voyage at sea, in preparing the common table for the whole crew, a dish was set for Phocas, who was supposed to be an invisible guest. The different individuals of the crew purchased this dish in turn. The amount of all the days of the voyage was reckoned up; and, the vessel having prosperously terminated her voyage, the crew distributed all the money thus collected among the poor, as a testimony of gratitude for the successful journey. Asterius in Phocam.

[4] See vol. I. sect. 3, p. 334.

that these banquets should be discontinued as far as possible,[1] and that it required all the firmness and pastoral prudence of an Augustin, which few possessed in the same eminent degree, to get the better here over the rudeness and superstition of the multitude.[2]

Pagans and Manichæans already frequently reproached the catholic church with deifying the saints. As it regards the Pagans, it was indeed oftentimes *the very circumstance* which most completely accorded with the *Christian feelings*, that was most repugnant to their own. The church fathers defended themselves against this reproach, by affirming that it was far from being the design of the church to deify the martyrs; that they were only honored and loved as instruments of the divine working. Thus Augustin says:[3] "The Christian people celebrate the memory of the martyrs, as well that we may be excited to emulate their virtues, as that we may share in their merits and be supported by their prayers. Yet it is not to the martyrs, but only to the God of the martyrs, even in churches consecrated to their memory, that we erect altars. What bishop has ever stood at the altar near the grave of a martyr, and said, 'We offer to thee, Peter, Paul, or Cyprian!' Whatever is offered, we offer to the God who crowned the martyrs, and we present it on the holy spots consecrated to the memory of those whom he has crowned; so that, by the very recollections of the place, our feelings may rise upward, and our love be enkindled as well towards those whose example we would imitate, as towards Him by whose help we may be enabled to do so. We honor the martyrs, then, with that reverence of love and communion which even in this life we pay to the holy men of God, who, in the temper of their hearts, appear to us to be prepared to suffer such things for the gospel truth. But the former we reverence with the greater devotion, as the confidence is greater with which it can be done, after the conflict is over, — as the assurance with which we praise the conquerors is more complete than we can have with regard to those who are still engaged in the conflict." So Theodoret: "We honor them as witnesses and well disposed servants of the most High."[4] The church teachers, as well as the rest, shared in that wide-spread faith in the operations of divine grace through the remains which had once served as the sanctified bodily organs of these men. They looked upon these as an evidence of the importance which a *sanctified* man, in whatever state or condition, had in the sight of God; they spoke on this subject with enthusiasm: but at the same time they constantly referred back from these sanctified

[1] Concil. Hippon. A. D. 393, "quantum fieri potest."

[2] See the report of this matter in Augustin. ep. 29 ad Alypium. This pagan celebration was transferred particularly to the festival which was held originally in remembrance of the power to bind and to loose, conferred on Peter, the natalitia ecclesiæ et episcopatus. As this festival fell on the 22d of February, the usages connected with various kinds of sin offerings, the *parentalia, februationes*, which happened in the month of February, came to be mixed in with it. Perhaps, too, the idea of the keys to the kingdom of heaven being given to Peter, gave occasion for the introduction of various pagan ideas and customs of this sort. See concil. Turon. II. A. D. 567, c. 22, against those qui in festivitate cathedræ Petri cibos mortuis offerunt.

[3] C. Faust. l. 21, c. 21.

[4] L. c. 908. Ὡς θεοῦ γε μάρτυρας καὶ εὐνους θεράποντας.

men, to God the author of all, and represented them as only living monuments of the Redeemer's grace. Teachers like Chrysostom and Augustin exhorted their hearers not to place their dependence on the intercession of the martyrs, without any holiness of their own; not to use them as a crutch for their own inactivity; representing the martyrs and saints as being, after all, but *men*, in their *sinful nature* the same with all others; and calling upon their hearers to reverence them truly by imitating their virtues. In a word, we find here various conflicting elements of a Christian estimation of true worth, and an unevangelical over-valuation of human instruments.

So also the liturgy of the Eastern church, where it makes mention of the martyrs, contains something at variance with the exaggerated reverence bestowed on them. For as the original custom of *oblationes pro martyribus* arose from the fact that they were placed on the same level with other redeemed sinful men, so this view of the case passed over into the liturgical forms, and the martyrs were mentioned, in like manner with others, in the intercessions.[1] We must endeavor to reconcile this element, originating in the primitive Christian way of thinking, with the prevailing notions concerning the martyrs, by some such explanation as the following: that, although the martyrs were mentioned in the same rank and series, yet this was done with a different reference and in another sense; the martyrs being considered as a standing witness of the redeeming power of Christ's sufferings, the remembrance of which was celebrated in the sacrament of the supper, and also of his victory over death;[2] just as, in celebrating the triumph of an emperor, all partook of the honor who had contributed to procure the victory.

Whilst, in the case of such witnesses, we see the spirit of the ancient church still continuing to operate, we also see that it was by individuals representing the same spirit, that the contest was carried on with those foreign excrescences of the church life. It was precisely this veneration, verging on idolatry, paid by the multitude to martyrs, which moved the presbyter *Vigilantius* of Barcelona, — who was a native of Gaul, and who has already been spoken of, as an opponent of the extreme ascetic tendency and of Monachism, — to lift up his voice against it. He seems to have been a man possessed, indeed, of too headstrong a temper, — as he shows himself to be in other controversies also, of which we shall speak further on, — yet actuated by an honest and pious zeal for preserving the purity of the Christian faith. Had he used greater moderation in attacking aberrations of the religious spirit which still had some foundation in the feelings, although misinterpreted, of the Christian heart, he might have accomplished more. In a tract written against the abuses of the church in his time, he calls the venerators of martyrs and reliques, "ashes-worshippers and idolaters."[3] He represents it as supremely

[1] In the general *προσφορὰ* for the community of believers, it was said also: *Κἂν μάρτυρες ὦσι, κἂν ὑπὲρ μαρτύρων.* Chrysost. H. 21, in act. ap. § 4

[2] Chrysostom: *Καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ τεθνατῶσθαι τὸν θάνατον σημεῖον.*

[3] Cinerarios et idololatras. Hieronym. ep. 109 ad Riparium.

ridiculous to manifest such veneration, nay, adoration, of a miserable heap of ashes and wretched bones; to cover them under costly drapery, and kiss them.[1]

In answer to this reproach of worshipping the martyrs, Jerome replies, that Christians were far from intending to pay creatures the honor which is due to the Creator alone; they so honored the reliques of the martyrs as to worship Him only of whom the martyrs had borne testimony. The honor they showed to the servants had reference to the Master himself, who says, Matth. 10: 40, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me." Jerome notices nothing but the Christian truth lying at the basis of this veneration of the saints. He pays no regard to the popular mind in which this truth must have become more and more obscured. And yet he brings forward, as a witness against Vigilantius, the example of the emperors, and the enthusiastic devotion of the multitude.[2]

When Vigilantius spoke of *wretched bones*, Jerome could very properly reply, that devout believers saw and felt that something more was there; that in truth they saw not the dead bones, but through them looked up to the saints living with God; for verily God is not the God of the dead but of the living.

Vigilantius complained that the heathen practice of placing lighted lamps before the images of their gods had been transferred to the martyrs; that wax tapers were burned during the day-light in the churches of the martyrs;[3] how could they think of honoring those martyrs by the light of miserable wax candles, on whom the Lamb in the midst of God's throne reflected all the brightness of his majesty? To this Jerome replies: "Even though some of the laity or pious women might, in their simplicity, suppose the martyrs were so honored; yet we are bound to recognize and to respect the pious feelings evinced, though they may err in the mode of their expression. Thus Christ approved the pious feelings of the woman who anointed him, and reproved the disciples who found fault with her."

Vigilantius inveighed, also, against the nocturnal assemblies (the vigils) held in the churches of the martyrs; asserting, what his antagonist Jerome could not deny, that these assemblies, in which both the

[1] Quid necesse est, te tanto honore non solum honorare, sed etiam adorare illud nescio quid, quod in modico vasculo transferendo colis? ubicunque pulvisculum nescio quod in modico vasculo pretioso linteamine circumdatum osculantes adorant. Hieronym. c. Vigilant. § 4. The nescio quod intimates, perhaps, that the bones of some unknown person were often given out for reliques.

[2] His language is characteristic of the times: Sacrilegus fuit Constantius imperator, qui sanctas reliquias Andreæ, Lucæ et Timothei transtulit Constantinopolim, apud quas dæmones rugiunt, et inhabitatores Vigilantii illorum se sentire præsentiam confitentur? Sacrilegus dicendus est et nunc Augustus Arcadius, qui ossa beati Samuelis longo post tempore de Judæa transtulit in Thraciam? Omnes episcopi non solum sacrilegi, sed et fatui judicandi, qui rem vilissimam et cineres dissolutos in serico et vase aureo portaverunt? Stulti omnium ecclesiarum populi, qui occurrerunt sanctis reliquiis et tanta lætitia quasi præsentem viventemque prophetam cernerent, susceperunt.

[3] Prope ritum gentilium videmus sub prætextu religionis introductum in ecclesiis, sole adhuc fulgente moles cereorum accendi. Magnum honorem præbent hujusmodi homines beatissimis martyribus, quos putant de vilissimis cereolis illustrandos, quos agnus, qui est in medio throni, cum omni fulgore majestatis suæ illustrat.

sexes participated, frequently served as a pretext and as an occasion for gross immoralities. He seems also to have thought it unbefitting that the vigils — which, according to ancient usage, were a distinctive feature of the Easter festival — should be transferred to the festival of the martyrs. He inveighed next against the *reliance placed on the intercessions of the martyrs*. "According to the holy Scriptures," says he, "the living only should mutually pray for each other." To this Jerome replies, that, if the apostles and martyrs in this earthly life, before they had yet come safely out of the conflict, were able to pray for others, how much more could they do so after they had obtained the victory.

As an argument against such invocations, Vigilantius affirms that the martyrs could not be present wherever they were invoked, to hear men's petitions, and to be ready to succor them. Here he may have conceived of the habitation of the blessed spirits after a manner somewhat confined and local, and possibly may have taken various figurative expressions of the New Testament in too material and literal a sense.[1] And so he might on the other side ridicule the notion, that the saints must be invoked in the presence of their relics. "Therefore the souls of the martyrs — said he — love their ashes, and hover about them, are ever present with them, lest when one comes there to pray, they should, by their absence elsewhere, be prevented from hearing him."[2] On the other hand, Jerome asserts of the glorified saints, that they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes, Rev. 14 : 4. If, then, the Lamb is everywhere present, so must we believe that they also who are with the Lamb are everywhere present; thus the faithful are, in spirit, everywhere present with Christ. We see that both Vigilantius and Jerome, although in opposite ways, were for knowing too much respecting those things of a higher world which are hidden from the eye of man, and of which he cannot judge by the forms of his earthly perception.

When the miracles said to have been wrought at the graves of martyrs, and by their reliques, were alleged in defense of the propriety and great importance of honoring them, we do not find that Vigilantius took much pains to examine into the credibility of these reports, but he simply opposed to this prevailing passion for the miraculous, the Christian principle of judgment respecting miracles. "The Christian who is certain of his faith," says he, "neither seeks nor asks for miracles; nor does he need them. Miracles were wrought, not for the believing, but for the unbelieving." Perhaps Vigilantius intended, by so saying, to have it understood, on the one hand, that those who were seeking miracles from the martyrs showed, by this very circumstance, how far removed they were from the genuine

[1] We perceive here the advocate of the grossly literal interpretation of the Bible, the opponent of Origen, when he says: Vel in sinu Abrahæ vel in loco refrigerii vel subter aram Dei animas apostolorum et martyrum consedisse. Ed. Vallarsi. T. II. 1, f. 391.

[2] Ergo cineres suos amant animæ martyrum, et cirumvolant eos semperque præsentes sunt, ne forte si aliquis precator advenerit, absentes audire non possint? Ibid. f. 395.

Christian spirit, and on the other, that, in the main, these pretended miracles were nothing but a delusion; for, as the end for which all miracles were performed no longer existed, there was no more need of miracles as a means to this end.

Comparing together these two men, Jerome and Vigilantius, we discern in the one an indulgent recognition of the Christian element lying at bottom, even in the faulty expressions of Christian feeling, but without a truly earnest zeal to preserve the purity of Christian truth; while in the other we discern this earnest zeal, but without that mild indulgence toward the religious sentiment, even in its aberrations, which should ever be united with the zeal for reformation.

This extravagant, superstitious tendency manifested itself also particularly in the *worship of the Virgin Mary*. The ascetic spirit venerated in Mary the ideal of the unmarried life; the name, "mother of God" (θεοτόκος), which it had become the custom to apply to her ever since the last times of the fourth century, and which afterwards became the occasion of so many controversies — this name itself might, by a natural misconstruction of the people, contribute some share towards the deification of Mary. Among a small sect of women, who came from Thrace and settled down in Arabia, the superstition had already advanced to an idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mary; a practice universally condemned, it is true, by the church. They looked upon themselves as the priestesses of Mary. On a set day, consecrated to her as a festival, they conveyed about in chariots (δίφροι), similar to those used by the pagans in religious processions, cakes or wafers consecrated to Mary;[1] which they presented as offerings to her, and then ate themselves. It would seem that this was a transfer of the oblations at the Lord's supper to the worship of Mary, the whole taking the shape of a pagan ceremony. The truth, perhaps, was,[2] that a corruption was here introduced from the pagan worship of Ceres, that the customary bread-offerings at the heathen feast of the harvest (Thesmophoria), in honor of Ceres, had been changed for such offerings in honor of Mary. The excessive veneration of Mary had, as a further consequence, however, to call forth still more violent opponents; and these seem to have been antagonists, at the same time, of the one-sided ascetic tendency which chose Mary as its ideal. This controversy grew more particularly out of a disputed question of history and exegesis. Many teachers of the church had, in the preceding period, maintained that by the brethren of Jesus, mentioned in the New Testament, were to be understood the later born sons of Mary. But the ascetic spirit, and the excessive veneration of Mary, were now shocked at the renewal of this opinion. Thus it came about that, at the close of the fourth century, a layman of Rome, by the name of *Helvidius*, destitute, as it would seem, of a regular theological education, supposed that in the New Testament he found reasons for this opinion, while at the same time he appealed to the authority of Tertullian and Victorinus of Petavio. He affirmed,

[1] Κολλυρίδες, κολλύρια, hence their name Κολλυριδιανίδες. Collyridianians.

[2] A conjecture of bishop Münter of Seeland.

also, that by this opinion he in nowise infringed on the honor of Mary; and he was thus led to attack also the exaggerated opinion of the unmarried life. He quoted the examples of the patriarchs, who had maintained a pious life in wedlock; while, on the other hand, he referred to the examples of such virgins as had by no means lived up to their calling. These opinions of Helvidius might lead us to conclude, that the combating of a one-sided ascetic spirit was a matter of still more weight with him than the defense of his views with regard to Mary. Perhaps, also, he may have been led into these views simply by exegetical inquiries and observations, and so had been drawn into this opposition to the *overvaluation* of celibacy, merely for the purpose of defending his opinion against an objection on the score of propriety.

But when we consider, that at the very time when Helvidius appeared at Rome, the Presbyter, Jerome, by his extravagant encomiums on the unmarried, and his depreciation of the married, life, was creating there a great sensation, and, by his extreme statements, giving every provocation which, according to the common usage of things, would be likely to call forth opposition from the other side; it seems more probable, that both Helvidius and Jovinian were excited by this very counter action of their own polemical efforts, although, in the case of the latter, the opposition doubtless was based on a deeper inward ground, in the whole connected system of his Christian faith. Jerome wrote against Helvidius, to whom, in scientific culture and erudition, he was confessedly superior, with all the violence and heat which characterized him.

Among these opponents of the reigning opinion tending to the glorification of Mary, belongs also another contemporary, Bonosus, a bishop, probably of Sardica, in Illyria, against whose views several synods, as well as the bishops Ambrose of Milan and Siricius of Rome, protested.[1] In Arabia, also, it seems that there were some who advocated the same views, and who were called the opponents of Mary.[2] It was probably the above described idolatrous veneration of Mary which had there called forth this opposition.

In the preceding period, we already noticed the devotion with which places in Palestine consecrated by religious remembrances were regarded and sought out by the Christians. The tendency towards the outward, in the religious spirit of these times, must have contributed to increase the veneration for these monuments of sacred history. Especially since the empress Helena and other members of the Constantine family had been so eager to visit these spots, and had decorated them with magnificent churches, the number of pilgrims began greatly to multiply. Chrysostom says, that from all quarters of the

[1] See the letter to Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica, probably written by the Roman bishop, Siricius. Both Siricius and Ambrose held this opinion to be an essentially false doctrine. The latter says: Hoc tantum sacrilegium — and we see it was nothing but the ascetic spirit which attributed so much importance to this dispute — cum omnes ad cultum virginitatis S. Mariæ advocentur exemplo. De institutione virginis, c. 5, § 35.

[2] Ἀντιδικομαριανῖται, Epiphanius calls them.

earth men flocked to see the places where Christ was born, where he suffered and was buried.[1] Emperors made pilgrimages to the tomb of the apostle Peter in Rome, and before they visited it, laid aside all their imperial insignia, in memory of this hero of the faith. Even the memory of Job drew many pilgrims to Arabia, to see the dung-heap and to kiss the earth on which the man of God had suffered with such resignation.[2] Very justly did it appear a great thing to Chrysostom, that, while the monuments of earthly glory were overlooked, the places, in themselves inconsiderable, consecrated by nothing but the remembrances of religion, should be searched out, after hundreds and thousands of years, by the common devotion; and very properly might he say, that great profit could be derived from visiting those spots, from the recollections and thoughts which they suggested, while the sight of imperial magnificence left but a transient impression. It was in consonance with a deep-seated feeling of human nature, that these places should possess a peculiar worth for the Christian heart. Yet the exaggerated esteem for the outward easily joined on with these natural feelings, and the effect was disastrous, in leading men away from inward realities. But still, significant utterances of the Christian spirit were heard, testifying against these erroneous tendencies. Thus Jerome declared[3] that "the places of the crucifixion and of the resurrection of Christ profited those only who bore their own cross, and rose each day with Christ; but those who said 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' should hearken to the apostle, '*Ye* are the temple of the Lord, the Holy Spirit dwells within you.' Heaven stands open to us in Britain, as well as in Jerusalem; the kingdom of God should be within ourselves." He relates, that the venerable monk Hilarion, in Palestine, had visited the holy places but once in his life, although he lived in their vicinity, so that he might not give countenance to the exaggerated veneration of them. And Gregory of Nyssa said (ep. ad Ambrosium et Basilissam): "Change of place brings God no nearer. Wherever thou art, God will visit thee, if the mansion of thy soul is found to be such that he can dwell and rule in thee. But if thou hast thy inner man full of wicked thoughts, then, whether thou art on Golgotha, on the Mount of Olives, or at the monument of the crucifixion, thou art still as far from having received Christ into thy heart, as if thou hadst never confessed him." The moral corruption which prevailed in these very regions, beyond what was the case in any other country, he very justly cites as a proof of the little influence which those impressions on the senses could of themselves have on the sanctification of the heart.

In concluding this section, we may bring forward another champion of the purely Christian interest, as maintained against the foreign

[1] Exposit. in Psalm. 109, § 6, T. V. f. 259. Ἡ *οἰκουμένη συντρέχει.* In Matth. H. VII. § 2. Ἀπὸ *τῶν περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔρχονται, ὀψόμενοι τὴν φάτνην καὶ τῆς καλύβης τὸν τόπον.*

[2] Chrysostom. Homil V. de statuis, § 1, T. II. p. 59. Πολλοὶ *νῦν μακράν τινα καὶ διαπόντιον ἀποδημίαν στέλλονται ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν τρέχοντες, ἵνα τὴν κοπρίαν ἐκείνην ἴδωσι καὶ θεασάμενοι καταφιλήσωσι τὴν γῆν.*

[3] Ep. 49 ad Paulin.

elements intermingling with the church life. This was *Aërius*, a youthful friend of that Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, in Armenia, whom we have already mentioned. When Eustathius was made bishop, he placed his friend, as presbyter, over a house of paupers. But subsequently to this, Aërius fell into a quarrel with the bishop. He accused him of not remaining true to the ascetic life, which had originally brought them together, and of being too much interested in the acquisition of earthly property;—whether the fact was that Eustathius deserved this reproach, or that Aërius, owing to the strength of his prejudices, did him injustice, and would make no allowance for the change of conduct to which he was impelled by his office and the wants of the church placed under his care. Probably also he had been drawn into disputes with his bishop respecting the proper administration of ecclesiastical affairs; advocating against him the equality of bishops and presbyters, according to the original system of church polity. As evidence of this he brought the fact, that presbyters as well as bishops baptized and consecrated the elements of the holy supper. Finally, he became the author of a schism, and attacked various usages of the dominant church. He inveighed against the practice of attaching value to intercessions for the dead, and to the celebration of the eucharist as an offering in their behalf. "If such an ordinance could help the departed to bliss," said he, "there would be no need of moral efforts in the present life; it would only be necessary for each to make or purchase for himself friends, who could be induced to pray, and offer the oblation of the supper in his behalf." (See above.) It is worthy of notice, that, although an ascetic, he was opposed to the laws regulating fasts, and to the confining of fasts to set times, as Wednesday, Friday, the Quadragesima, and Good Friday. All this, he maintained, ought to be done according to the spirit of the gospel, with freedom, according to the inclinations and necessities of each individual. He found fault with the ordinances of the church on this point, because they had substituted the yoke of a Jewish bondage to the law, in place of the gospel liberty. He disputed, moreover, the custom of celebrating the passover, which, handed down from more ancient times, was still observed in these parts of Asia.[1] By the sufferings of Christ, that which this type foreshadowed was fulfilled once for all. Such a celebration was, in his opinion, a confounding of Jewish rites with Christian. It is easy to see, that the spiritual bent of Aërius required a total separation of Christian ordinances and doctrines from Jewish.

The hierarchical sentiment occasioned violent persecutions against Aërius and his party. Driven from all quarters, they were often obliged to hold their assemblies in the open fields, in groves, and on the mountains.[2]

[1] See vol. I. sect. 2, p. 298.

[2] The principal authority, hæres. 75.

SECTION FOURTH.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY APPREHENDED AND DEVELOPED AS A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

I. General Introductory Remarks.

It might appear that it proved otherwise with the process of the development of Christian doctrines than with the matters considered in the other sections of this period. The revolution brought about by the transition of the Roman emperors to the side of Christianity might appear to have been of less importance in its influence on doctrines than on other branches of Christian development. If we look back on the struggles with Gnosticism, happily passed through; on the position of the school of the great Origen; on the antagonisms and mediations of which that school was the occasion; we cannot fail to perceive, that, even independently of any outward influence, a new stadium of development must now begin. Christianity having once affirmed and distinctly expressed its proper essence, in the conflicts with Judaism, Hellenism, and Orientalism, the opposition coming from quarters exterior to itself would naturally retreat into the background, and the internal oppositions of different dogmatical tendencies which in the mean time had been forming must now fall into conflict with each other, in order to prepare the way, by an adjustment of their mutual relations to each other, for a higher unity. Next after that stage of development which we may distinguish as the predominantly *apologetical*, would follow another and a new one, which we may call the *systematizing* period. The school of Origen was the point of transition from the apologetical to the systematizing tendency. Origen, in fact, constitutes the highest point of the apologetical bent on the one hand, and the starting point of the systematizing development on the other. The end of the first, and the commencement of the second stage of development concentre in him. A great turning-point had, therefore, established itself here naturally. But as the causes, outward and inward, which shape the course of history do not come together by mere accident, but a higher law combines the one kind with the other, so it was owing to this higher connection arranged by the Divine wisdom, that the great outward change, by which the Christian church became the ruling force in the Roman empire, coincided with that which was prepared by the development of the church from within itself. The consequences of this great outward change also reacted again on the way in which the new tendency, prepared within the church, developed itself outwardly; partly promoting, and partly hindering and disturbing it. And if, in the other branches of

development, it was the influence coming from that outward change which operated *predominantly*, yet the same influence was not wholly wanting in the separate branch we are now considering; and it found a point of approach in that which had already been prepared from within by the earlier development. In the progress of the development of human nature, it is true, generally, that no one branch can be contemplated wholly separate from the others; much rather do they all stand to each other in the relation of a constant action and reaction.

We may, therefore, consider it as the distinguishing feature of this new period, that the opposite ways of apprehending doctrines, which before had been kept out of sight, were now more openly manifested; that the antagonisms, which in the consciousness of the church had thus far been held subordinate to the proper and underlying essence of Christianity, were brought into conflict with each other. According to the laws which govern the course of development of human nature, it could not be otherwise. The process once begun could not stand still. When that which existed at first undeveloped in consciousness had separated and laid itself out on opposite sides, then first, out of the conflict of these sides with each other, could proceed forth the harmonious apprehension of Christianity in all its parts. If the whole of humanity, in thought as well as in life, was to be impenetrated by it, it must enter also into these oppositions. But the same deplorable mistake was made here which we find so often repeated in the history of the church. In the midst of these oppositions, that oneness of the Christian consciousness which included and embraced them all was quite forgotten. Each one of the different parties contemplated, and passed judgment on the opposite views of the other, only from its own particular standing point; and regarding them from the outside, instead of penetrating into their principles, and studying these principles in the light of their internal coherence and consistency, imputed to them consequences which lay wholly remote from them. Accordingly, to each of the contending doctrinal parties, the struggle in defense of its *own peculiar mode of apprehension* appeared to be one and the same thing with struggling in defense of Christianity itself. If, on the other hand, they had, with clear consciousness, seized and held fast to the right relation of a *conceptual system of faith* to *the life of faith*, and the relation of *individual Christian doctrines* to that which constitutes the *proper* and *fundamental essence* of the gospel, to the doctrine of Christ as the Redeemer of mankind, everything would have been different. Where oppositions of doctrine came up which touched the Christian consciousness itself, men surely would not have forgotten, over these, the common foundation of all Christian consciousness, but would have estimated the latter as of vastly higher importance than those subordinate differences. And still less would those oppositions which related more properly to the form of development in conceptions than to the immediate substantial contents of Christian consciousness have been able to disturb and break up Christian fellowship and unity; a quiet and peaceful mutual understanding would have prevailed, in place of partisan tenets stiffly opposed to, and mutually excluding each other.

To be sure, if the controversies about forms of doctrine sometimes rose, through the heat of polemical dispute, to greater importance than was actually due to them, yet on the other hand, too, it might often happen that an opposition of deeper significance than was apparent at first view, was lying at bottom. Where the controversy was about words, it was not always a mere logomachy. It might be a controversy between two fundamentally opposite tendencies of dogmatical thought, which had thus broken out. And it was just the consciousness of the great significance of this fundamental difference which so moved the minds of men as to awaken in a dispute of this nature such lively participation. But it was ever the great evil, that, in all such controversies, the relation of the contested points to each other and to the common ground-essence of Christianity, and the weight of the questions in dispute in their relation to the essential matter of Christian faith, were not clearly ascertained at the first; that men were not clearly conscious to themselves of the difference between the *form* of the dogma for *conception*, and the substantial contents of faith. Accordingly, each one-sided dogmatical tendency now strove to gain the sole ascendency; that manifoldness of individual tendencies, grounded in the essence of man's nature, and even necessary to the full development in life and thought of the rich treasures of Christianity was not to be tolerated; and hence the striving after a narrow and narrowing uniformity, which would force all the different bents and tendencies of mind under one yoke, and which must necessarily check the free and natural evolution of the Christian system of faith, and thereby, in the end, of the Christian life of faith itself.

Still more hurtful was the course taken by these doctrinal controversies when disturbed by the interference, especially in the East Roman empire, of a foreign power, — namely, that of the state, — which hindered the free development and the free expression of the different opposite opinions. Owing to this, the purely dogmatic interest of the controversies was oftentimes extremely vitiated by the intermixture of a foreign secular interest, and foreign secular passions. Not unfrequently did it happen, that the opposite views of doctrine, which, after being developed outwardly from within, had already proceeded to such extent, indeed, as to be prepared for collision with each other, were first called forth into actual collision by outward, foreign occasions, arising out of the confusion of ecclesiastical with political matters. And the consequence of this was, that, from the very first, a foreign interest was superinduced, which increased the difficulty of arriving at a mutual understanding, and disturbed the pure course of development. In remarking this, however, many too superficial observers have been led falsely to suppose, that these disputes were due *solely* to their outward occasions, and to the conflict of passions; when the truth is, that the outward occasions could only call forth what had long since been prepared in the course of development within the church itself; as in fact we saw, when we traced the incipient germs of these oppositions in the preceding period, and as will be still more clearly shown in detail, when we come to consider their

progressive movement in the period before us. The interference of the state could not succeed in forcing upon the church anything entirely foreign to her own course of development. It could only bring about, for certain transient periods of time, some other result of the controversies than that which corresponded to the natural relation of the conflicting elements to each other; but such results forced on from without could not, as the history of these doctrinal controversies shows, be anything permanent. The theological spirit of that portion of the church on which such results were forced was moved to resist them, and the foreign element was spurned away again, though not without a violent struggle.

The different dogmatic tendencies of spirit, which in the preceding period could unfold and express themselves with some degree of universality and completeness, now presented themselves, for the most part, in a more precise and definite shape, in controversies about single doctrines, — and, as a general thing, did not proceed to unfold themselves in wider compass and with more logical consistency. For this reason, the controversies about single doctrines also furnish us with the most important help towards understanding the different general tendencies of the dogmatic spirit. While, in the preceding period, the conflict of universal spiritual tendencies fully carried out, in the oppositions of Judaism, of Gnosticism, of the Roman church tendency, of Montanism, and of the Alexandrian tendency, predominated; in the present period, on the other hand, the oppositions manifested themselves rather in the history of single doctrines, than in the tendencies of the dogmatic spirit generally. Had the universal ground tendencies which lay at the foundation of the controversies respecting single doctrines been allowed to express themselves in their entire compass, this circumstance would have been attended with very important consequences, affecting the entire development of Christianity.

Amidst the doctrinal controversies of this period, the characteristic difference between the tendency of the dogmatic spirit in the Eastern and in the Western church became apparent, while, at the same time, it went on to shape itself into a more precise and determinate form. It corresponds with the opposition between the spirit of Greece and Rome. In the Eastern church, the Greek mobility of intellect and speculative direction of thought predominated. In the Western church the more rigid and calm, the less mobile but more practical tendency of the Roman spirit prevailed.[1] Hence it happened, that,

[1] This difference between the two churches was rightly perceived by Greek theologians, as early as the twelfth century, and made use of as an argument in defending the Greek church against the reproach, that all the heresies had sprung out of her bosom. See the remarks of Nicetas, archbishop of Nicomedia, in Anselm. Havelbergens. Dialog. l. III. c. 11. D'Achery Spicileg. T. I. f. 197. Quoniam nova et pluribus inaudita fides subito publice prædicabatur, et in hac civitate studia liberalium artium vigebant, et multi sapientes in logica et in arte dialectica subtiles in ratione disserendi prævalebant, cœperunt fidem Christianam disserendo examinare et examinando et ratiocinando deficere. Next, to the vana sapientia, by which the Greek false teachers had suffered themselves to be misled, is opposed the simplicitas minus docta of the Romans, which is derived vel ex nimia negligentia investigandæ fidei, vel ex grossa tarditate hebetis ingenii, vel ex occupatione ac mole secularis impedimenti. So far as the intellectual phenomena of different times admit of be-

while, in the Eastern church, the development of doctrines had to pass through the most various forms of opposition before they could come to any quiet adjustment, the result to which the Eastern church first arrived, after manifold storms and conflicts, was, in a certain sense, anticipated by the church of the West; and she subsequently appropriated to herself the accurate definitions of doctrine which had resulted in the Eastern church from the conflict of opposite parties.

Again, as the opposition between a predominantly speculative, and a predominantly practical tendency was the characteristic mark of distinction between the Greek and the Roman church, evidenced already, in the preceding period, by the relation in which the great church teachers, such as Origen and Tertullian, stood to each other, so too this difference became apparent in the different objects which more particularly enlisted the theological interest in the two churches; and, hence, in the different character of the doctrinal controversies in which they engaged. The controversies in the *Oriental* church related to speculative determinations of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of Christology; in which, to be sure, a practical interest also lay at bottom. But the single controversy which belonged properly to the *Western* church, took its start from that which lies at the centre of all practical Christianity, namely, *anthropology* in its connection with the doctrine of redemption, — the antithesis between nature and grace.

This difference was fraught with important consequences on the peculiar direction of the system of faith in both churches. As we already saw prevailing in the Greek church, in the preceding period, a one-sided speculative apprehension and treatment of Christology and the doctrine of the Trinity, so, in the present period, this one-sided tendency was yet more increased by the course of the controversies. And hence it came about that in the Greek church, the whole system of faith was built on a foundation too entirely speculative; that matters of philosophy, and matters pertaining to the system of faith were too frequently jumbled together; that speculative definitions with regard to the divine essence were held to be just the most important; and that so much the less interest was taken, therefore, in that which is the most important thing for practical Christianity in the true sense, namely, with Christian anthropology, as it is determined through its connection with the doctrine of redemption; and that men could regard that which stands in no immediate relation with the religious life as the more important, while that which has the closest connection with it seemed to them less material.

In proof of these statements, we may refer to the manner in which Gregory Nazianzen expresses himself in regard to these matters. He names among the proper topics of public teaching with Christians, the question whether there is but one world or many worlds; the questions concerning matter, the soul, the spirit and spiritual natures;

ing compared, we might find some analogy in the relation existing between the *theological development among the Germans and the English;* but with this difference, so important in its bearing on the result, that in Germany, the more active intellectual life has not been checked and hampered in the development of its oppositions by anything which resembles Byzantine despotism.

concerning good and evil, concerning the Providence which binds together and directs all things; concerning that which is consonant with, and that which is contrary to human reason; concerning the original constitution of man's nature, and the new birth; concerning the relation of the two testaments to each other; concerning the first and the second appearances of Christ; his incarnation and his passion; his return to the Father; concerning the resurrection, the end of all things, the divine judgment and retribution. And then he designates as the principal thing, the right presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity, so as to preserve the just medium between Sabellianism and Arianism.[1] We see how the individual doctrines were here placed together without any regard to their organic connection, without reference to their several relations to that which the religious needs of man's soul require, to that which lies at the very centre of Christian consciousness. Determinations which have no practical significance whatever, which ought never to be introduced into discourses meant for the people generally, are represented as being the most important of all, where to swerve on either hand from the exact mean would be extremely dangerous. But to that on which depends the whole peculiar essence of Christian faith and life, there is not the least allusion. In another place,[2] he speaks, indeed, against those who made all employment of the mind on Christianity to consist in speculating on the doctrine of the Trinity; and he warns against the tendency which seeks to determine too much in respect to the essence of the Godhead, a matter which can be fully understood only in the eternal world. But then he proceeds to name among the things with which the mind might be more profitably occupied, and where the falling into error would not be dangerous,[3] the passion of Christ. An error with regard to the relation of Christ's sufferings to the work of redemption seemed therefore to him to be of less importance than an error with regard to the relation of the hypostases in the Triad. In this way of judging, we recognize a tendency which by no means corresponds to the Christian and more natural standing point; for Christianity does not take its start from a speculative doctrine concerning God, but from historical facts of divine revelation.

Since, accordingly, in the Greek systems of doctrine, that which is the central point in a Christianity taking its start from divine facts retreated into the background, while the speculative element was made the essential thing, it followed, that a common centre from which the entire Christian life, in its ground-principle and in the application of that principle, the entire doctrine of faith and morals,

[1] *Ὅσα περὶ κόσμων ἢ κόσμου πεφιλοσόφηται· περὶ ὕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ νοῦ καὶ τῶν νοερῶν φύσεων, βελτιόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ τῆς τὰ πάντα συνδεούσης τε καὶ διεξαγούσης προνοίας, ὅσα τε κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντᾷν δοκεῖ καὶ ὅσα παρὰ λόγον τὸν κάτω καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον· ἔστι τε ὅσα περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν συστάσεως καὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀναπλάσεως, τύπων τε καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ διαθηκῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πρώτης τε καὶ δευτέρας, σαρκώσεώς τε καὶ παθημάτων καὶ ἀναλύσεως, ὅσα τε περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ τέλους, περὶ κρίσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως σκυθρωποτέρας τε καὶ ἐνδοξοτέρας· τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅσα περὶ τῆς ἀρχικῆς τριάδος ὑποληπτέον, ὅσπερ δὴ καὶ κινδύνων μέγιστος τοῖς φωτίζειν πεπιστευμένοις.* Orat. I. T. I. f. 15.

[2] Orat. XXXIII. f. 536.

[3] *Ἐν τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτυγχάνειν οὐκ ἄχρηστον.*

might have unfolded themselves as an organically connected whole, was wanting; and consequently, that by the side of a too metaphysical, too lifeless system of faith sprung up a legal, or a one-sided, ascetical system of morals.

The doctrinal systems of the Western church took an altogether different direction. The practical spirit of that church occupied itself, first of all, from the beginning, with that on which rests the proper and fundamental essence of Christianity, — the antithesis of nature and grace, — and thus attention was directed, for the most part, to matters of fact, to the salvation procured by Christ, as contrasted with that which human nature was before, and continues to be without him. To this, the single domestic doctrinal controversy in the Western church relates. Hence it was, that here the reference of the whole Christian life, of the doctrines of faith and of morals, to one common central point — whence everything that belongs to Christianity is determined — could stand distinctly forth to consciousness. The honor of having contributed to this result is especially due to Augustin, that great church teacher who was the most important scientific organ for expressing the spirit of the Western church. Augustin himself has set forth this central point of Christianity in language which we may well compare with that above cited from Gregory of Nazianz. "The whole essence of Christian faith," he says, "rests on the antagonism between two men, one, him by whom we were brought under bondage to sin, the other, him by whom we are redeemed from it. As the one brought about, in himself, our fall, by doing *his own* will; so the other brought about, in himself, our redemption, by fulfilling not his own will, but the will of Him who sent him. 'For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.'"[1] And from this central point of the Western system of doctrine may have proceeded also that reaction of the Christian consciousness, which led to the purification of the Christian church by means of the Reformation. Hence, it was not in the spirit of the Oriental, but only in the spirit of the Western church, to bring about such an event.

The most significant phenomenon in the general history of the system of faith, and one whose influence extended from the preceding period over into the present, was the struggle betwixt the speculative spirit of Origen's school, and the opposite tendency of practical realism. True, at Alexandria itself the spirit of this school did not maintain itself as one vigorously working onward in its wide embracing compass, and with its whole vital energy. The catechetical school at Alexandria was no longer such as it had been under Clement and Origen. Didymus, the last, and the only distinguished, teacher of this period, wanted the *original* and profound intellect of Origen, wonder-

[1] In causa duorum hominum, quorum per unum venumdati sumus sub peccato, per alterum redimimur a peccatis; quorum ille nos in se perdidit, faciendo voluntatem suam, non ejus a quo factus est; iste nos in se salvos fecit, non faciendo voluntatem suam, sed ejus, a quo missus est; in horum ergo duorum hominum causa proprie fides Christiana consistit. Unus est enim Deus et unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus. De peccato originali, § 28.

ful as was the erudition which this person, blind from his early youth, had found means to store up in his mind. Only one thing peculiar to the spiritual tendency of Origen passed over to the *Alexandrian church* as a whole. The contemplative, mystical, and, in part, speculative element continued to be cherished there; and out of this the peculiar dogmatic character of that church gradually formed itself; but Origen's *free* and *enlarged* spirit of inquiry vanished away from it. Origen's greatest influence, on the other hand, proceeded from his writings, which had no small share in forming the minds of some of the most eminent church teachers of the East, who were distinguished in the doctrinal controversies for their free spirit and their theological moderation. Such were Eusebius of Cæsarea, and the great church teachers of Cappadocia, Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil of Cæsarea, and his brother Gregory of Nyssa, on whose thoughtful mind the speculative spirit of Origen had a very great influence.

In general, though the Christian *realism* which characterized the spirit of the Western church offered a counterpoise to the speculative spirit of Origen's school, and though many of Origen's peculiar ideas were universally rejected; partly such as the development of the theological spirit in these times was not ripe enough to receive, and partly such as had grown out of a combination of Platonism with Christianity, and which were really foreign from the essence of the gospel; yet the school of Origen had served, in this struggle, to introduce, throughout the entire church, a more spiritual mode of apprehending the system of faith, and to purge it everywhere of a crude anthropomorphism and anthropopathism, and of the sensuous notions of Chiliasm. And in the treatment of the most weighty single doctrines we may discern the after-working of the influence of that great church teacher on the development of antagonisms which made their appearance in the fourth century, as will be more particularly shown in the history of those controversies.

As Platonism had been chiefly employed by the Alexandrian school in giving shape to Christian theology, and as the *philosophical character* of this school had been formed under the influence of Platonism, so this peculiar form of the scientific spirit continued to be the prevailing one with all those in the Greek church who made it their special object to obtain a scientific apprehension of the system of faith. It was only the narrow dogmatism of the *understanding* which sprung from Eunomius, — an externalized and superficial supernaturalism, allied to the later Socinianism, — that sought wholly to suppress the element of Platonism. Had the former succeeded in its struggle, a complete revolution would have been brought about in the system of faith. But the three great church teachers of Cappadocia, who had been formed in the school of Origen, took strong and decided ground against this whole new tendency. The profoundest questions relating to the essence of Christianity, and of religion in general, came here under discussion, — the question whether religion were more a matter of intellectual conception, or of life, — the relation of faith to knowledge. We shall have occasion to treat of these remarkable opposi-

tions more particularly, in connection with the history of doctrinal controversies.

Independent of the influence of Origen, a new mixture of Platonism with Christianity, in which, moreover, the Platonic element predominated over the Christian, in a far greater measure than was the case with Origen, is seen in the case of Synesius of Cyrene, afterwards bishop of Ptolemais, the metropolitan town of Pentapolis, in the early times of the fifth century. We have here a remarkable exemplification of the manner in which a transition might be gradually made from fundamental ideas of the religious consciousness, conceived under the form of Platonism, to Christianity. But we see, also, how a transformation of Christian doctrines into mere symbols of Platonic ideas might be brought about in the same way. Precisely as, in earlier times (see vol. I. sect. 1, p. 34), this Platonism had attached itself to the pagan cultus, and to the hierarchical system of Paganism, out of which combination arose a mystico-theurgical system of religion; so a similar phenomenon, under the Christian form, might arise out of a combination of Platonism with the dominant religion of the church. The false notion of the priesthood, by which it was represented as a mediatory organ between heaven and earth, between God and man; as a vehicle for the conveyance of heavenly powers to the earth; as man's representative before God; the false notion, connected with this other, of the sacraments, as the bearers of those heavenly powers, — all this might easily be laid hold of as a basis for theurgical mysteries. A theurgical system, or mystical symbolism of this sort, formed out of a mixture of Christianity and Platonism, we find completely elaborated in the writings forged under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, which might have been composed some time in the course of the fifth century.

Great, also, had been the influence of Origen in introducing a better method of interpreting the Scriptures. He was the first to introduce a scientific method of interpretation, in opposition to the rude, crassly literal method, combined with anthropomorphism and Chiliasm, which had hitherto prevailed. This influence, to which all learned exegetical study must trace its original suggestion, may be recognized in a Eusebius of Cæsarea; and this influence was transmitted through Jerome even to the Western church, which entertained the greatest repugnance to Origen. Yet, as the first impulse was given by this great church teacher to many things which, on account of various hindering and disturbing causes, could not as yet come to any free development, which could disentangle themselves from these embarrassments only at a later period, so it happened also in the case now before us. We have seen how Origen, by opposing the above mentioned crassly literal mode of interpretation, as well as by his speculative principles, was led into an arbitrary, allegorical method of exposition. Up to this time, there had been but these two opposite, one-sided methods, the crassly literal and the allegorical. But after the interest had been awakened by Origen in favor of a scientific method of biblical interpretation, there began to be formed out of this, as

early as at the close of the preceding period, a grammatical and logical method of interpretation, holding the mean between those two opposite extremes. We noticed the first beginnings of an exegetical school with this tendency in the church of Antioch. These incipient germs were still further developed by distinguished men of the fourth, and the commencement of the fifth century, — by a Eustathius, bishop of Antioch; a Eusebius, bishop of Emisa in Phœnicia; a Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia; and particularly by the acute and original Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia in the same province. In the Alexandrian church, on the other hand, the old allegorical method still maintained its ground.

This new exegetical direction would, of necessity, introduce more careful and exact habits of distinguishing between the divine and the human elements in Holy Scripture, — a distinction which hitherto had been disregarded. We observed, in the preceding period, how closely the allegorical method of interpreting the Bible was connected with those exaggerated notions of inspiration which paid no attention whatever to the difference between essence and form in the communication of divine truth, but regarded everything alike as proceeding from immediate divine suggestion. This allegorizing method, again, contributed to promote that habit of regarding Holy Scripture as a work of divine inspiration, which was wont to overlook entirely the human and historical conditions connected with the origin of each separate scripture, and the peculiar points of difference arising therefrom. Having once set out from this presupposition as the starting-point, the allegorical interpreter could find, in the exposition itself, none of those difficulties or stumbling blocks, which might have prepared the way for him to perceive the untenableness of such views of Scripture; for by taking liberties with the literal, and arbitrarily assuming a mystical sense,[1] it was an easy thing for him to dispose of every difficulty, and to explain every striking variation in the statements of the Bible. But it is very evident, also, that while it was the real intention of the expounder to show the highest respect for the sacred Scriptures by thus recognizing everything in them as equally divine, by seeking everywhere in them for mysteries of divine revelation, he could not fail, in applying this principle to particular cases, to betray a want of that true respect, which shows itself in the faithful investigation of the substantial meaning. We may here call to mind that, in the preceding period, we saw a tendency springing out of these same motives to convert historical facts into myths. On the contrary, the new grammatical and logical principle of exposition would, of necessity, lead men to regard, in connection with the divine, also the human element in the sacred Scriptures. Men would be compelled to see the difficulties which could only be removed by distinguishing between the divine and the human factors in the origination of these Scriptures. They would, of necessity, learn to distinguish that which was to be ascribed to one and the same inspiration of the Divine Spirit, and that which was to be ascribed to

[1] The *ἀναγωγὴ εἰς τὸ νοητόν*.

the divers individualities of the persons employed as His organs; that which could be explained only by reference to successive periods of genetic development. They would, of necessity, be led to separate in thought the essential thing of one and the same divine inspiration, from the diversified forms under which that inspiration becomes manifested. Though they might not, as yet, be able to derive from this a new and thorough method of treating the whole subject of inspiration, yet from this standing point were presented to view single ideas, implying a peculiar modification of the doctrine of inspiration.

Thus, Theodore of Mopsuestia distinguishes the one principle of actuation by the Holy Spirit, from the diversity of the forms of revelation, which are conditioned by the different ends had in view. "It was one and the same spirit," he says, "who bestowed his grace on such as were deemed worthy of his influences, while the effects were manifold, according to the necessities of each particular case — where he cites in proof 2 Corinth. 4: 13.[1] The retiring of all consciousness of self and of the world into the background — the ecstatic state — he explains as being necessary, because the mind should be wholly abstracted from things present and worldly, in order to be prepared to receive the revelation of things divine;[2] "for if" he says "we cannot perfectly receive the instruction of an earthly teacher, unless, with our minds wholly abstracted from everything else, we give close attention to the matter set forth, how could those persons possibly receive such high revelations, unless in thought they were wholly withdrawn from things present at the time of their communication.[3] From the nature of such an ecstasy he concludes that the matter of revelation must be presented either in the form of an audible voice, or of a vision to the mental eye of the individual who receives the revelation.[4] So in Chrysostom we recognize an interpreter of Scripture who had been formed in the Antiochian school, when we find him admitting without scruple the existence of many discrepances in the gospel narratives as to unimportant matters relating to times and places, and in particular forms of expression. This agreement in essentials, with diversity in things not essential, he regards as a proof of the credibility of the narratives.[5] He holds that the only thing important is agreement in the essential matter, in that which serves to the end of salvation, whereupon Christianity reposes. Under this head he places the incarnation of God; the miracles of

[1] Πολύτροποι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐνεγίνοντο αὐτοῖς αἱ ἐνέργειαι, καθ' ἃς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐδέχοντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Commentar. in Num. c. 1, in Wegnern Theodori quæ supersunt omnia, vol. I. Berolin. 1834, p. 397.

[2] Ἐκστάσει ἅπαντες ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν ἀπορρητοτέρων ἐδέχοντο τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐπείπερ ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐννοίαις πόρρω που τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως γεγονότας, οὕτω δυνηθῆναι τῇ τῶν δεικνυμένων θεωρίᾳ προσανέχειν μόνῃ. L. c. p. 397.

[3] Μὴ τῷ λογισμῷ πρότερον κατὰ τὸν τῆς θεωρίας καιρὸν ἐξισταμένοις τῶν παρόντων;

[4] The διδασκαλία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ τινὸς λαλοῦντος ἀκούειν· ἔστι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τινα ὀπτασίαν ὁρῶντες μετ' ἐκείνης ἤκουον τῶν λεγομένων. Thus he explains the vision of Peter in the Acts, the vision of John the Baptist at the baptism of Christ. See the fragment in the Catena to John published by the Jesuit Corderius.

[5] Ἡ δοκοῦσα ἐν μικροῖς εἶναι διαφωνία πάσης ἀπαλλάττει αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας. Hom. I. in Matth. § 2. T. VII. ed. Montf. f. 5.

Christ; his resurrection and ascension; the fact that he gave precepts serving to salvation; the fact that the New Testament stands not in contradiction with the Old.

In Jerome, too, we see the influence of the scientific method of biblical interpretation, in his way of distinguishing the divine and the human in the Holy Scriptures. Thus, for example, in commenting on Galat. 5 : 12, he cites indeed different opinions; the opinions, for instance, of expositors who chose rather to resort to a strained explanation, than to confess, as they supposed must otherwise be done, anything purely human in the letters of an Apostle;[1] but he himself is inclined to believe it to be no matter of wonder that the Apostle, being a man, and a man still inclosed in the weak vessel of the flesh, a man who still saw another law in his members, warring against the law of his mind and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin (Rom. 7 : 23),[2] should, for once, allow himself to be hurried into such expressions as we see pious men often falling into.[3] Jerome, then, sees something in the words of Paul, which came not from the actuation of the Divine Spirit, but which was to be ascribed to the disturbing influence of the human individuality which had not as yet become wholly transformed. The fact that we should find such a case in the New Testament he employs as an argument to defend the Old Testament against the Gnostics; which argument, still further unfolded, would have led him to distinguish in the former also, still more than he was in the habit of doing, the divine and the human elements.[4]

That erroneous view of the Bible as an exclusively divine book, a codex of divine revelation, made many unwilling to receive into the canon of the New Testament the Epistle to Philemon; inasmuch as it treated only of things human; nothing of divine revelation was to be found in this epistle.[5] Of the correct distinction between divine and human in the inspiration of the Apostles by the Holy Spirit, many made a false application, in that they united with this correct distinction a false separation, and failed of perceiving the true organic relation subsisting between the two. The Apostle, said they, did not always so speak as that Christ spake in him; for human infirmity could not have borne the unintermitted indwelling of the Holy

[1] One of the strained expositions which the timidity of orthodoxy begat was this: Sed et illud dici potest, licet superfluum quibusdam esse videatur, quod Paulus non tam maledixerit eis, quam oraverit pro illis, ut eas partes corporis perderent, per quas delinquere cogebantur.

[2] Which words, it is evident, were considered by Jerome to refer to the condition of the regenerate man.

[3] Nec mirum esse, si apostolus ut homo, et adhuc vasculo clausus infirmo, vidensque aliam legem in corpore suo semel fuerit hoc loquutus, in quod frequenter sanctos viros cadere perspicimus. Lib. III. in epist. ad Galat. c. 5, ed. Vallarsi, T. VII. 1, p. 493.

[4] His words: Nunc a nobis contra hæreticos proferatur, Marcionem videlicet, et Valentinum et omnes qui contra vetus latrant Testamentum, qua ratione illi, qui creatorem sanguinarium severum bellatorem et tantum judicem criminantur, hoc in apostolo Dei boni valeant excusare. Et certe nullam puto in veteri lege tam trucem, tam cruentam in aliquo esse sententiam. Quidquid ergo illi pro apostolo excusationis attulerint, hoc nos pro lege veteri defendemus.

[5] The words in Chrysostom, Argumentum, in epist. ad Philemon, T. XI. f. 772: *Περιττὸν εἶναι τὸ καὶ ταύτην προσκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εἴγε ὑπὲρ πράγματος μικροῦ ἠξίωσεν, ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ανδρός.*

Ghost. Everything connected with the gratification of earthly wants; as eating and drinking, was certainly excluded therefrom. What St. Paul says in Galat. 2: 20, that he lived, yet not he, but Christ lived in him, could not be applicable to all things. So, too, the prophets, after they had given utterance to their predictions, fell back into the ordinary state of consciousness, and were like other men. Except with Christ, the Holy Spirit abode constantly with no man.[1] Jerome, in refuting such, points to the necessary correlation between the divine and human in Christianity; and still more clearly is the same thought unfolded by Chrysostom. "If a man lives spiritually," he says, "his whole deportment, his carriage, his way of speaking, in a word, everything about him, will be profitable to those who observe it.[2]

The Antiochian school, again, was led, by the new exegetical tendency peculiar to itself, to a different view from the one generally entertained, of the relation of the Old to the New Testament. While the allegorists found it easy, by their method, to lay the entire doctrine of the New Testament back into the Old, the Antiochians felt themselves compelled, by the tendency above mentioned and by their hermeneutical principles, to inquire what the writers of the Old Testament, under the historical conditions and from the standing point peculiar to each one, consciously designed to say. But, in so doing, they recognized also the higher spirit running through the entire Old Testament,—the ideas which led the way from the Old Testament over to the New. Therefore they distinguished the ideal element from the real, historically conditioned one, in the Scriptures of the Old Testament; the idea at bottom in the consciousness of the writers enlightened by the Holy Ghost,—the idea filling their minds, which was realized in Christ, and which was not clearly unfolded to consciousness until after its realization,—from the peculiar shape, modified by the circumstances of the times, under which this idea was apprehended by those writers. They distinguished what the prophets, from the particular standing point which each one occupied, designed to say, from that which the actuating Spirit of God designed to say, through them. Accordingly, they distinguished a conscious and an unconscious prophecy; and by means of these distinctions, the claims of faith and the claims of knowledge could alike be satisfied,—the opposition between the philologico-historical point of view, and that of religion could be reconciled. The object which — as we endeavored to make clear in the first volume — had already been aimed at by many of the Gnostics, was more clearly presented and unfolded to scientific consciousness by the Antiochians. Thus, for instance, Theodore of Mopsuestia says, "Many of the wonderful facts, whether in the history of a people, or of individuals selected for some specific

[1] Non semper apostolum nec omnia Christo in se loquente dixisse, quia nec humana imbecillitas unum tenorem sancti spiritus ferre potuisset. Excepto Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in nullo sanctum spiritum permansisse. Hier. præf. ad Philemon. ed. Vallarsi, p. 741, 742.

[2] Ὅταν τις πνευματικῶς ζῇ καὶ σχήματα καὶ βαδίσματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ πράγματα τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὠφελεῖ. L. c. f. 773.

end and purpose, holy Scripture speaks of more hyperbolically, so far as those individuals alone are concerned; and here the letter has, to outward appearance, no truth; but it will be found true when applied to the Lord Christ himself, who, when he made an end in every respect to the shadow of the law, and in its place substituted the corresponding truth, showed also the truth of these expressions."[1] The promise made to Abraham, that in him and his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, had reference, in its literal meaning, to his bodily posterity, but in truth to Christ, through whom, in the true sense, the nations were blessed.[2] Thus he explains also in a twofold sense the promise given to David respecting the kingdom which should proceed from his house.[3] Hence Theodore, in explaining the citations from the Old Testament in the New, was able to distinguish the sense of the passages in their original connection in the Old Testament, from the application made of them by the Apostles.[4] Considering distinctly apart the several different stages in the unfolding of revealed religion, he maintained that in the Old Testament the unity of God alone, but not the Trinity, was as yet revealed.[5] He thought this to be sufficiently evident from the fact that the Apostles, after they had so long lived in familiar intercourse with Christ, remained still ignorant of the higher sense in which he is the Son of God, and called him Son of God only in the sense in which the Jews had of old been wont to understand this title, namely, as simply denoting that he was favored with the privilege of standing in a peculiar union with God.[6]

This difference of exegetical and hermeneutical tendencies in the Antiochian and Alexandrian schools was itself connected with a radical difference of intellectual bents; and was again the source of many other differences, growing out of the different ways, which must necessarily follow, of deriving the doctrines of faith from the sacred Scriptures. At the basis of all, lay the radical difference, that by the Alexandrian school the divine alone was after a one-sided manner made the prominent thing, whilst the Antiochian school sought to apprehend the divine and human in harmonious union with each other.

In the Alexandrian school, an intuitive mode of apprehension, inclining to the mystical; in the Antiochian, a logical reflective bent

[1] Λέγει μὲν ὑπερβολικώτερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἡ γραφὴ, τῆς λέξεως κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐχούσης, εὑρίσκεται δὲ ἀληθῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κρίνηται τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐν ἅπασι παύσας μὲν τοῦ νόμου τὴν σκίαν, ἐπεισαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν οἰκείαν, εἰκότως καὶ τῶν φωνῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. See the commentary on the Minor prophets, ed. Wegnern, p. 612.

[2] We may compare also what Theodore says in his Comment. on Joel I. p. 156, etc.

[3] See the Comment. on Micah, L. c. p. 354.

[4] E. g. Rom. 3: 12 in the above mentioned Comment. p. 501, and in many other places.

[5] See the above-mentioned Comment. on the Minor prophets, p. 513.

[6] Καὶ τούτου γε ἀπόδειξις αὐτάρκης ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων γένοιτο ἂν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐπὶ μακρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ συγγεγονότες αὐτῷ, Χριστὸν μὲν ὡμολόγουν ἐγνωκότες διὰ πολλῆς διδασκαλίας, υἱὸν δὲ, καθ' ὃν ἔφην λόγον, θεοῦ οὐκ ἠπίσταντο, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ οἰκείωσιν ἔλεγον θεοῦ υἱὸν τὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ τὸ τῶν πρόσθεν ἔθος ἁγίων τε καὶ δικαίων. In the above mentioned Comment. on the Minor prophets, p. 539.

of the understanding, predominated; although that hearty and sincere Christianity which may consist with manifold varieties of intellectual bent, was not wanting here. The first of these tendencies inclined to give prominence to the transcendent, the ineffable, the incomprehensible side of the divine matter revealed in Christianity;[1] to place by itself the incomprehensible as not to be comprehended, as an object of faith, and of religious intuition; to oppose all attempts at explanation; and, in order to express this in the strongest possible manner, it sought after expressions whereby to push the matter to the utmost extreme, and which were certainly liable to misconstruction. On the other hand, the Antiochian intelligential bent, while it was for allowing faith its just due, and would not attempt to explain the incomprehensible, strove to unfold the matter of revelation by the understanding, to present it in the clearest form in which it could be apprehended, and to provide against all possible misapprehensions (particularly such as might arise from confounding together and interchanging the divine and the human elements), by means of precise conceptions. On the one side, was a predominant striving to set apart the supernatural in the doctrines of revelation, as such, in opposition to whatever might lead to a rationalistic treatment of them; on the other, a striving to present, along with the supernatural, that which was conformable to reason, and so to unfold the doctrines as that they might plainly appear to be in harmony with reason. Each of these tendencies might lead to its opposite extreme: the one to a mystical hyper-orthodoxy, the other to a rationalism which evaporates Christianity. They should have acted in counterpoise, and reciprocally moderated each other. But the confused sort of conflict into which they were thrown by the profane passions of men, and the intermeddling of the secular power would not suffer the antagonism to reach that point where it could fully express itself, and be brought to a reconciliation in accordance with nature.

The tendency of the Antiochian school is seen in its more moderate form, and deeply pervaded by the Christianity of the heart, in the case of two individuals, both of whom present models of biblical interpretation for the period in which they lived, while the second of them furnishes the best pattern of a fruitful homiletic application of the sacred Scriptures: these were Theodoret and Chrysostom. The example of the latter shows particularly the great advantage of this exegetical tendency, when accompanied by a deep and hearty Christian feeling, and a life enriched by inward Christian experience, to any one who would cultivate a talent for homiletic exposition, and indeed for the whole office of the preacher.

The North African church ever continued to be the scientific organ for expressing the peculiar Christian spirit of the West. That which Tertullian had been in the preceding period, *Augustin* was in the present. In him, we have Tertullian once more presented before us, refined, spiritualized, and ennobled. He is the proper church-father of the West. That which Origen had been in his influence

[1] Το ἄρρητον, το ἄφραστον, τὸ ἀπερινόητον τοῦ μυστηρίου.

on the theological development of the Oriental church, Augustin was in his relation to the church of the West. His influence was, in many respects, more universal and long continued than the influence of that great father of the church. To remarkable acuteness and depth of intellect he united a heart filled and thoroughly penetrated with Christianity, and a life of the most manifold Christian experience. In system and method, he was doubtless superior to Origen; but he wanted the erudite historical culture, for which the latter was distinguished. If, to his great qualities of mind and heart, he had united this advantage, he would thereby have been preserved from many a partially conceived dogma, from many a stiff abstraction pushed to the utmost extreme, into which he was hurried by his speculative turn of mind, his rigid systematic consistency, combined with the peculiar direction of his religious feelings.

We noticed, in the case of the Alexandrian Gnosis, a twofold element; the Platonic view of the reciprocal relation between the esoteric, philosophic knowledge of religion and of the symbolical faith of the people (of ἐπιστήμη and of δόξα); and on the other side, the view derived from the Christian consciousness of the relation of doctrinal knowledge to faith. Augustin was the first who clearly separated, in his own consciousness, these two forms of knowing, and placed the latter above the former. Augustin's scientific discipline, as well as Origen's, came from Platonism; but with this difference, however, that in the case of Origen, the Platonic element was sometimes confounded with the Christian, and Christianity subordinated to Platonism. In the case of Augustin, on the other hand, his theology disentangled itself from Platonism, and the forms of Christian intuition and thought were expressed in an independent manner, and even in opposition to the Platonism from which the scientific discipline of Augustin's mind had taken its first direction. And in connection with this, while in Origen's case the philosophical and the dogmatic interest were often confounded, in that of Augustin, on the other hand, with whom the central point of his inner Christian life constituted also the central point of his system of faith, the dogmatic element unfolded itself, in the main, with more purity and independence. But even in his case, the philosophical interest and element of his speculative intellect unconsciously mixed in with the Christian and theological; and it was from him that this mixture of elements was transmitted to the scholastic theology of the middle age, which stood in immediate connection with his own. We see, in Augustin, the *faith* for which the anti-gnostic party had contended, reconciled with the *Gnosis* which came from the Alexandrian school. The peculiar training of his life enables us to understand how he came to occupy this important place in the development of the system of faith. The transition, in Augustin's case, from the Platonic philosophy of religion to the peculiar Gnosis of Christianity was not a mere speculative change, but a process in his own life. The development of doctrinal ideas proceeded, in his case, conformably to the natural order of things, out of his own internal experience.

Let us recur here, in the first place, to a fact stated in an earlier part of this history,[1] that a truly pious mother had seasonably scattered the seeds of Christianity in Augustin's heart while yet a child. The incipient germs of his spiritual life were unfolded in the unconscious piety of childhood. Whatever treasures of virtue and worth the life of faith, even of a soul not trained by scientific culture, can bestow, were set before him in the example of his pious mother. The period of childlike, unconscious piety was followed, in his case, by the period of self-disunion, inward strife and conflict. For at the age of nineteen, while living at Carthage, he was turned from the course which a pious education had given him, by the dissipations and corruptions of that great city. The fire of his impetuous nature needed to be purified and ennobled by the power of religion; his great but wild and ungoverned energies, after having involved him in many a stormy conflict, must first be tamed and regulated by a higher, heavenly might, must be sanctified by a higher spirit, before he could find peace. As it often happens that a human word, of the present or the past, becomes invested with important meaning for the life of an individual, by its coincidence with slumbering feelings or ideas, which are thus called forth at once into clear consciousness, so it was with Augustin. A passage which he suddenly came across in the Hortensius of Cicero, treating of the worth and dignity of philosophy, made a strong impression on his mind. The higher wants of his spiritual and moral nature were in this way at once brought clearly before him. The true and the good at once filled his heart with an indescribable longing; he had presented to the inmost centre of his soul a supreme good, which appeared to him the only worthy object of human pursuit; while, on the other hand, whatever had, until now, occupied and pleased him, appeared but as vanity. But the ungodly impulses were still too strong in his fiery nature to allow him to surrender himself wholly to the longing which from this moment took possession of his heart, and to withstand the charm of the vain objects which he would fain despise and shun. The conflict now began in his soul, which lasted through eleven years of his life.

Coming from the rhetorical schools, infected with the prevailing false discipline of those schools, and led astray from a healthful simplicity, he found himself in a tone and direction of mind not unlike to that which was experienced by the emperor Julian, when he was on the point of being led over to the Platonic theosophy. The simplicity of the sacred Scriptures was distasteful to him. And as many things in the church doctrine must have been unintelligible to him, approaching it, as he did, from the outside, and having, in the experiences of his inner life, nothing which yet presented the least point of sympathy with it; as he lacked entirely the preparatory discipline for understanding it; so, under these circumstances, the delusive pretensions of the Manichean sect, which, in place of a blind belief on authority, held out the promise of clear knowledge, and of a satisfactory solution of all questions relating to things human and divine, pre-

[1] See above, p. 262.

sented the stronger attractions to his inexperienced youth. He was undoubtedly encouraged to pass over to this sect by the hope that in it he should be enabled to solve the problem which had so sorely vexed him, and busied his thoughts from the first, — the question concerning the origin of evil. Feeling in the depths of his own being the struggle so powerfully breaking forth between the good and the evil, he could find it again appearing everywhere in the outward world. And thus Dualism may have recommended itself to him. How much might the acute, dialectical understanding of Augustin have found to support such a theory of the universe, had he remained faithful to it for a longer time![1] He became a member of the sect, and joined first the class of *auditors*. It was the sum of his wishes to be admitted to the class of *the elect*, so as to be initiated into the mysteries of the sect, — which, by reason of their enigmatical character, were but the more alluring to his eager thirst for knowledge, — and thus finally attain to the clear light he was so earnestly in pursuit of. Yet he already understood how to explain to himself every difficulty on the principles of the Manichean Dualism. He composed on the basis of this theory a system of æsthetics, — the tract "De apto et pulchro," which he dedicated to the Roman rhetorician, Hilarius, and in which he compared the opposition of the good to the evil, with the opposition of the beautiful to the hateful, and endeavored to point out as existing everywhere, as well in the spiritual and moral world as in nature, the same dualism between the *monad* and the *triad*. But his interviews with Faustus, one of the most eminent teachers of this sect, so utterly disappointed his expectations, that when he had spent ten years as a member of the sect, he was thrown into a state of complete bewilderment. At length he was fully convinced, that Manicheism was a delusion; but from this he was in danger of falling into absolute skepticism, from which nothing saved him but that faith in God and truth which remained planted in the deepest recesses of his soul. During this inward struggle, the acquaintance which he had gained, by means of Latin translations, with works relating to the Platonic and New Platonic philosophy proved of great service to him. He says himself, that they enkindled in his mind an incredible ardor.[2] They addressed themselves to his religious consciousness. Nothing but a philosophy which coincided with the facts of the immediate consciousness of God, and the religious need; and which, at the same time, in that form in which the later Platonism presented itself to him, contained so much that really or seemingly harmonized with the Christian truths implanted in his soul at an early age; — nothing but such a philosophy could have possessed such attractions for him in the then tone of his mind. Of great importance to him did the study of this philosophy prove, as a transition-point from skepticism to the clearly developed consciousness of an undeniable objective truth; — as a transition-point to the spiritualiza-

[1] Which has been remarked also by Bayle.

[2] L. II. c. academicos, § 5. Etiam mihi ipsi de me ipso incredibile incendium concitarunt.

tion of his thoughts, which had, by means of Manicheism, become habituated to sensible images, — as a transition-point from an *imaginative*, to an intellectual direction, and from *Dualism* to the consistent acknowledgment of one original being, where in fact his speculative mode of thought exposed him to the danger of falling into the other extreme of a one-sided *Monism*. He arrived, in this way, first at a religious idealism, that seized and appropriated to itself Christian elements; and was thus prepared to be led over to the simple faith of the gospel. At first, this Platonic philosophy was his all; and he sought nothing further. It was nothing but the power of that religion implanted during the season of childhood in the deepest recesses of his soul, which, as he himself avowed, drew him to the study of those writings which witnessed of it. He argued that, as truth is but one, this religion could not be at variance with that highest wisdom; that a Paul could not have led such a glorious life as he was said to have led, had he been wholly wanting in that highest wisdom. Accordingly, he supposed, at the outset, that Christianity could offer him nothing more than another form for those truths which he had already made himself acquainted with from the Platonic philosophy. He conceived of Christ as a prophet, in illumination of mind and holiness of character exalted, beyond all comparison, above all others; one who had been sent by God into the world for the purpose of transplanting what, by philosophical investigation, could be known only to a few, into the general consciousness of mankind, by means of an authoritative faith. From this point of view, he contrived to explain all the Christian doctrines on the principles of his Platonic idealism. He imagined that he understood them, and spoke of them as a master who was certain of his matter. As he afterwards said himself, he wanted that which can alone give the right understanding of Christianity; and without which, any man will have only the shell of Christianity without its kernel — the *love which is rooted in humility*.[1]

But this theory, erected on the basis of thought and not of living experience, was demolished, in his case, by the energy of life; for the Platonic philosophy presented before him, it is true, ideals which ravished the intellectual vision, but could give him no power of obtaining victory over the flesh. The ideals retreated from him, whenever he attempted to grasp them: he was continually borne down again by the ungodly impulses which he thought he had already subdued. As he was conducted, therefore, by his living experience, to an acquaintance with the want which Christianity alone can satisfy, and without the feeling of which it cannot be vitally understood, — to a knowledge of the want of redemption from the sense of inward schism; so he found in Christianity more than he was seeking for in it, having in fact been led to it chiefly in the way of speculation. The study of

[1] As he says himself, in his confessions, speaking of this period of his life: Garriebam plane quasi peritus, jam enim cœperam velle videri sapiens; ubi erat illa caritas, ædificans a fundamento humilitatis, quod est Christus Jesus? Confess. lib. I. c. 20.

St. Paul's epistles in particular, which he began in this epoch of his life, made the more powerful impression on his soul, because so much in the fundamental idea of these epistles respecting that which is law, spirit, and that which is flesh, and respecting the conflict between both, connected itself with his own inner experiences and conflicts, and became clearly evident to him from them. Much that had been unintelligible to him before he had made these experiences, he could now understand; and, in general, he became better acquainted with Christianity, the more he found himself at home in it by means of his own inner life, and the more he experienced the sanctifying power of the divine doctrines on his own soul. Thus, then, by degrees, the relation was completely reversed: it was no longer the Platonic philosophy which was most certain to him; and the religion of his childhood had no longer merely the advantage, with him, that it made what had been imparted to him by that philosophy appear to him under a more familiar and popular form. But as he had found in Christ his Saviour, so all that Christ taught him was infallible truth, which required no other confirmation. It was the highest criterion of all truth. He himself had experienced the power of this doctrine in his inmost soul; and this was to him a subjective testimony of its divinity and truth. His religious and moral consciousness was now satisfied; his desire of knowledge alone still sought satisfaction. He longed to see that what was certain to him by faith in divine authority and by inward experience, was also true and necessary on internal grounds; and the means to this were to be furnished him by the Platonic philosophy.[1]

Now the fact was, that, at this stage of his development, it happened to him, sometimes, that he deprived biblical ideas of their *full*, *peculiar* significance, by translating them into the language of the Platonic philosophy. Thus, for example, he called the wisdom of this world simply a wisdom which is still entangled in the forms of sense, which does not elevate itself to *ideas;* and the kingdom of Christ, as not being a kingdom of this world, he styled one which has its foundation in the world of ideas.[2] Nor was this merely a change of expres-

[1] Thus he said on entering upon his thirty-third year, in this very epoch of his life: Mihi autem certum est, nusquam prorsus a Christi auctoritate discedere, non enim reperio valentiorem. Quod autem subtilissima *ratione* persequendum est — ita enim jam sum affectus, ut quid sit verum non credendo solum, sed etiam intelligendo apprehendere, impatienter desiderem, — apud Platonicos me interim, quod sacris nostris non repugnet, reperturum esse confido. C. academicos, l. III. § 43.

[2] In his critical examination of his own writings, his retractationes, l. I. c. 3, Augustin himself passes censure on this translation of the notions of faith into the philosophical language of the Platonic school, in which he had indulged himself in those writings which belonged to the epoch of his life just mentioned, as also in his work de ordine, l. I. c. 11. When Christ says, "My kingdom is not of this world," he does not mean by this the ideal world (the *κόσμος νοητὸς*), as opposed to the world of sense (the *κόσμος αἰσθητὸς*); but rather the world in which there should be a new heaven and a new earth, when that comes to pass which we pray for in the words, "Thy kingdom come." At the same time we may notice the freedom from prejudice with which he acknowledges that the idea of a *mundus intelligibilis*, in the Platonic sense, by no means contained in it, absolutely considered, any unchristian view, but, rightly understood, was a truth altogether undeniable; the mundus intelligibilis being nothing other than the eternal, invariable order of the world as it lies grounded in the divine reason.

sion, in which nothing was lost to the matter; but the form of expression was intimately connected with the ethical point of view peculiar to this school. Augustin, at this time still entangled in the Platonic intellectualism, was particularly inclined to dwell in his thoughts exclusively upon the opposition between the spiritual world and the world of sense; to contemplate the divine rather as simply opposed to the things of sense and to sensuous appearance, than as opposed to the self-seeking tendency of the spirit; to derive moral evil expressly from man's propensity to the things of sense and sensual appearances. Yet by degrees, in proportion as Christianity penetrated from the inner life through his whole mode of thinking, he came to perceive the difference between Platonic and Christian ideas, and unshackled his system of faith from the fetters of Platonism.

Augustin had learned from his own experience, that, in reference to the knowledge of divine things, the *life* must precede the *conception;* thought must develop itself from the actual basis of life; for, in truth, the reason why the Christian truths presented to him in the doctrines of the church had, at the beginning, appeared so foolish to him, and the delusive pretensions of that boastful mock-wisdom of the Manicheans had so easily drawn him into its current, was, that those truths had as yet found no point of union whatever in his inner life. It was from the life within that he had learned to believe in these truths, and to understand them. By love for the godlike, by the power of the religious, moral temper of heart, he had conquered the skepticism with which he had for a while been threatened. Thus, — as his system of faith was, throughout, the copy and expression of the development of his internal life, and hence possessed so much vitality, — it became with him a fundamental idea, that *divine things must be incorporated with the life and the affections, before we can be capable of an intellectual knowledge of them; that the understanding and knowing of divine things presupposes a self-surrendering love for them, and proceeds therefrom;* as he says: "We must first love, with a perfect love, him whom we would know."[1] "It is by our life," he says, "we render ourselves worthy of knowing that which we believe."[2] It was clear to him that religious knowledge must proceed from the heart; that only by the entire surrender of the affections could that truth be found which satisfies the intellect. The way by which the Manicheans would conduct men to a wisdom of the Perfect appeared to him now as a reversing of the order of nature, a way of seeking which must necessarily fail of its object. "Men — he exclaims to them — are not to be led to the knowledge of the truths of faith directly; they must first be taught *how* alone they can become capable of attaining it." "The love instilled into the heart by the Holy Spirit," he says, "leads to the Son, that is, to the Wisdom of God,

[1] So he says, de moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ, lib. I. § 47, in opposition to the Manicheans: Quamobrem videte, quam sint perversi atque præposteri, qui sese arbitrantur Dei cognitionem tradere, ut perfecti simus, cum perfectorum ipsa sit præmium. Quid ergo agendum est, quid quæso, nisi ut *eum ipsum, quem cognoscere volumus,* prius plena caritate diligamus?

[2] Vita, per quam meremur scire, quod credimus. De moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ, lib. I. § 37.

by which the Father himself is known; for wisdom and truth can in nowise be found, unless longed for by every faculty of the soul. But if sought, after a manner worthy of it, it cannot withhold and conceal itself from those who love it. By love is the longing; by love, the seeking; by love, the knocking: by love, the revealing; by love, in fine, is the persevering in that which is revealed." [1] *Now*, he was convinced that a man must first humbly receive, upon divine authority, the truth which is to sanctify him, ere he can be prepared to know divine things with an enlightened reason. Though only *that* can be revealed to man by divine authority which in its inmost essence is truth, and which, therefore, is to be known as true by internal evidence; yet in the order of time the faith of authority must come first, as a means of preparation and discipline to render the mind capable of this knowledge, as it comes to us from within.[2]

Yet he was still, in some sense, bound up in that view of Platonism respecting the relation of δόξα to ἐπιστήμη in religion; and as he perceived, that, without the scientific culture to which but comparatively few Christians could attain, that rational knowledge was not possible; but as without it there seemed to him to be something still wanting to Christianity; so he was of the opinion, therefore, that those few only attained to the full blessedness of the divine life imparted by Christianity, who combined with it scientific culture. But in proportion as his views became more clearly unfolded, with the progress of his Christian *life;* as the life of faith appeared to him possessed of a loftier nature, from the experience of his own heart; [3] and as he became acquainted with this life as one and the same thing among all conditions and forms of culture, in the same proportion he became convinced, that reason (ratio) did but unfold the essential contents of what was given by faith, into the form of rational knowledge, but could impart to it no higher character. He distinctly set forth this relation of reason proceeding out of faith, and the life of faith, to faith itself, especially in his disputes with the Manicheans, who reversed this relation.[4]

Thus it was first by him, that the great principle out of which the

[1] Si sapientia et veritas non totis animi viribus concupiscatur, inveniri nullo pacto potest. At si ita quæratur, ut dignum est, subtrahere sese atque abscondere a suis dilectoribus non potest. After citing from Matth. 7: 7; 10: 26: Amore petitur, amore quæritur, amore pulsatur, amore revelatur, amore denique in eo quod revelatum fuerit, permanetur. L. c. § 31.

[2] Augustin. de ordine, l. II. § 26. Tempore auctoritas, re autem ratio prior est.

[3] This is an important point, also, in its bearing on the development of Augustin's views respecting grace and predestination, which we shall hereafter examine more closely when we approach the history of these doctrines. In the outset, when his faith was still more purely the faith of authority, the latter appeared to him as the human element, to which alone the divine could attach itself. When he had penetrated more deeply into the essence of that which is the life of faith, faith itself seemed to him already to presuppose the communication of the divine element to the man: it seemed to him, that in faith the divine and human elements were already conjoined.

[4] As in the tracts: de utilitate credendi; de moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ; de moribus Manichæorum; de vera religione. We rejoice in being able to point to an excellent work on Augustin's course of development, that of our dear friend, Prof. Bindemann of Griefswald; and we look forward with pleasure to its completion.

subsequent doctrinal system developed itself in its independent self-subsistence — "fides præcedit intellectum" — was established in a logically consistent manner. We find, therefore, in Augustin, two tendencies, by which he exerted a special influence on the development of Christian knowledge in this century, and in the following ones: a tendency to assert the dignity and independence of faith, as opposed to a proud, speculative spirit which rent itself from all connection with the Christian life; and to point out, in opposition to the advocates of a blind faith, the agreement of faith with reason, the development of faith from within itself by means of reason.[1] Thus in Augustin we see united the two fundamental tendencies which in the East we saw split and divided into antagonism with each other; but, we must allow, without finding in him, at the same time, any signs of that tendency to apply the historical sense to the elucidation of Scripture, which was peculiar to the school of Antioch.

But we must add to this what we have before mentioned, Augustin's dependence on the tradition of the church, by which he was led to admit into his *ratio* many foreign elements, as though they were given by *fides;* and his well-exercised speculative and dialectic intellect made it the easier for him to find reasons for everything, — to construe, as necessary, everything which had once become fused, although originally composed of heterogeneous elements, with his life of faith. His system of faith wanted that historical and critical direction of the Antiochian school whereby alone, returning back, at all periods of time, to the pure and original fountain of Christianity, the doctrine of faith can *make* and *preserve* itself free from the foreign elements which continually threaten to mix in with the current of impure temporal tradition.

We now pass to consider the history of the principal doctrines of Christianity singly considered, and of the prominent antagonisms in the modes of apprehending and treating these doctrines; and, in so doing, we shall see still more clearly presented, in their peculiar features, the different and opposite main tendencies of the theological spirit.

[1] On this point the letter of Augustin to Consentius, ep. 120, is particularly worthy of notice. He here proposes the problem, ut ea, quæ fidei firmitate jam tenes, etiam rationis luce conspicias. "Even faith," says he, "has its eyes, with which, in a certain sense, it sees that to be true which still it does not see, and with which it sees with the utmost confidence that it does not yet see what it believes." In faith lies also the yearning after more perfect knowledge; for faith cannot exist without the longing after, and without the hope of, that which one believes. Against an absolute antagonism of fides and ratio, he says: "Far be it from us to suppose, that God should hate in us that by means of which he has made us superior to all other creatures. Far be it from us to suppose, that we are to believe in order that we may be under no necessity of receiving or of seeking rational knowledge; since we could not even believe, unless we were possessed of rational souls. Even this, too, is beyond all question in conformity with reason, that in some things pertaining to the doctrines of salvation, which we are as yet not able to penetrate by our reason, though we may one day be able, faith precedes rational knowledge, that so the disposition may be purified by faith, in order to be in a condition, at some future period, to receive the light of so great truth."

2. Opposite Ways of Apprehending and Treating the Single Great Doctrines of Christianity.

a. Theology in the more limited Sense of the Term, or the Christian Doctrine concerning God.

What produced an important change in the whole way of apprehending the doctrine concerning God was the controversy about the Trinity; with this, therefore, we shall begin, in order that we may next consider with more exactitude the consequences which flowed out of it.

This controversy was a natural consequence of the opposite conceptions of the doctrine of the Trinity which had been formed in the course of the preceding period; and its origin can be rightly understood and judged only by a previous consideration of the latter. Considering it in this connection, we can be under no temptation of ascribing too much importance here to external circumstances and occasions, or to the influence of any individual man, as, for instance, Arius. Neglecting this, we might easily be misled to pass an unjust judgment on Arius, after having unjustifiably removed him out of his connection with the dogmatic development of his times, so as to consider his system merely as *his own* work, and not as, in a certain sense, a product of the epoch of dogmatic development in which his life was destined to fall.

We observed, near the close of the preceding period, two main systems on the doctrine of the Trinity, and more particularly on the doctrine concerning the relation of the Son of God to the Father: the system, for the most part peculiar to the Western church, in which the Christian *theistic* interest was most distinctly expressed; and the Oriental system of emanation and subordination, which obtained a settled form through the labors of Origen. By the former, the unity of essence (the ὁμοούσιον) in the Triad was made specially prominent, with a view to distinguish precisely the Son of God from all created beings, and to retain firmly the principle of *Monarchy;* while, on the other hand, the latter system had grown from the establishing, under more precise conceptions, of the older emanation theory, — its aim being simply to remove from the latter all temporal and sensuous representations. This system, it is true, in one respect coincided with the other; namely, that it affirmed the difference, not merely in degree, but in essence, betwixt the Son of God and all created beings: but the doctrine of the unity of essence was combated by this system as an annihilation of the distinction of persons; and this constitutes that opposition between the two systems which we remarked already at the close of the preceding period.

It is true that, already, at an earlier period, a dispute had threatened to break out between these two systems; which dispute having been prevented, however, by the moderation of bishop Dionysius of Alexandria, the two churches which were so widely separated from each other

—by space and by language,—might have remained at peace for a longer time, had there not sprung up in the Oriental church a dispute between one party which was inclined to favor the Western system of unity, and another which gave stronger prominence and a more decided expression to the distinction of persons; a tendency which, in general, declined to acknowledge any essential difference between the conception, *Son of God*, and the conception of a created being,—between the notion of a generation from God, and the notion of a creation. *This* system stood connected with the older subordination theory, and was, in so far, nothing new,[1] but only an attempt to fix and hold fast, in this doctrine, an earlier step of development, in opposition to any further progressive movement. The novelty consisted in the form in which the doctrine, so fixed and held fast, was understood, and in which it must assume a more rigidly distinctive and exclusive character. In the letter of Dionysius, bishop of Rome, to Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, we find already the indications of such a mode of apprehension (see vol. I. sect. 4, p. 607). Now it was this which, being fully expressed, in the beginning of the fourth century, by the presbyter Arius, evoked the disputes, of the rise and progress of which we are about to give an account.

As to Arius, it should be remarked, with regard to his peculiar theological education, that he was a scholar of the presbyter Lucian of Antioch.[2] From this school he took that direction which led him to place the free, grammatical interpretation of the Bible at the basis of his doctrinal system. But in cases where this direction was not accompanied with a general intuition of biblical ideas vitalized by Christian experience, and this general intuition had not made plain the true relation of the particular to the general in the expressions of holy writ, it might tend, by laying too great stress on particulars, and giving them an undue prominence, to promote narrow views of the truths of faith. This was the case with Arius, in whom a tendency to narrow conceptions of the understanding, exclusive of the intuitive faculty, predominated. In the Antiochian school, too, he probably took a direction in opposition to the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, which led him to give particular prominence to the distinction of hypostases, and, what was connected therewith, to assume at the same time a polemical attitude against the Homoousion.[3] But even in the system of Origen's school at Alexandria, he might afterwards find many points of concurrence with his own views, as well in the polemics against the doctrine of the unity of essence and in the subordination theory, as also in the way in which the doctrine of the freedom and self-determination of all rational beings was here apprehended. Arius certainly believed that he was not preaching a

[1] As, in fact, although the Logos was doubtless distinguished from other created beings, yet no scruples were felt at the same time to apply to him the phrase ἔκτισέ με, in Proverbs 8 : 22; consequently, in so far, of applying to him the name of a κτίσμα.

[2] Which may be gathered from the circumstance, that he addresses the bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, in his letter preserved to us by Theodoret and Epiphanius, as συλλουκιανιστὴς.

[3] See vol. I. sect. IV. p. 606.

new doctrine, but only bringing out and establishing the old church subordination system; without which it seemed to him neither the monarchical principle of the Triad, nor the self-subsistent personality of the Logos, could be maintained. "We must either suppose," says Arius, "two divine original essences without beginning, and independent of each other; we must substitute a *Dyarchy* in place of the Monarchy; or we must not shrink from asserting that the Logos had a beginning of his existence, that there was a moment when he did not as yet exist" (ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν).[1] The idea of a becoming without a beginning, a derivation in essence and not in time, was, to the feebly speculative and feebly intuitive mind of Arius, something too subtle and refined, — something incomprehensible, self contradictory. We perceive here how little suited Origen's method of intuition was to the mind of Arius. So, too, he supposed that, by a generation from God, — inasmuch as particular stress was laid on this notion of a generation from God, as distinguished from creation, — nothing at all could be distinctly conceived, unless men were disposed to fall in with the sensuous Gnostic representations of a partition of the divine essence.[2] But if men chose to lay particular stress on the notion Son of God, and to employ this designation for the purpose of distinguishing the Logos from all created beings, they would in this way also fall into sensuous, anthropopathic notions. Between God the Creator, and the creature, nothing else could be conceived as intervening. Either Christ was a divine, original essence, like the Father, and then it would be necessary to suppose two Gods, or else there should be no fear or hesitation in distinctly avowing that he was, like all other creatures of God, created, formed, begotten, — or however else it might be expressed; for, however it was expressed, the matter itself remained the same,— by his own will, as it pleased him, from nothing (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων). Those passages of the New Testament in which he believed he found the expression ποιεῖν employed with reference to Christ,[3] in which he found him styled the *First-born*,[4] consequently a beginning of existence, as he thought, ascribed to him, he could cite in favor of his theory. By all this, he intended by no means to lower the dignity of Christ; but would ascribe to him the greatest dignity which a being could have after God, without entirely annulling the distinction between that being and God. God created him, or begat him, with the intent, through him to produce all things else; the distance betwixt God and all other beings is too great to allow of the supposition that God could have produced them immediately. In the first place, therefore, when he determined to produce the entire creation, he begat a being who is as like to him in perfections as any creature can be, for the purpose of producing, by

[1] He intentionally avoided saying, ἦν χρόνος, αἰων ὅτε, for he unquestionably supposed that the Logos was produced by the Father before all time; the conceptions of time and of creation being, according to his opinion, inseparably connected.

[2] Here he might take sides with the school of Origen against a γέννησις ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ, little as he could agree, according to the above remarks, with the spiritual way of apprehending the doctrine of emanation in the same school.

[3] Act. ap. 2, 36. Heb. 3: 2.

[4] Col. 1: 15.

the instrumentality of this Being, the whole creation.[1] The names Son of God, and Logos, were given to him in order to distinguish him from other created beings, inasmuch as, although, like all created beings, he owed everything to the will and favor of the Creator, he yet enjoyed the nearest relationship to Him, inasmuch as the divine reason, wisdom, power, all which titles could only be transferred to Christ in an improper, metonymical sense, were yet manifested by him in the most perfect degree. As an example of the rude style of conception and expression in which Arius indulged, we may take the following remark of his: "Having determined to create us, God created a certain being whom he named Logos, Wisdom, and Son, in order to create us by him."[2] Arius quoted many examples of Scripture phraseology, to show that the expressions Logos, power of God, are by no means always used in the holy Scriptures in the same sense; so that it was in nowise necessary to understand by these terms a power and a reason of God inseparable from the Divine Essence; but they were ofttimes transferred and applied in an improper sense to other objects; as, for example, when even the locusts, Joel 2: 25 (according to the Alexandrian version), were called the great power of God.[3] Such explanations as these might, indeed, easily furnish occasion for representing Arius as a man whose main bent was to contend against the divine dignity of the Saviour, and to misrepresent him. But in reality this was meant by Arius only as a grammatical vindication of his own way of apprehending a biblical idea, where certainly it did not occur to him to suppose that from these examples, adduced to establish the scriptural use of language, anything should or could be inferred tending to the disparagement of our Saviour. But this grammatical interpretation must doubtless have appeared offensive to the prevailing *doctrinal* interest, which flowed out of a hearty Christian feeling. Arius perceived, beyond all question, that, from the very conception of a creature, an infinite distance must be inferred betwixt him and the Creator; nor did he shrink from expressing this. This, in fact, Origen had already expressed in affirming that as God is, in essence, infinitely exalted above all created beings, so, too, in essence he was infinitely exalted above the highest of created beings, the Son; and the latter, in essence, could not at all be compared with him.[4]

He reckoned as belonging to the essence of the rational creature — in this particular, falling in as well with the school of Origen, as with that of Antioch — *the self-determining, mutable free will;* the foun-

[1] Ὡς ἄρα θέλων ὁ θεὸς τὴν γενητὴν κτίσαι φύσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα μὴ δυναμένην αὐτὴν μετασχεῖν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκράτου χειρὸς καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας, ποιεῖ καὶ κτίζει πρώτως μόνος μόνον ἕνα καὶ καλεῖ τοῦτον υἱὸν καὶ λόγον, ἵνα τούτου μέσου γενομένου, οὕτως λοιπὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι δυνηθῇ. Athanas. orat. II. c. Arian. § 24. Although Athanasius is here stating that in which Eusebius of Nicomedia, Asterius, and Arius agreed, and these very words consequently ought not to be ascribed to Arius, yet they are certainly altogether in accordance with his way of thinking.

[2] Athanas. orat. c. Arian. I. § 5. Agreeing precisely with the passage above cited: Θελήσας ἡμᾶς δημιουργῆσαι, πεπόιηκεν ἕνα τινὰ καὶ ὠνόμασεν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ υἱόν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ δημιουργήσῃ.

[3] See in Athanasius. l. c.

[4] Ἀλλότριος καὶ ἀνόμοιος κατὰ πάντα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας καὶ ἰδιότητος — ἀνόμοιος ἐπ' ἄπειρον τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ. Athanas. c. Arian. I. § 6.

dation of all the superiority enjoyed by rational beings. This principle he applied also, without concealment or evasion, to Christ. By his nature, as a created being, Christ possessed a will subject to change; but he had constantly directed it to that only which is good, and by this means he had become *morally* unchangeable. Thus the Son of God, too, had obtained the glory which he possessed above all other creatures, not without the desert of his own will; for as God by his foreknowledge saw, from the beginning, what a holy life Christ would lead, as a man, in passing triumphantly through all his conflicts, he bestowed on him that glory, foreseeing that he would deserve it as the reward of his virtue.[1] Nor did he believe it possible to conceive of the Christ whom he found revealed in the New Testament in any other way than this. How conceive of his struggles and conflicts in the view of death, and of his prayer in these conflicts, without a changeableness of will? Had he been the almighty power of God himself, he would have had no fears for himself, but rather would have imparted strength to others. And, in the 2d of Philippians, Paul does in fact represent his exaltation, as being the reward of the obedience manifested in his life.[2] By simply distinguishing here between the human and the divine natures in Christ, Arius might, indeed, have been easily refuted; but this refutation could not have touched him according to the coherence of his own system; for here, too, he held fast to the as yet rude, undeveloped doctrine of the first centuries, and trenched himself in what he supposed he found literally taught in the New Testament. Hence, following the older mode of apprehension, he considered the incarnation of the Logos to consist simply in his union with a human body;[3] and hence, too, all the actions and expressions of Christ denoting dependence on God, or limitation of any kind, as, for example, prayer and every manifestation of ignorance, could only appear to him as a proof of the correctness of his theory concerning the essence of the Son of God as a created being. If Christ was in essence the true and indwelling wisdom of the Father, how then could it be written, that he grew in wisdom? Luke 2: 52. How could he ask where Lazarus had been laid, etc.?[4]

Now although such a conception of Christ did, indeed, contradict

[1] Τῇ μὲν φύσει ὥσπερ πάντες, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ τρεπτὸς, τῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ αὐτεξουσίῳ, ἕως βούλεται, μένει καλὸς, ὅτε μέντοι θέλει, δύναται τρέπεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, τρεπτὴς ὢν φύσεως. (Arius was led to push the matter thus far, on account of the notions he entertained of the creature and of free will: for he set the changeableness of the free will over against a blind necessity of nature. The Arians proposed the dilemma: "Either the Son of God has a changeable free will, by virtue of which he may incline to moral evil or to moral good, or he is without will, like a block of wood or a stone." Athanas. orat. c. Arian. I. § 35). Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προγινώσκων ὁ θεὸς, ἔσεσθαι καλὸν αὐτὸν, προλαβὼν αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν δόξαν δέδωκεν, ἣν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔσχε μετὰ ταῦτα· ὥστε ἐξ ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν προέγνω ὁ θεὸς, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν νῦν γεγονέναι, πεποίηκε. Orat. I. § 5.

[2] Athanas. orat. III. § 26; I. § 43.

[3] We perceive here also the agreement and opposition between Arius and Origen. He coincided with the latter in considering the glorification of Christ the reward of his merit; but Origen referred this to Christ's human soul, — see vol. I. sect. 4, p. 636, — Arius, to the Logos himself.

[4] Athanas. orat. III. § 26.

what is truly contained in the faith of Christ's divinity, still he did not hesitate to ascribe to him the name of God, which he believed he found clearly ascribed to him in the New Testament,[1] and in the older confessions of faith. He was not conscious to himself of deviating from the older doctrines of the Eastern church; since, in truth, so much in the older church teachers seemed to speak in favor of his opinion. Probably he appealed to those passages of Scripture where the name of God seems to be applied in an improper sense to created beings, and thence argued, that it was applied after an analogous manner, but in the highest sense, to the Logos. Arius could not, consistently with his system, express himself otherwise than to say, that, as Christ was all that which he was only by the grace of God, so, by the communication of that grace, he had obtained the divine titles and divine dignity, although, in his essence, he was not the true God.[2] He affirmed, with the other church teachers, the incomprehensibleness of the divine essence to all created beings; and, from his own point of view, he consistently applied this likewise to the Son of God, since, in placing him with created beings, he could not do otherwise. To Jesus, too, the essence of God was incomprehensible; and Christ knew him in a manner differing from the knowledge of other created beings only in degree, and according to the proportion of the higher powers bestowed on him by the Father.[3]

All that we know about Arius would by no means persuade us to acknowledge in him a man fitted, by his superiority of intellect, to produce a new epoch in the evolution of doctrine. He himself was assuredly far from entertaining any such design. He was intending simply to defend the old doctrine of the Eastern church concerning the Trinity against Sabellian and Gnostic opinions, and to exhibit it in a consistent manner. He was in nowise conscious to himself of the result to which his tendency and his principles really led. It may justly be inferred, however, from the character of this system, and from the onward step of human nature, that, if Arianism had been able to gain the victory, men would not have rested content with the results which satisfied Arius, with such a half-way form of doctrinal opinions as could satisfy neither the demands of the understanding, which aims to comprehend everything, nor those of Christian consciousness and feeling. This prosaic bent of the understanding which supposes a chasm infinitely deep separating God from the creation, and which could not, consistently, admit the possibility of any communication of the divine life, would have gone on to develop itself still further, and with every step come nearer to the system of Deism.[4]

[1] Since, at all events, he referred to him at least the passage concerning the Logos in the beginning of John's gospel.

[2] Εἰ δὲ καὶ λέγεται θεὸς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀληθινὸς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μετοχῇ χάριτος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεται ὀνόματι μόνον θεός. L. c. I. § 6.

[3] Ὁ γινώσκει καὶ ὁ βλέπει, ἀναλόγως τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις οἶδε καὶ βλέπει, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς γινώσκομεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. Athanas. orat. I. c. Arian. § 6. The same is stated as a doctrine of Arius, by the Arian historian, Philostorgius, II. 3. According to the passage in Athanasius, Arius says, moreover: Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν οὐκ οἶδε. Perhaps he taught that no created being could comprehend its own essence; and, remaining true to his principle, applied this also to the Son of God.

[4] In the Arian doctrine concerning freedom may be found, in fact, already the germ of Pelagianism.

The Arius with whom these disputes began was a presbyter of the Alexandrian church, and placed as pastor over a church [1] of this city, which bore the name of Baucalis. He had received that office shortly before the Presbyter Alexander was made bishop of this city. His rigidly ascetic life [2] had probably contributed to give him great influence with his community.

Respecting the first outbreak of the controversy, there are different reports, which admit perhaps of being reconciled, if we consider that the first beginnings of such schisms, cherished as they may be in secret long before any public outbreak, are capable of being stated and described in different ways according to different points of view. It is possible that Arius may have displayed his zeal as a teacher of the faith before he became a presbyter, and, in seeking to diffuse his own peculiar principles, have made himself friends and enemies.[3] When he proceeded to spread his opinions, under the new bishop Alexander of Alexandria, in his own parish church, he became involved in a controversy with other members of the clergy. Alexander, in the outset, took no part in it: he showed himself at the beginning undecided in his judgment, until finally, on the occasion of a theological conference, which the bishop of Alexandria was accustomed to hold at certain times with his clergy, he declared distinctly against Arius.[4]

The bishop Alexander, at an assembly of the clergy in Alexandria, and then at a more numerous synod of Egyptian and Lybian bishops, composed of a hundred members, in the year 321, deposed Arius from his office, and excluded him from the communion of the church.

After Arius had been excommunicated, he wrote, in defense and for the propagation of his doctrines, a book called Thalia, probably a miscellany composed of pieces in poetry and prose, from which we have already cited a few important fragments as illustrating the character of his system. He wrote also a collection of songs for *sailors*, *millers*, *and pilgrims*,— an old expedient for spreading religious opinions among the people. For the rest, it is quite probable, if we may

[1] According to the Alexandrian practice, see page 194.

[2] In the old account of the Meletian schism, it is said of Arius: "habitum portans pietatis." (See Osservazioni letterarie. T. III. p. 16, Verona, 1738), i. e. he wore the pallium of the ascetics. With this agrees also the description of Epiphanius, when he says of him: ἦν κατηφὴς τὸ εἶδος, ἡμιφόριον ἐνδιδυσκόμενος.

[3] In the record above referred to, published by Maffei, it is said of Arius: "et ipse doctoris desiderium habens." His rupture with Peter, bishop of Alexandria, and his union with the Meletian party, had some connection perhaps already with doctrinal differences.

[4] Sozomen and Epiphanius relate, that the controversy arose in the first place independently of the bishop Alexander. According to the latter's account, several different parties had already been formed among the clergy and the laity, according as the latter attached themselves to one or the other of the parish presbyters; but many of these parties were lost again, while the more important antagonism betwixt Arius and the defenders of the Homoousion became continually more distinctly prominent, and extended more widely. According to both the reports, the bishop Alexander had his attention first directed to the danger which threatened, from other quarters: according to Sozomen, he at first appeared undecided. Socrates mentions the theological conference. There is also an allusion to this in the letter of the emperor Constantine to Alexander and Arius, cited by Eusebius, de vita Constantini, l. II. c. 69, when he says, that the bishop Alexander asked all his presbyters, how they understood a certain passage of Scripture.

judge from the fragments preserved, from the comparatively prosaic spirit of Arius, and the prosaic character of his doctrines, that in the apologetical work, and in the songs above mentioned, there was nothing poetical besides the mere form.

Alexander, moreover, sent circular letters to the more eminent bishops, in which he represented the doctrines of Arius as being altogether unchristian; and although he described these doctrines as they must have appeared to him from his own point of view, yet it cannot be said that he indulged himself in charging against them his own inferences. But Arius also sought, on his own part, to gain over to his side the suffrages of the more eminent bishops of the Eastern church; and this he could not have felt to be a very difficult task: for the majority of them, though not friendly to *his own* doctrines, were yet not any more favorably disposed to the doctrine of the Homoousion, which Alexander maintained. They were inclined rather, for the most part, to the Origenistic system, which occupied the middle place between the two schemes,—that system from which afterwards sprang the so-called Semi-Arianism: and in the opposition to the system of Alexander, Arius could find many a point of concurrence with his own doctrines, of which he would not be slow to avail himself. He affirmed that he took ground only against *those* heretical doctrines which attributed to the Son of God the same want of beginning as to the Father,[1] and which taught a sensuous emanation, a partition of the divine essence.[2] His doctrine, that the Son of God was produced ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, he explained in the sense in which it was, in fact, customary to understand this expression with reference to the doctrine of the creation out of nothing, viz., that by it was simply excluded the supposition of a preëxisting matter, or of an efflux out of the divine essence. The Son was produced by the will of the Father, before all time, as perfect God, only-begotten, unchangeable.[3] Although Arius can by no means be accused of contradicting his own convictions, yet the wish to agree with the ruling doctrine of the Eastern church had, certainly, great influence on the manner in which he expressed himself here, and unquestionably he could *thus* easily gain over the dominant party in his favor. Men of great influence in the Eastern church exerted themselves to bring about a compromise between Arius and his bishop,—a compromise of this sort, that the bishop Alexander should allow Arius to retain his parochial office, without requiring that his views of the faith should agree in all respects with his own. Two individuals, in particular, sought by their negotiations to bring this about: Eusebius of Nicomedia, who as bishop of that city which, under the government of Diocletian,

[1] Styled him συναγέννητος.

[2] Οἱ τὸν υἱὸν λέγοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐρυγὴν, οἱ δὲ προβολήν.

[3] Consistently, indeed, Arius could not apply to Christ such an expression as πλήρης θεός; but he might doubtless say this, according to the vague and indefinite manner in which he applied the name of God. The greatest difficulty he must have found, from his own point of view, in attributing to Christ the predicate of immutability; but here also the whole depended on the question,—how this was to be understood. He must have understood it as meaning that Christ was immutable, not in his essence, but by virtue of the bent of his will as foreknown by God.

had become the imperial residence for a main division of the East Roman empire, possessed considerable influence, who was, moreover, an old friend of Arius, and, still more than many others, agreed with him in doctrine; and Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, who had acquired great reputation in the Eastern church as a learned and accomplished theologian.[1] The latter was, from the first, disinclined to public dialectical disputes on divine things: he was anxious to avoid and suppress them; resembling in this respect another great church teacher from the school of Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria. He dreaded, and not without good reason, the intrusion of profane passions into investigations on such matters, which, beyond all others, required, in order to any right understanding, the purity, calmness, and quiet of a soul consecrated to God. Holding the generation of the Son of God from the Father to be a subject which transcended the limited powers of all created minds, to say nothing of the human, the more unwise and mischievous did he consider disputes on such matters as these. Convinced that only a mind the most practiced in thinking, and freed from the sphere of sensuous and temporal relations, could approximate to any worthy representation of a matter in its very essence incomprehensible, it seemed to him the more absurd and perverse to make such things a subject of dispute among men whose

[1] The system of Eusebius — as it had already been matured previous to the commencement of the Arian controversies, and as he exhibits it in his work written before this time, the demonstratio evangelica — coincides entirely with that of Origen; and, from this circumstance, we may form a judgment of its relation to the Arian system. He was, with Origen, inclined to favor the theory of subordination, — the notion of an *ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ πρώτου φωτὸς*, of a *φῶς πρῶτον*, and a *φῶς δεύτερον*, — *οὐσία πρώτη* and *δεύτερα*; to consider the Son as the perfect reflection of the original light, in the most perfect manner, like in all things to the Father, his most perfect image, revealing himself, *ἀφομοιωμένος τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα*; moreover, *ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*, as he is in fact the *εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγενήτου καὶ πρώτης οὐσίας*. See, for example, lib. IV. demonstr. evangel. c. 3. Eusebius was of the opinion, that the Son of God could not be called absolutely eternal (*ἁπλῶς ἀΐδιος*), like the Father; that it was necessary to ascribe to him an origin of existence from the Father, since thus only was it possible to hold fast the doctrine of the *mon*archy; and that it was impossible to express the truth *after the manner of men*, in any other way than by saying the existence of the Father precedes the existence and the origin of the Son (*ὁ πατὴρ προϋπάρχει τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ προϋφέστηκεν*); but yet it was necessary here to remove away all relations of time. In a word, the idea of the origin of the Son of God was one which transcended the conceptions of all created beings, and of which none but the most acute intellect, abstracting from the relations of time and sense, could form any adequate representation (*ὀξυτάτη διανοίᾳ φαντάζεται υἱὸν γεννητὸν, οὐ χρόνοις μὲν τισιν οὐκ ὄντα, ὕστερον δέ ποτε γεγονότα, ἐξ αἰῶνος μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων, ἀῤῥήτως καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστως ἡμῖν*). In that work, written before the time of the Arian controversies, he does not hesitate, it is true, to call the Son of God the *τέλειον δημιούργημα τοῦ τελείου*, and so, consequently, he could name him also the *κτίσμα τέλειον*; but, before the Arian controversies, men did not, in fact, as a general thing, distinguish so carefully, in the Eastern church, the doctrinal expressions employed on this point. But it may be gathered from the whole connection and train of ideas in Eusebius, that he made an essential distinction between the Son of God and created beings; and in the work de ecclesiastica theologia, written after the Arian controversies, he declared himself expressly as being against those who reckoned the Son of God among the *κτίσματα*; he taught that God was the *Father* of the Christ alone, — the God and Creator of all other beings; that the Son of God had come into existence in a way wholly different from that of all other beings (*οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς γεννητοῖς ὑποστάντα*), — consequently that there was an essential difference between the notion of a Son of God, and that of a created being. Ecclesiast. theol. l. I. c. 8.

minds had not been trained to speculation, and even to introduce this controversy among uneducated laymen, who could understand nothing at all about such matters. He was more distinctly conscious than others, of the limits fixed to the human knowledge of divine things, and of the distinction between that which belongs to doctrinal investigation, and to the faith which is necessary for all. "What are we men," he argued, "who are unable to understand a thousand things that lie immediately at our feet! Who knows how the soul became united with the body, and how it leaves it? What is the essence of the angels, and the essence of our own soul? And why, then, do we presume, when we see ourselves, even here, already surrounded, on all sides, by so many difficulties, to search after the perfect knowledge of the essence of the eternal Godhead? Why inquire after the incomprehensible? Why do we not rest satisfied with the testimony of the Father respecting his beloved Son: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, — hear ye him'? But the latter tells us himself what we should know concerning him: 'God so loved the world, as to send his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life.' We must believe on him, then, in order to be partakers of everlasting life. *For whosoever believes on him*, he says, hath eternal life; not *whosoever knows* how he was begotten of the Father. Were the latter the condition, none could obtain the promise; for the same Lord also declares, 'No man knoweth the Father except the Son, and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father only.' Sufficient therefore for us, in order to salvation, is the faith which enables us to know the Almighty God as our Father and to receive his only-begotten Son as our Saviour." [1]

The moderate are not always just. The moderate man may behave unjustly towards a zeal proceeding from another's firm persuasion of the truth of a doctrine which to him appears unimportant, merely because he cannot enter into the sequence of ideas in another man's mode of thinking. Thus moderation itself may forfeit its character by violently opposing immoderate zeal, and by seeking to make its own standard a rule for all. This may be applied to Eusebius of Cæsarea. Doubtless he was right in maintaining that faith in Jesus as a Redeemer, and God as a Father, constitutes the Christian; but he could not transport himself to another man's point of view, to whom an error, which he accounted unessential, seemed to stand in entire contradiction with this faith. Hence he could be so far misled as to trace *everything* to passion, in cases where a purely Christian interest at bottom was not to be mistaken.

Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote a letter to the bishop Alexander, in which he sought to convince him that he was doing Arius injustice; and that, if he would but rightly conceive him, he would find no difficulty in coming to an agreement with him.[2] Now Arius might well

[1] Ecclesiast. theol. l. I. c. 12.

[2] A fragment of this letter is to be found in the 6th Act of the second Nicene council, Harduin. T. IV. f. 407. Arius, in his letter drawn up in common with certain other presbyters, which is to be found in Epiphanius, had called the Son of God a κτίσμα θεοῦ τέλειον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισ-

be inclined to accept of the proposed conditions of agreement, since, being a subordinate pastor opposed to the bishop, he could not but gain by any such compromise. Besides, from the very nature of the case, he who, in any doctrinal dispute, is chiefly contending, as Arius was, for a negative interest, can afford to be more tolerant than he can who is defending a positive interest. It is true that, with Arius, the negative interest was closely connected with a positive one, but this was rather the interest of an intelligent Deism, than that of pious Christian feeling. And Arius, though he expressed himself with mildness when he was seeking toleration, could also, from his position, be violently zealous against those who thought otherwise than he did, and see in them dangerous errors. Even the negative interest can often make men intolerant, and inclined to persecution, as the later history of Arianism shows. Arius said, at that time, respecting the definitions of his opponents: "We could not even listen to these blasphemies, if the heretics threatened us with a thousand deaths."[1] After such asseverations, We may well conceive that Arius, in case his doctrines could have gained the ascendency, would not have been the most tolerant of men. But neither can we greatly censure the bishop Alexander — to whom the doctrines of Arius, regarded from his own point of view, must have appeared to undermine the very essence of Christianity — if he believed it incompatible with a conscientious discharge of his office, as a shepherd over the flock, to suffer that Arius who certainly, to judge from the above-cited avowal, and from his songs before alluded to, could not keep his peculiar system to himself in discharging his public duties as a teacher, and who was assuredly not wanting in a zeal for making proselytes, — to suffer such a man to remain as pastor over his community.

When Constantine, in the year 324, after his victory over Licinius, had obtained the sovereignty over the entire Roman empire, and it

μάτων. Now, with this explanation, the complaint urged by the bishop Alexander seemed to Eusebius to stand in contradiction; viz. that, according to Arius' doctrine, the Son of God had come into existence, *ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων*. But Alexander might rightly deem himself justified — regarding the matter from his own doctrinal point of view, and in the coherence of those explanations with the whole Arian scheme — in saying that he could find in those words nothing but the statement of a difference in degree between the Son of God and other created beings. He could conceive of nothing that could possibly intervene betwixt the conception *θεὸς* and the conception *κτίσμα*; and, if the former of these predicates was not attributed to the Son of God in its strict sense, according to the idea of the unity of the divine essence, then nothing was, in his opinion, gained for Christian truth. Again, Alexander had objected to Arius that he taught, *ὁ ὢν τὸν οὐκ ὄντα ἐγέννησε*; for Alexander considered in fact the being of the Son as grounded from eternity in the being of the Father, and derived from it according to the conception, not according to time. The attaining first from non-existence to existence belonged, according to his view, to the essential and distinctive mark of the *κτίσμα*. But, according to the Origenistic mode of apprehension on which Eusebius proceeded, God the Father was the *ὢν* absolutely (the *ὂν* of Plato). In so far as the existence of the Son was derived from the Father, it was necessary to conceive of him — although not in respect to his beginning in time, yet in reference to the absolute causality which was to be ascribed to the Father alone — as in the conception once not existing, *οὐκ ὂν* — as having come into being by the causality of the Father, who alone is *ἁπλῶς ἀΐδιος*, or we must suppose two absolute causalities, two absolute eternal beings, two *ὄντες*, — all which are identical expressions with Eusebius.

[1] Theodoret. h. e. I. 5.

became his favorite plan to unite all his subjects together in one worship of God; he must have been greatly annoyed to see so important a schism, which found many to take an active share in it, even among the laity, germinating within the church itself. He considered it incumbent on him, therefore, at the very outset, to take every possible measure for removing it. To this end, in the year 324, he dispatched the bishop Hosius of Cordova, who then stood high in his confidence and favor, to the bishop Alexander and to the presbyter Arius, with a letter,[1] expressing his displeasure at the outbreak of this whole controversy, and calling upon them mutually to recognize each other as Christian brethren, without insisting, either of them, upon the other's adopting his own peculiar convictions. The party of Eusebius of Cæsarea must have succeeded, at that time, in bringing the emperor wholly over to their own views of this dispute; and to an emperor who looked upon the matter in its outward aspects, and to whom the preservation of quiet was the most important consideration, such views would be likely to appear the most plausible. Constantine represented the questions in dispute as being nothing but rash, speculative questions, standing in no connection whatever with the essence of Christianity. He found fault alike with those who had propounded, and with those who had busied themselves in answering such questions. He expressed his special displeasure that such matters, which so few were capable of understanding, should be brought publicly before the people. He held up to them the example of the philosophers, who, even while differing on particular points of doctrine, could nevertheless reckon themselves as belonging to one and the same school. The doctrinal impartiality, or rather indifference, of the emperor, or the individual who wrote in his name, went, however, still further than even the moderation of a Eusebius would have approved, had he allowed himself to make clear to his own mind what was implied in the emperor's language; for the latter then made the essentials of Christianity, in which all should agree, to consist simply in the faith on a Providence.[2] Considered from this point of view, the matters to which *this* controversy related must indeed have appeared as in the highest degree insignificant.[3] But, as a matter of course, a letter of this description could have no influence in bringing the contending parties any nearer together.

The attempt of the emperor Constantine in this way to restore the peace of the church having failed, and the two controversies which broke out in Egypt at the same time, the Arian and the Meletian (see vol. II. sect. 2, p. 252), having produced violent movements even among the laity, which threatened serious consequences of a political nature,[4] the emperor was forced to look round for some radical means of restoring quiet. On account of the position which the bishops at that time occupied, in relation to the church, it would necessarily

[1] To be found in Euseb. de vita Constantini, l. II. c. 64–72.

[2] Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς θείας προνοίας μία τις ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστω πίστις.

[3] Ἐλάχισται ζητήσεις.

[4] See Euseb. de. vit. Constantin. III. 4.

appear to him to be the most natural means of disposing of the present controversy, which had become so widely diffused, to convoke a council composed of all the bishops of his empire ; and the employment of such a means seemed, in fact, to be required for the decision of another important matter connected with the religious interest in the mind of the emperor, viz., the bringing about of a general agreement as to the time of holding the Easter festival (see vol. II. sect. 3, p. 337). He summoned, A. D. 325, a general council to meet at Nice, in Bithynia. It is stated, that three hundred and eighteen bishops here came together, of whom by far the greater part were Orientals ; and the emperor himself took an active part in the transactions on this occasion.[1]

To form a correct notion of the order of business at this council,

[1] As no complete collection of the transactions of this council has come down to us, the only means left for obtaining a knowledge of the true course of its proceedings is to take the accounts given by those reporters, of the different parties, who were present at the deliberations, and form our conclusions from a comparison of them all. These were more particularly Athanasius, and Eusebius of Cæsarea. Even if we could suppose, that Athanasius, who only accompanied his bishop in the capacity of archdeacon, was in a situation to obtain as *accurate* a knowledge of the intrigues which influenced the course of the council, as the bishop Eusebius, who stood in such close connection with the court; yet it is important to remark, that, in the case of Athanasius, there were many things which would render it difficult for him to take an unbiased view of the proceedings. Regarding the council as the organ by which the divine truth expressed in the ὁμοούσιον had obtained the victory over the Arian error; disposed to look upon the determinations of this council as simply expressing the consciousness of Christian truth, which then inspired the majority of the bishops; everything would naturally be suppressed by him which might cause the matter to be considered in an altogether different light, and exhibit the Nicene creed as an instrument forced upon the majority of the council by the influence of a court party, which governed the emperor. This holds good especially of the tract written by Athanasius in defense of the Nicene council. In the next place, as to his Epistola ad Afros, it is to be remarked, that although Athanasius reports in this letter many important circumstances relating to the internal history of the council, yet he distorts the true form of the facts, by persisting in recognizing only two parties at the council, — avowed Arians, and adherents of the doctrine of the unity of essence. But that these two parties were not the only ones at the council, but, on the contrary, the party which held the middle ground between these two must have been the dominant party there, may be easily gathered from looking at the situation of the Eastern church in this period, as well as from its whole course of development up to this time. But it was natural that Athanasius, looking at the matter from *his own* doctrinal position, would be inclined to take cognizance of but *two parties*, Arians, and advocates of the Homoousion. Between these there was *for him* no neutral ground; and hence, indeed, we may account for the fact, that he could reckon Eusebius of Cæsarea with the Arians. He comprised them all under one name, that of οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον (Eusebius of Nicomedia). Hence he could attribute what he ought to have transferred to two different parties, to one and the same party, and, inasmuch as he confounded the interests of two different parties, so represent the matter, as if every opposition to the Arian opinions proceeded from those who favored the Homoousion. In respect to Eusebius, on the other hand, he speaks, in the pastoral letter which he sent from the council of Nice to his own community, of the influence of the emperor, without concealment and without shame; a fact which reflects no honor on himself, or on those friends of his who allowed themselves to be, for the most part, governed by such influence. But he was too much of a court theologian, though belonging to the better class of this party, to be conscious of the dishonor. If the majority at the council did in fact declare for the Homoousion, in a way so entirely independent of foreign influence as Athanasius represents, the next following events in the Eastern church would be incapable of explanation. These testify more decidedly in favor of the correctness of the representation given by Eusebius, than of that given by Athanasius.

we must, in the first place, present clearly before our minds the relation of the parties who were present. There were three parties,—those who agreed entirely with the doctrine of Arius, which was but a small number;[1] then the advocates of the Homoousion, who likewise in the Eastern church composed but a comparatively small party;[2] and, finally, those who occupied the middle ground between the two parties, and entertained similar views with those of Eusebius of Cæsarea, of whose system we have spoken above. From these last sprang up afterwards the party called Semi-Arians. It was the wish of these last, that the doctrine of Christ's divinity should be settled only in such general expressions as had hitherto satisfied the Christian want, so that, with regard to the difference which divided the two contending parties, nothing was to be defined, and each of the parties might be allowed to interpret the language according to its own meaning. Many of the decided expressions of Arius concerning the nature of the Son of God must, beyond question, have appeared offensive even to the dominant middle party at the council; and such expressions could easily be laid hold of, to represent him to the Orientals as an opponent of the old church doctrine of the Triad.[3] A condemnation of these Arian propositions might doubtless have been easily carried through, if, on the other side, the party defending the Homoousion had not also raised an opposition to the dominant church doctrine of the East, and if certain individuals had not come out as mediators between the contending parties. Several bishops who belonged to that second (afterwards denominated the Semi-Arian) party zealously exerted themselves to establish peace, and to reduce to silence those who were earnestly opposed to the doctrines of Arius.[4] They endeavored to show that the expressions of Arius did not, at least, have any such offensive sense as they appeared to have on the first glance; and they proposed certain general formulas of agreement, with which both parties might be satisfied. The leaders of the Arian party, entering into these forms of agreement, declared themselves ready to retract the offensive expressions, and to adopt the doctrinal technology hitherto in use in the Eastern church, which in truth they could very well explain according to their own sense. A prominent part was taken among the authors of peace especially by the learned bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea. He laid before the council a confession of faith, containing the doctrine which, as he said, had been held forth from the first by the bishops in his

[1] So Athanasius, in the epistola ad Afros, § 5, justly calls the Arians at the council, *τοὺς δοκοῦντας ὀλίγους*.

[2] Which Athanasius, to be sure, nowhere intimates, since he makes all the opponents of strict Arianism advocates of the Homoousion, and wholly overlooks the middle party.

[3] Accordingly that may be perfectly true, which Athanasius, in the epistola ad episcopos Ægypti et Libyæ, § 13, says with regard to the general murmur of disapprobation with which the explanations of Arius were received, as well as what he says also in the epistola ad Afros, § 5, with regard to the agreement in the condemnation of the Arian dogmas, except that, owing to the confusion of parties already alluded to, he inferred too much from this circumstance.

[4] Eustathius of Antioch, as cited by Theodoret. h. e. l. I. c. 7. *Ὁμοῦ τινες ἐκ συσκευῆς τοὔνομα προβαλλόμενοι τῆς εἰρήνης κατεσίγασαν μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄριστα λέγειν εἰωθότας.*

church, — the confession which he had received in his earliest religious instruction, and at his baptism, and which as a presbyter and a bishop he had constantly preached. This creed distinctly expressed the doctrine of Christ's divinity, but in such expressions as, although, according to the full import of the conceptions thereby denoted, they stood in contradiction with the Arian tenets consistently understood, yet might be very well united with those tenets by Arius, without giving up his own point of view.[1]

In the eyes of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and those who thought with him, a great recommendation of this confession of faith was the fact of its being composed for the most part of scriptural phrases. On the other hand, they found fault with the unscriptural language employed in the Arian formulas of doctrine and in the Homoousion. We here see the peculiarity of this school proceeding from Eusebius, — one which was destined to exert an important influence in subsequent controversies, — which was connected with the opposition to a dogmatism that attempted to define too much, and with the striving of Eusebius in behalf of simplicity in doctrinal determinations. But on the other hand the defenders of the Homoousion might well say, that the all-important thing was not the employment of scriptural phrases, but the expression of scriptural doctrines, though it might be in words different from those in the Bible.[2] New forms of opposition might require new modes of expression to explicate and defend scriptural truth. Interest for the truth itself might demand these; and the dread of unscriptural expressions might, in fact, be used as a mere pretext to shield doctrines, unscriptural in their essence and spirit, from ever being attacked.

But although this symbol appeared satisfactory to the doctrinal inclinations of the dominant party in the Oriental church, still the advocates of the unity system, as opposed to subordination in the doctrine of the Triad, had this objection to urge against it, that it opened a way for the introduction of the whole Arian doctrine.[3]

[1] Christ *ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, ζωὴ ἐκ ζωῆς, πρωτότοκος πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένος.* That Christ was a divine Being, the Creator of all other existence, that he came into existence prior to the whole temporal system, Arius also certainly supposed; and between a *γέννησις ἐκ θεοῦ* and *κτίσις*, there was, in fact, according to his view, no difference.

[2] *Ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς εἰσιν αἱ λέξεις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν διάνοιαν ἔχουσι καὶ ταύτην ἐκφωνούμεναι σημαίνουσι.* Athanas. de decretis synodi Nicenæ, § 21.

[3] Eusebius observes, in his pastoral letter, that nobody could bring any objection against this confession of faith. But Eustathius of Antioch says, that this creed was received with marks of universal disapprobation, and demolished before the eyes of all. Eustathius, however, the warm opponent of Eusebius, is liable to suspicion in what he here says. Moreover, his report stands in contradiction with all we know respecting the predominant tendency of the Eastern church in this and the next succeeding times. It is impossible to see what could give offense to the Eastern bishops in this symbol of faith. The fourth Antiochian creed, which afterwards obtained especial authority with the major portion of the Eastern church, coincided in the main with this creed of Eusebius. The Nicene creed itself manifestly grew out of this Eusebian formula, with the simple additions of the antitheses to Arianism, and of the Homoousion. Besides, the account of Athanasius evinces that the council was in the first place satisfied with those general definitions which alone Eusebius meant to express. In his epistola ad Afros, § 5, he says, that the bishops originally would have established, instead of the Arian definitions, the ex-

The party of the bishop Alexander was satisfied, it is true, with these articles of faith; but at the same time they declared, that, as the expressions of this creed could still be explained by the Arians after their own sense, it was absolutely necessary to add such other propositions as would effectually exclude the blasphemous doctrines of Arius; and this party had on its side the powerful suffrage of the emperor himself.[1] Constantine had, without doubt, been brought to a

pressions more generally recognized, which were contained in the Scriptures themselves (*τὰς τῶν γραφῶν ὁμολογουμένας λέξεις*), as, for example, the expression *ἐκ θεοῦ εἶναι τῇ φύσει*, the expression that the Son was the *δύναμις, σοφία μόνη τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸς ἀληθινός*, and this in fact agrees entirely with that which Eusebius designed. In the book de decretis S. n. § 20, Athanasius says, the intention at first was simply to establish that the Son of God was the *εἰκὼν τοῦ πατρὸς, ὅμοιός τε καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος κατὰ πάντα τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ἄτρεπτος, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι ἀδιαιρέτως*. These definitions, too, agree very well with the Eusebian system of doctrine, and with the objects which he wished to accomplish at the council. Had these articles only been established, then, *for the present*, the internal controversies in the bosom of the Oriental church would have been hushed. It is also possible to reconcile the account of Eustathius with the other accounts which we have cited, if we suppose that he is speaking, not of a creed proposed by Eusebius of Cæsarea, but of one proposed by Eusebius of Nicomedia, in which this latter, to judge by the fragment quoted in Ambrose, l. III. de fide, c. 7, had endeavored to defend the Arian conception of the Son of God. Comp. Theodoret. h. e. I. 7. Everything goes, then, to confirm the fact of the preponderance which originally existed of the Eusebian, or, as it was afterwards styled, Semi-Arian party. In accordance with the truth, and agreeing with Eusebius, Athanasius also reports, that the council was not satisfied with these articles, for the very reason that it was remarked that the Arians understood and interpreted them in their own way. But when now he proceeds to derive the additions inserted in opposition to Arianism, and with a view to preclude the possibility of its introduction, from the same bishops who had at first proposed these other articles, he must, without any doubt, have here confounded the two parties together. In truth, it is, abstractly considered, in the highest degree improbable, that those who aimed at a marked opposition to Arianism, would, in the first place, propose articles respecting which they knew beforehand, that the Arians would be willing to subscribe to them. Besides it might not be so easy, in considering the transactions of so numerous an assembly, where everything perhaps did not proceed according to the strictest order, accurately to discriminate what belonged to the different parties, especially for one who himself contemplated the whole under the bias of a party interest. So, in fact, Eustathius of Antioch says himself: *Τὸ σαφὲς διὰ τὸν τῆς πολυανδρίας ὄχλον οὐχ οἷος τέ εἰμι γράφειν*. Theod. l. I.

[1] Athanasius represents everything as proceeding solely from the bishops themselves, and makes no mention whatever of the influence of the emperor; which, at his particular point of view, was natural. But Eusebius represents everything as proceeding in the first place solely from the emperor. The latter calls upon the bishops to adopt the creed of Eusebius, and simply to add to it the word *Homoousion*, the right way of understanding which he explains. From these additional clauses, recommended by the emperor himself, the bishops were led to make several other antithetic additions; and thus arose the Nicene creed. Athanasius and Eusebius may both be right, and both be wrong, — both, according to their different party interest giving prominence to one thing and suppressing another. The proposal concerning the Homoousion may first have come from the part of the bishops. But, as it met with opposition, the emperor, whom the bishop Hosius of Cordova and others had made familiar with the part which, in pursuance of their objects, he was to play at the council, took up the word, recommended the Homoousion, and declared himself to be satisfied of the inoffensiveness of this expression. There may be some truth at bottom in the account of Philostorgius, I. 7, that Alexander, previous to the opening of the Nicene council, had combined with the party of the bishop Hosius of Cordova, that is, with the court party in Nicomedia, at a synod, to establish the Homoousion. The voice of the emperor had, with many bishops, more weight than it ought to have had according to the principles of the gospel. The party of Alexander now ventured with the more boldness to press the other antithetic definitions, which followed, as a matter of course, the Homoousion. But Eusebius preferred rather to have it appear that he yielded to the authority of the emperor, than to that of the other bishops; and he

decision, by the influence of those bishops who happened last to possess the most authority with him, namely, Hosius and his associates; and he decided in favor of the addition of the Homoousion. If we may credit the report of Eusebius, the emperor himself even dogmatized on the question, how the Homoousion ought to be understood; how it was not to be conceived under any image of sense, as if the one divine essence had been separated into several homogeneous parts. This might have been a point often discussed in his presence; since it was well known, that the occasion which it gave for sensuous representations was the common objection of the Orientals to the Homoousion. The party of Alexander, who now had on their side the weight of the imperial authority, proceeded to require in addition to the Homoousion, still other antithetic clauses, which had the same object in view. Perhaps it had been agreed on by the heads of the dogmatical court party at that time, that the declaration of the emperor in favor of the Homoousion should be made the watch-word for proposing a still more complete antithesis to Arianism. In this way, by the union of the antithetic clauses with the articles of faith proposed by Eusebius, was produced the famous Nicene creed.[1] Moreover, the condemnation, by name, of the main characteristic propositions of Arius was adopted into this creed; and the condemnatory sentence was passed not merely upon *the doctrines*, but, according to the previous custom, doctrines and persons were put together, and the individuals condemned, also, who had proposed such offensive things.

Now although the majority of the council might perhaps agree in the articles against that part of the Arian creed which placed the Son of God on a level with creatures,[2] yet the articles respecting the ὁμοούσιον and the γέννησις ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας were at variance with the prevailing Oriental type of doctrine. Hence there arose much opposition to these definitions: on the first day after they were presented, Eusebius of Cæsarea absolutely refused his assent to them.[3] But after many explanations, he yielded for the sake of peace, as he says in the pastoral letter to his church, which he sent from Nice,[4] — interpreting the new articles of the creed according to the sense of his own doctrinal system, not without some degree of disingenuous sophistry.[5] The principal article, respecting the Homoousion, which, in

imagined also that he could best justify his conduct to his community, if he adduced the authority of the emperor — if he declared that he had yielded to a formula proposed and recommended by the emperor himself.

[1] To the phrase θεός ἐκ θεοῦ was added, in opposition to the Arian mode of understanding the idea of the Godhead in reference to Christ (see above) the word ἀληθινός; to γεννηθέντα, with a view to guard against the Arian practice of identifying it with κτισθείς, was added οὐ ποιηθέντα.

[2] The opposition between θεὸς and κτίσμα, — γεννᾷν and ποιεῖν.

[3] Athanas. decret. S. n. § 3. Πρὸ μιᾶς ἀρνούμενος, ὅμως ὕστερον ὑπογράψας.

[4] Τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης σκοποῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῖν κειμένου. S. Euseb. Cæsar. ep. ad. s. Parœciæ hom. § 5 in Athanas. op. ed. Benedict. T. I. 1, f. 189.

[5] This properly betrays itself only in the case of *one* article, if Eusebius could approve the condemnation of the Arian proposition, that the Son of God "πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν." This proposition of Arius does in fact perfectly agree with Eusebius's system of faith (see above); and at least some similar proposition seemed to himself necessary, in order to hold fast the notion of absolute causality, which was to be attributed to God the Father alone. It was a dubious matter, then, for him to join in this anathema.

fact, had already been approved, even by the peace loving Dionysius of Alexandria, in another sense than that in which it was intended to establish it at Nice, Eusebius, by taking advantage of the unsettled use of philosophical and doctrinal terms in those times, could easily explain in accordance with his own views. This proposition, according to his interpretation, denoted nothing else than the exaltation of the Son of God above all comparison with created beings, and his perfect likeness to the Father.[1] It perhaps may be the case, that Eusebius, as he avowed in his pastoral letter, explained himself before the council of Nice itself, with regard to the sense in which he received the Homoousion. The important point with the emperor Constantine was, that the proposition regarding the Homoousion, of the importance of which he had been persuaded, should be received by all: what the properly orthodox and what the heterodox sense might be, in the interpretation of this article, it is hardly probable that he could so nicely distinguish.[2] With perfect honesty, Eusebius might condemn the Arian formulas, especially since they contained distinctions not to be met with in Scripture; and since all the strife and confusion in the church had grown out of the employment of such distinctions, the use of which, therefore, he himself had always carefully avoided.

There were many others who adopted the Nicene creed in the same sense with Eusebius, interpreting it in accordance with their own doctrinal system; so that the ὁμοούσιον was for them nothing more than a designation of the ὁμοιότης κατ' οὐσίαν (likeness in respect to essence). At first, seventeen bishops, who probably belonged to the strictly Arian party, declined to go with the majority. But as the creed was to be made known under the imperial authority, and all who would not adopt it were threatened with the loss of their places and banishment, as refractory subjects,[3] the greater part of these yielded through fear;

He got along by a sophistical interpretation, referring the γεννηθῆναι, in the condemned proposition, to the *human* birth; and so he found no difficulty, as he himself declared, in receiving this also; as in truth the doctrine of Christ's divine existence before his birth was one universally acknowledged. By this last remark, however, he in fact refuted his own interpretation; for how could it have occurred to any one to set up a counter proposition to an erroneous doctrine which nobody maintained? Athanasius was not slow to take advantage of the weak spot which Eusebius here exposed; and objected to him that, by such an interpretation, he threw the suspicion of entertaining such an erroneous doctrine on his friend Arius himself, against whom this condemnatory article had been framed.

[1] Παραστατικὸν τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὰ γεννητὰ κτίσματα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φέρειν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφομοιῶσθαι. L. c. § 7. When Athanasius, then (de decret. synod. Nic. § 3), accuses Eusebius of having, by his approbation of the Homoousion, in his pastoral letter, revoked his earlier doctrine as being incorrect, the charge is altogether untrue; for, as Eusebius expresses himself, it is clear that he interpreted this distinction only in accordance with the doctrinal system which he had constantly taught.

[2] If it is true, as Eusebius (l. c. § 10) reports, that the emperor interpreted the condemnation of the proposition, "πρὸ τοῦ γενηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν," in the sense that the Son of God, before he came into existence in ἐνεργείᾳ, already existed, like all things else in the Father, in δυνάμει, — it would, we must admit, be exceedingly plain, how little familiar Constantine was with the system he would defend, and how easily he could be satisfied with any interpretations, provided only the forms were adhered to.

[3] Contra divina statuta venientes, i. e. statuta imperatoris, according to the diplomatic language of those times. So Rufinus expresses it, I. 5, in the sense of the emperor.

and there remained, finally, but two bishops, besides Arius, namely, Theonas of Marmarica in Libya, and Secundus of Ptolemais, who declared without reserve against the Nicene creed. The two zealous personal friends of Arius themselves, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, subscribed the creed, declaring with Eusebius of Cæsarea, that they yielded for the sake of peace, after having expressed their views as to the way in which it ought to be understood, so as to be free from all objection.[1] Still they refused to subscribe, with the rest, the condemnatory clauses against the Arian doctrines, not, as they avowed, because they did not agree with the others as to the doctrinal matter, but because, according to the way in which they had learned to understand the doctrines of Arius from his written and oral communications, they could not believe that he had actually taught the doctrines he was accused of teaching. At that time the thing was overlooked; but Arius and his two faithful friends were excommunicated, as teachers of error, from the church, deposed from their spiritual office, and by the emperor Constantine condemned to banishment. The latter was at this time overflowing with a fanatical hatred of the doctrines of Arius, which now appeared to him as blasphemous, and subversive of all Christianity; and this fanaticism impelled him already to apply all the expedients of the Byzantine despotism to suppress these doctrines entirely. In an edict issued at this time, he places Arius in the same class with Porphyry, the antagonist of Christianity; and directed that all the writings of Arius, as those of Porphyry, should be burned, — the penalty of death even being threatened against those who should be detected in any clandestine attempt to preserve these writings. While Constantine was in this state of feeling, Eusebius and Theognis, who had already rendered themselves suspected by the emperor in refusing to subscribe the condemnatory clause, could not long remain protected against his displeasure; but it turned out, as Theonas and Secundus had foretold them, that they soon shared the same fate with the latter. Three months after the close of the council,[2] they also were deposed from their places and banished.

In fact, however, the manner in which the controversies had been decided by the council of Nice could only contain the seeds for new disputes; for there was here no cordial union springing freely, by a natural course of development, out of inward conviction; but a forced and artificial union of men, still widely separated by their different modes of thinking, on a creed which had been imposed on them, and which was differently expounded according to the different doctrinal interests of the several parties. Thus it happened, that while for the present no party ventured as yet to come out decidedly against the Homoousion, still those who had received it, explaining it to mean Homoiousion, accused the others, who interpreted it and held it fast in its proper and original signification, of Sabellianism; while the latter

[1] For they were afterwards able to appeal to the fact that they had done this, in their memorial sent to the bishops, cited in Socrates, I. 14.

[2] Philostorg. h. e. I. 9.

accused the former of Tritheism. We have an illustration of this in the disputes between the bishop Eustathius of Antioch, and the bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea, — two men radically opposed to each before, in their whole theological bent; the former being a zealous opponent, the latter a no less zealous adherent of the school of Origen.

Yet the major part of the Eastern church would naturally strive to rid themselves of the imposed articles of the Nicene creed; and as Constantine, without an independent judgment of his own, and a well-grounded insight into these doctrinal controversies, was governed by the changing influence of the different parties at court, so that which had procured for the Homoousion a momentary victory in the Eastern church might soon take a turn in the very opposite direction. Constantine's sister Constantia, the widow of Licinius, who possessed great influence with her brother, maintained the best understanding with Eusebius of Cæsarea; and she had taken as her spiritual guide a presbyter who had attached himself to the Arian party, and who found means of convincing her that Arius had been unjustly condemned.[1]

On her death, in the year 327, Constantia very earnestly recommended the presbyter above mentioned to her brother. He acquired the confidence of the emperor, and succeeded in persuading him also, that injustice had been done to Arius, and that personal passions had had much more to do in these disputes, than any interest in behalf of sound doctrine. Constantine had already once invited Arius to visit the court; but the latter, it seems, could not feel confidence enough in the emperor's intentions. He now sent a second express message, assuring Arius that it was the emperor's purpose to show him favor, and send him back to Alexandria. Arius presented to the emperor a confession of faith, in which, without entering into the points of difference, he expressed in very general language his belief in the doctrine of the Father, Son,[2] and Holy Ghost, taught by Scripture and by the common tradition of the church. He besought the emperor to put a stop to these idle controversies on mere speculative questions,[3] so that schisms might be healed, and all, united in one, might pray for the peaceable reign of the emperor and for his whole family. Constantine was satisfied with this confession. Arius was again received to favor (between the years 328 and 329); and his two friends, Theognis and Eusebius of Nicomedia, were now easily enabled to obtain their recall.[4] We perceive from the confession of Arius, and from

[1] Might we place any reliance on the testimony of the Arian historian, Philostorgius, h. e. I. 8, the advice of Constantia had had some influence on the issue of the Nicene council itself. As she must have been well acquainted with her brother's habits, she advised her friends at the Nicene council to receive for the present the Homoousion, which her brother was now firmly resolved to hold fast, and give it their own interpretation; means would very soon be found to draw him off from it again.

[2] On this point the identity of the *κτίσις* and *γέννησις* was presupposed, entirely in accordance with his doctrine: *Τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων γεγεννημένον θεὸν λόγον, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.*

[3] *Ζητήματα καὶ περισσολογίαι.*

[4] The arguments which have been urged against the genuineness of the above-cited letter of these two bishops, by which they sought to be restored to favor, are not decisive; many of them being simply grounded on the view which must be taken of the Nicene council in the

the satisfaction with which Constantine received it, what were the prevailing views of the latter respecting these matters at the present time. After having been enlisted but for a short period in favor of the Homoousion, he had been drawn back again to those earlier views, which would so much more readily present themselves to a statesman contemplating the matter simply in its outward aspects, that personal passions and a self-willed, disputatious spirit had given to these *questions*, which did not pertain in the least to the essentials of Christianity, an undue importance. The emperor entertaining this view of the matter, all who agreed in representing the doctrinal differences as unimportant would especially recommend themselves to his favor; while all who were unwilling, for the sake of gratifying the emperor, to moderate their zeal in behalf of a truth which they found to be intimately connected with the essence of Christianity, would easily become suspected and hated by him, as uneasy, contentious, and disorderly men.

Hence may be explained the contests which, first and preëminently, the remarkable person had to pass through who had now become the head of the Homoousion party in the Eastern church. For soon after the conclusion of the council of Nice, the bishop Alexander had died, and was succeeded by the archdeacon *Athanasius*, a man far his superior in intellect and resolute energy.

He was from boyhood destined and trained up for the service of the church, the bishop Alexander having long had his eye upon him. The occasion was this. During a festival in memory of the bishop Peter of Alexandria, who suffered martyrdom, A. D. 311, Alexander observed a troop of boys who in their sports were imitating the rites of the church. Among these Athanasius acted the part of a bishop, performing all the ceremonies customary at the baptism of catechumens.[1] To the bishop, this was an indubitable sign of the boy's future vocation. He was educated for the spiritual order; and soon became distinguished for his Christian zeal, his intellectual gifts, and his rapid proficiency in knowledge. While yet a young man, he wrote the apologetical discourse mentioned on a former page. As a deacon in the Alexandrian church, he took a warm part in the controversy against Arius. The views held by Arius appeared to him to be irreconcilable with the doctrine of the Logos, as set forth in the

Catholic church. This letter possesses, on the contrary, every mark of genuineness. But, according to this letter, we must necessarily place the recall of Arius before the return of these two bishops, as the letter expressly presupposes it. The reasons which induced Walch to place the recall of Arius at a later period, even so late as A. D. 330, are not important; for although Socrates says that Arius had been called by the emperor to Constantinople, yet it by no means follows from this, that the consecration of the new residence, A. D. 330, had preceded; for first, as it respects the place, Socrates might easily be in an error, and by an anachronism substitute Constantinople for Nicomedia; or it may even be, that Constantine happened, at the very time that he sent for Arius, to be at Byzantium, before that city had as yet been converted into the imperial residence.

[1] We see no good reason for doubting the truth of this much disputed story, coming, as it did, from members of Athanasius' own household. Rufinus, who relates the story, says: Sicuti ab his, qui cum ipso vitam duxerant, accepimus. Hist. eccles. Lib. I. c. 14.

above mentioned apologetical discourse; and in opposing them he was led to unfold still further, and to define more sharply, the doctrine of that treatise. Probably, he had been all along and up to this time, the inspiring soul of the dispute with Arius. It was especially through his influence that his bishop had determined to concede nothing with a view to bring about the restoration of Arius.[1] He had already distinguished himself at the council of Nice, by the zeal and the acuteness displayed by him in defending the unity of essence, and in contending against Arianism. So it came about that on the death of Alexander, he was chosen as that bishop's successor, though he may not have reached as yet the canonical age. The opposition made to his election, however, on the score of his youth, nourished the germ of a schism;[2] which was a circumstance so much the more unfortunate on account of the differences already existing in this community.

This great church teacher contributed much, by the strict consistency and unwavering firmness with which, for nearly half a century, amid every variety of fortune, and many persecutions and sufferings, he constantly pursued the same dogmatical interest, to promote the victory of the Homoousion in the Oriental church. And the doctrine which he here defended presented itself to his dogmatical spirit as one inseparably connected with the essence of Christianity. On holding fast to the Homoousion, depended, in his view, the whole unity of the Christian consciousness of God, the completeness of the revelation of God in Christ, the reality of the redemption which Christ wrought, and of the communion with God restored by him to man. "If Christ," so argued Athanasius against the Arian doctrine, "differed from other creatnres simply as being the only creature immediately produced by God, his essence being wholly distinct from the essence of God, then he could not bring the creature into fellowship with God, since we must be constrained to conceive of something still, intermediate between him, as a creature, and the divine essence which differed from him,—something whereby *he* might stand in communion with God; and this intermediate being would be precisely the Son of God in the proper sense. In analyzing the conception of God communicated to the creature, it would be necessary to arrive at last at the conception of that which requires nothing intermediate in order to communion with God; which does not participate in God's essence as something foreign from itself, but which is itself the self-communicating essence of God.[3] This is the only Son of God, the being who can be so called in the proper sense. The expressions Son of God, and divine generation, are of a symbolical nature, and denote simply the communication of the divine essence. It is only on

[1] He is accused of this by one of his opponents. See Athanas. apol. c. Arianos, § 6.

[2] The words of Pachomius in the letter of the bishop Ammon: Ἅμα τῷ καταστῆναι Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον, οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες ἀϊτιῶνται τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον, προβαλλόμενοι τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ τὸ νέων καὶ σχίσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ σπουδάζοντες. See acta Sanctorum mens. Maj. T. III. — the appendix, at the 14. Maj. f. 65.

[3] See e. g. Athanas. orat. I. c. Arianos, c. 16. Τὸ ὅλως μετέχεσθαι τὸν θεὸν, ἰσόν εστι λέγειν ὅτι καὶ γεννᾷ. — Αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ υἱὸς οὐδενὸς μετέχει, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μετεχόμενον, τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς, αὐτοῦ γὰρ τοῦ υἱοῦ μετέχοντες, τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχειν λεγόμεθα.

the supposition that Christ is, in this sense alone, the proper Son of God, that he can make rational creatures children of God. It is the Logos who imparts himself to them, dwells within them, through whom they live in God — the Son of God within them, through the fellowship with whom they become themselves children of God.

While the Arians maintained that it was impossible to distinguish the conceptions Son of God, and a generation from God, from the conceptions created being, and a creation, without falling into sensuous, anthropomorphic representations, Athanasius, on the contrary, taught that all human expressions of God were of a symbolic nature, taken from temporal things, and therefore liable to be misconceived, unless the idea lying at the bottom were freed from the elements of time and sense, and the *same attribute*, predicated of God, understood in a different manner from what it would be when predicated of creatures. Even God's act of creation, in order not to be misconceived, must be distinguished from the human mode of producing and forming. As the Arians admitted that, according to John 5 : 23, divine worship belonged to Christ, Athanasius accused them of showing that honor to a creature, according to their notions of Christ, which was due to God alone; consequently of falling into idolatry. Since this controversy, therefore, appeared to Athanasius to be of so great importance for the interests of the Christian faith; so he believed that he was bound, by his duty to his church, no longer to admit Arius into its fellowship.

After the patrons of Arius had resorted in vain to friendly representations, petitions, and threats, for the purpose of inducing Athanasius to receive back the former into the church, the emperor *commanded* him to receive Arius, and all his friends who were willing to connect themselves once more with his church; and, unless he did so, informed him that he should be deposed from his station, and sent into exile.[1] Athanasius, however, was not to be intimidated by such threats, but firmly declared to the emperor, that his duty as a pastor did not permit him to receive the teachers of false doctrines into the fellowship of the church; and this steadfast refusal of a man acting under the consciousness of his vocation, and in the feeling of his duty, produced so much effect as this, that Constantine did not urge him further, nor carry his threat into execution. But still this incident could not have left an altogether favorable impression on the emperor's mind, since Athanasius appeared to him in the light of an obstinate recusant; and hence his enemies would be more easily listened to in bringing their new accusations against him. The most weighty charge was, that Athanasius had sent to a person in Egypt — otherwise unknown to us, but who was reported to have harbored a design of conspiracy against the emperor — a sum of money to aid him in the prosecution of his purpose. Constantine ordered him, A. D. 332, to present himself personally, at Psammathia, a suburb

[1] A fragment of the letter is preserved in Athanasius, apolog. c. Arian. § 59. The threatening words of the emperor are: *Ἀποστελῶ παρατίκα τὸν καὶ καθαιρήσοντά σε ἐξ ἐμῆς κελεύσεως; καὶ τῶν τόπων μεταστήσοντα.*

of Nicomedia, where the emperor was residing at that time. The personal appearance of Athanasius, a man of remarkable power over the minds of others, seems for the moment to have overawed the soul of Constantine. He not only acknowledged the above-mentioned accusation to be groundless; but such was the effect left on him by the presence of Athanasius, that, in his letter to the church at Alexandria, he styles him a man of God.[1] In this letter, he lamented the existing divisions, and recommended charity and concord. It is easy to see, that the preservation of peace and unity in the church was of far more importance, in the estimation of Constantine, than all matters pertaining to doctrine. For the moment, the enemies of Athanasius now appeared to him to be the authors of the disturbances and divisions; but this impression was of no long duration, and he continued to be governed by the influence sometimes of this and sometimes of the other party. Occasions were not wanting for bringing new accusations against Athanasius; for in the circumstances by which he was immediately surrounded, there existed abundant materials for agitation, which was sometimes rather excited than quelled by his zeal not unmixed with passion. It happened, for instance, that the Arian and Meletian schisms, though originating in widely different interests, yet broke out there at one and the same time. The efforts of Athanasius to bring back the Meletians to the dominant church might, besides, especially amidst so excitable and passionate a people as the Alexandrians, easily lead to scenes of disturbance, proceeding to a greater length than those who were the occasion of them intended. But he was sometimes induced to resort even to forcible measures for suppressing divisions in his archiepiscopal diocese.[2] The frequent tours of visitation, which, as a conscientious bishop, he made to the various parts of his diocese, and in which he was usually accompanied by individuals belonging both to the clergy and laity of the churches which he visited, gave frequent occasion for such disputes between the two heated parties, which led to scenes of violence. Passionate party hatred would, of course, take advantage of these occasions to collect against him a mass of extravagant charges. Although the emperor would not give credence to the various and strange things which were brought against him, yet he believed, doubtless, that Athanasius, by his passionate and violent proceedings, might have given some occasion for these charges.[3] He at first, in the year 335, appointed a synod to be held under the presidency of Eusebius of Cæsarea, with full powers to inquire into the charges laid against Athanasius, and to restore things to quiet.

[1] Apolog. c. Arian. § 62. Ὡς ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν θεοῦ ὄντα πεπεισμένος.

[2] Epiphanius, who assuredly would say nothing tending to the disparagement of Athanasius, says of him in this respect, hæres. 68, Meletian. c. 6: "ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐβιάζετο."

[3] In the letter to the synod at Tyre, he speaks only of some, who, through the rage of a morbid, disputatious, spirit, embroiled everything. Οὐχ ὑγιοῦς φιλονεικίας οἴστρῳ τινὲς ἑλαυνόμενοι πάντα συγχέειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Euseb. vit. Constantin. l. IV. c. 42. Even Eusebius of Cæsarea, whose delicacy deserves respectful notice in touching so lightly upon the Arian controversies in his life of Constantine, even he sees, in this instance, only the taunting insinuations of an immoderate disputatious spirit. L. c. c. 41.

Athanasius might, not without good reason, protest against the decision of a spiritual tribunal, at which his declared antagonist presided as judge. But as it had been determined by the emperor to celebrate the *tricennalian* festival of his reign by dedicating, on that occasion, the magnificent church which he had erected over the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and many bishops had been invited to participate in this celebration, Constantine directed, in order that they might be prepared to engage in these solemn rites with quiet minds, that they should first take earnest measures for putting an end to the divisions in the church. For this purpose, the bishops were to assemble, first, at Tyre, in the year 335, and there inquire into the charges brought against Athanasius. The latter might, indeed, very justly, for the same reasons as in the case of the first synod above mentioned, protest also against this spiritual tribunal, whose members belonged, for the most part, to the opposite party; but Constantine threatened to enforce his obedience by compulsion, if he presumed again to treat with contempt the imperial command.[1] Athanasius succeeded, before this tribunal, in refuting a part of the charges which were laid against him. With regard to the rest, a committee was nominated, who should repair to Egypt, and investigate everything on the spot. But it was unfairly decreed, that no one belonging to the party of the accused should be allowed to accompany this commission, so that he was curtailed of the means of proving his innocence, and wholly abandoned to the party proceedings of his antagonists. This investigation, conducted in so partial a manner, would of course turn out unfavorably for Athanasius. He therefore appealed to the emperor himself, and proceeded to Constantinople. On his entrance into the city, he rode straightway to meet the emperor, accompanied by a few attendants. Constantine at first refused to allow him a hearing; yet, as he received accounts from other quarters, of the party proceedings of the synod at Tyre, he saw no way in which he could decline a revision of the previous investigation. But a few members of that synod, the most violent enemies of Athanasius, appeared at Constantinople, to take part in this new investigation. On the present occasion they let the earlier accusations drop, and brought against him a new one, which was altogether suited to

[1] We may here introduce a characteristic anecdote from the history of this tribunal. Among the witnesses who appeared in favor of Athanasius, was an old confessor of Egypt, by the name of Potamon, who, in the time of the Diocletian persecution, had been thrown into prison at the same time with Eusebius, and who had had one of his eyes bored out. This person, full of zeal for Athanasius, said to Eusebius: "Who can tolerate this? Thou sittest there to judge Athanasius, who stands before thee an innocent person! Dost thou recollect that we were in the dungeon together, and that I was deprived of an eye? But thou didst not become a martyr, and hast all thy members still unharmed. How couldst thou have so escaped from the prison, unless thou didst either do what was not permitted, or else profess thy willingness to do it?" This was unquestionably an inference on very slender grounds; for many circumstances might operate to cause favor to be shown to one which was denied to another. Eusebius thought it not proper to vindicate himself against this charge, but simply said, losing for a moment the equanimity indeed, which it behooved him to possess as a judge: "Shall we not now believe your accusers? If you venture to exercise such tyranny *here*, how much more will you do it in your own country!" See Epiphan. l. c. c. 7.

exasperate the feelings of Constantine against Athanasius.[1] He was reported to have said, that it lay in his power to hinder the arrival of the convoy of grain necessary to be sent semi-annually from Alexandria to supply provisions for the city of the imperial residence.[2] Whether the truth really was that Constantine in some sort believed this charge, or whether he only deemed it necessary to affect that he believed it, in order to get rid of a man who was a constant mark and butt of contention, and thus restore quiet, it is enough that he banished him, A. D. 336, to Triers.[3]

As nothing now stood in the way of the restoration of Arius to the Alexandrian church, he was, after having been solemnly received back into the communion of the church by the synod convened at Jerusalem for the purpose of consecrating the new edifice, sent back to Alexandria. But in the community, which was devoted with an enthusiastic attachment to their bishop Athanasius, new disturbances arose. Constantine, to whom the preservation of peace was the main thing, sent, A. D. 336, for Arius to come to Constantinople, in order that it might be examined how far he had been concerned in these disturbances. He was obliged to present to the emperor a confession of faith; and drew up one in simple language, couched in scriptural expressions, without doubt similar to the former one already mentioned. He needed not to deny his convictions in order to satisfy the emperor; for although the latter was unwilling absolutely to relinquish the Homoousion, since it had been once published under the imperial sanction, yet, notwithstanding all this, he was far from being inclined to the views of Athanasius. But the sincerity of Arius in his confession had been suspected by him. He required of him an oath to testify his sincerity; and, as the confession Arius had laid down contained nothing, judged from his own point of view, which was at variance with his doctrines, he would take such an oath with a clear conscience.[4]

[1] For, according to Eunapius (see above), he is said to have caused the pagan philosopher, Sopatros, to be executed on a similar charge.

[2] Whether this had reference to the political influence of Athanasius, or to the magical arts ascribed to him, is uncertain.

[3] The observation of Constantine the younger, in the letter written after his father's death, respecting the disposition of the latter towards Athanasius, and the vacancy of the episcopate at Alexandria, may render it rather probable than otherwise, that it was Constantine's intention to remove Athanasius only for a short season, with a view to the restoration of quiet.

[4] In comparing the different accounts of this event, we perceive how the truth here became continually more and more distorted by the prejudices of party hatred. Socrates, I. 38, following Sozomen and Theodoret, relates that Constantine asked Arius, whether he abode by the articles of the Nicene council. Arius immediately declared himself ready to subscribe the Nicene creed. The emperor, surprised at this, required of him an oath, and Arius gave it, but, in so doing, resorted to the following artifice. He had a confession, drawn up by himself, which truly expressed his convictions, concealed under his shoulders; and in giving the oath, that he so believed as he had written, he sophistically understood by this, not the Nicene creed subscribed by him at the requisition of the emperor, but that which he carried concealed about his person. This story will appear, on closer examination, to be wanting in the internal marks of probability. How should Constantine, who before this had been so easily satisfied with the confession of faith laid down by Arius, and had required of him no declaration whatever respecting the Nicene creed, have now made on him so

Constantine being now perfectly convinced of the orthodoxy of Arius, the latter was to be solemnly received back to the fellowship of the church at the celebration of public worship on Sunday in Constantinople. Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, a zealous advocate of the Homoousion, resolutely refused to admit him. But the patrons of Arius, among the ecclesiastical court party, threatened to bring it about forcibly, by an imperial command. Alexander was thus thrown into great perplexity and embarrassment. He prostrated himself, on the Sabbath before the day fixed for the reception of Arius, on the pavement before the altar, and prayed God either to remove *him* from this life, that he might not be compelled to act contrary to his conscience, or else to remove Arius; which, it must be confessed, was

much higher demands? How could he propose to him the question, whether he honestly followed the Nicene council, when Arius had given no occasion whatever for presuming any such thing? Nothing, moreover, could at that time certainly lie more remote from the intentions of Constantine, who at this very moment stood in the closest relations with those bishops that were decidedly opposed to the Nicene creed, than such a zeal for its articles. Everything went right with *him*, provided only the Nicene creed, as to its form, was not publicly attacked, — provided only it was ignored. It may be conceived, therefore, that Constantine might be easily satisfied with a confession of faith from Arius similar to that which he had handed over to him on the former occasion. Besides, how insufficient is the voucher which Socrates gives for the truth of this story! That Arius had at that time drawn up a confession of faith and given his oath to it, this Socrates knew from letters of the emperor himself; and this, therefore, was an undeniable fact. But the rest he had derived from the most impure of all sources, from mere hearsay, — ἀκοή. If, then, we had only *this* account of the matter, we might even then be enabled to infer, that the confession of faith subscribed by Arius was in no sense the Nicene creed, but that, merely in flattery to the reputation of Constantine for orthodoxy, it was converted into the Nicene creed, and that on this was fastened the charge of deception against the heretic. This conjecture respecting the true history of the matter, to which the analysis of Socrates' account would itself conduct us, is confirmed by consulting the report of Athanasius. In his epistola ad episcopos Ægypti et Libyæ, § 18, he says, Arius, when called upon by the emperor to present a confession of his faith, concealed hypocritically his godless way of thinking under simple expressions borrowed from the Scriptures: Ἔγραψεν ὁ δόλιος, κρύπτων μὲν τὰς ἰδίας τῆς ἀσεβείας λέξεις, ὑποκρινόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς ὁ διάβολος, τὰ τῶν γραφῶν ῥήματα ἁπλᾶ καὶ ὡς ἔστι γεγραμμένα. And when the emperor thereupon required him to take an oath that he had nothing else in his mind, he swore that he had never otherwise taught or conceived. In the same manner he speaks in the epistola ad Serapionem, de morte Arii, § 2 (ed Benedict, T. I. 1, f. 340), with this difference only, that he represents him here as swearing that he had not really taught those doctrines, of which the bishop Alexander had accused him. At all events, it is evident that Athanasius brings against Arius the charge of deception and hypocrisy in a way altogether unjustifiable, when he proceeds on the false assumption, that Arius was obliged to understand the words of Scripture in which he expressed his confession, precisely after the same manner as he himself (Athanasius) understood them; and that, in swearing to the doctrines therein expressed, he therefore incurred the guilt of hypocrisy and perjury. The fact having now been once assumed, that Arius, in this case, descended to trickery, and the confession of faith then drawn up by him having been lost, the Nicene creed was easily substituted in its place, and the *way* in which the heretic had managed to deceive was ever liable to receive new decorations. We might even be tempted to venture a step further. The confession of faith drawn up the first time by Arius, agrees so perfectly with all the characters which Athanasius in the passage above cited ascribes to the second, that we might believe that there had been but this one confession of faith; and that either Athanasius, failing to express himself in those passages with chronological accuracy, had transposed the confession of faith which Arius presented immediately after his return from exile, on his first residence at Constantinople, to his second residence in the same city; or that Socrates committed an anachronism in making Arius present such a confession of faith directly on his first residence at Constantinople.

not a very Christian prayer. On the evening of this same day, Arius suddenly died.[1] Well might this turn of events, which no human sagacity could have foreseen, be regarded as demonstrating the vanity of all human machinations, since all that which was to be enforced by imperial power was thus frustrated at a blow. But it showed a sad want of Christian charity, when men were seen triumphing over the sudden death of the supposed blasphemer, as a divine judgment. It argued narrow-minded presumption, that they should think of measuring the unsearchable ways of holy, all-wise, and eternal love, according to visible appearances and by the standard of human passions and prejudices; should be disposed to see, in this event, a declarative sentence from on high, deciding between truth and error, a divine judgment on perjury and impiety; when the truth was, that Arius erred from honest conviction; that he had sworn to nothing but what he sincerely believed; and that he may possibly have had, at least in his internal life, more of the Christian temper, than exhibited itself in the defective exposition of his belief. Even Athanasius was, in this instance, borne along with the prevailing current of opinion in his age; yet we remark with pleasure, that when he was about to describe the death of Arius, as connected with this controversy, his Christian feelings recoiled. Serapion, the bishop of Thmuis, having made several inquiries of him respecting the Arian controversy, and also respecting the death of Arius, he declared that to the first he had cheerfully replied, but to the last not without a struggle; for he feared lest it might seem as if he triumphed over the death of the man. And in another place, he introduces this account with a remark which surely ought to have led him to suppress it altogether:[2] "Death is the common lot of all men. We should never triumph over the death of any man, even though he be our enemy; since no one can know but that before evening the same lot may be his own." The adherents of Arius, on the other hand, sought to account for his sudden demise by a supernatural cause of another kind, which implicated their opponents. They spread it abroad that Arius had been cut off by the sorceries of his enemies.[3] This accusation is of some importance, as *it shows there was no possible ground for suspecting that he was poisoned.*

With the death of Arius, this contest could not cease; for the personal character of the man had little to do with it. It was, in truth, a contest between different doctrinal tendencies springing up out of the development of Christian doctrine, to the outbreak of which Arius had only given the first impulse; and it was not until *this contest* itself had been decided, that peace could be restored again to the

[1] Here, too, we have an instance of the exaggeration of rumor. According to Socrates' report, the death occurred while Arius was proceeding in triumph from the imperial palace. On his way to the church he was suddenly seized with severe pain, accompanied with relaxation of the bowels: in discharging from them he expired. The last-mentioned fact had some foundation; but the order of time has been altered to favor the miraculous aspect of the occurrence: for, according to the report of Athanasius, the death of Arius took place on the evening of this Sabbath.

[2] Ad episcopos Ægypti et Libyæ, § 19.

[3] Sozom. hist. eccles. l. II. c. 29.

church. Add to this, that the contest between proper Arianism and the doctrine of the Homoousion gradually passed over into the contest between that middle tendency to which the major part of the Eastern church was devoted, and the Homoousion creed, to which only a minority of the Orientals adhered. But the death of Arius was not without influence upon the conduct of that ruling party in the Oriental church. So long as he lived, several important men of that party had been deterred, by their personal interest in favor of Arius, from distinctly condemning his peculiar doctrines; but they now hesitated no longer to renounce all manner of connection with him, so as to be able simply to declare — what to them seemed the only important thing — *their opposition to the Homoousion.*

In addition to this, another event, connected with consequences of more universal moment, soon ensued,— the death of Constantine, in 337. His son Constantius, who succeeded him in the empire of the East, was inclined, even much more than his father had been, to intermeddle with the internal affairs of the church. The emperor Constantine had not, at least, in the theologian forgotten the emperor, — had not lost sight of the political interest, in his concern for matters of doctrine. But this easily came to be the case with Constantius. If Constantine had, for a moment, suffered himself to be drawn into too warm a participation in theological controversies, yet, after he was made aware of the mischievous consequences of such a course, he soon reverted to the principle of holding fast *simply to the interests of peace and quiet.* It was not so with Constantius. The latter engaged in doctrinal controversies in the same way as if he were a bishop, only clothed with the power of an emperor. His mistake with regard to the limits of his princely authority — which he extended to things lying beyond its rightful province — brought its own punishment along with it; for, while he imagined everything was directed by his own will, he was only the servant of others, who knew how to govern him,[1] and particularly of the *eunuchs*, who, in their capacity of chamberlains,[2] possessed unbounded power at his court.[3]

Now it was precisely in this quarter that the Anti-Nicene party acquired the greatest influence. That very Arian presbyter, for instance, who stood so high in the confidence of the emperor Constantine, had handed over his will to his son Constantius, and thus opened for himself a way of access to the latter. He was drawn to the court, and succeeded in gaining over to the interests of his own system of faith the first chamberlain Eusebius, and by his means the other eunuchs, the empress, and finally the emperor himself.[4] Thus the doctrinal controversies of the day became the fashionable topic of conversation at court. Hence, it spread to the people of high rank, and then still lower down; so that, as Socrates expresses it, a war of dialectics was carried on in every family; or, as Gregory of Nyssa

[1] Athanas. hist. Arianor. ad monachos. § 70. Μετ' ἐλευθέρου σχήματος καὶ ὀνόματος δοῦλος τῶν ἐλκόντων αὐτόν.

[2] Præpositi sacri cubiculi.

[3] Athanas. l. c. § 37. Πολλοὶ δὲ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι παρὰ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ πάντα δύνανται παρ' αὐτῷ.

[4] Socrat. II. 2.

relates, the Homoousion came to be discussed in the bakers' shops, at the tables of the money-changers, and even in the market for old clothes. These effects, however, did not develop themselves in their whole extent, till at a somewhat later period.[1]

The immediate consequence of the change of government was, that Constantine the younger, who had obtained the government over a part of the West, sent back Athanasius once more to Alexandria, with a letter to his community, in which he declared, that his father had already entertained the same purpose, and had been prevented from executing it only by his death. Athanasius was received by his community with enthusiastic expressions of love, and entered once more, with his wonted zeal, into his former field of labor. He could not fail, however, to come into frequent collision with the little remaining party of the Arians and the Meletians. The enemies of Athanasius, who at the synod of Tyre had pronounced upon him the sentence of deposition, and who still refused to acknowledge him as a regular bishop, strove to kindle the fires of discord into a fiercer flame. They had given to the Arian party, as their bishop, a presbyter named Pistus, who never succeeded, however, in establishing his own authority. They afterwards accused Athanasius of resorting to violence at his restoration, — of procuring executions and the infliction of civil penalties, and of employing for this purpose the provincial magistrates as his instruments. But the friends of Athanasius[2] were enabled to show, that what was imputed to him had been done by the provincial magistrates, independently of Athanasius, while he was still on his journey, and without any connection whatever with the doctrinal controversies; and, beyond question, the passion and rancor of a portion of his antagonists prepares us to believe anything. Meantime, the last-mentioned party, assured of their power over the emperor Constantius, took advantage of a festival at the dedication of a church recently erected by him at Antioch, to open there, in the year 341, a new ecclesiastical assembly. Here the sentence of deposition, previously passed upon Athanasius, was confirmed, partly under the pretext that he had allowed himself, after having been removed by a spiritual tribunal, to be restored to his place, without any new ecclesiastical inquiry and barely by the secular power,[3] — although Athanasius had not recognized that former council as a regular spiritual tribunal, and although his opponents did not scruple, in other matters, to carry out many of their measures by the hand of

[1] A remarkably vivid picture of this rage for doctrinal dispute among all ranks of people in Constantinople, is drawn by Gregory of Nyssa, in his Oratio de Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti, T. III. f. 466: "Every corner and nook of the city is full of men who discuss incomprehensible subjects; the streets, the markets, the people who sell old clothes, those who sit at the tables of the money-changers, those who deal in provisions. Ask a man how many oboli it comes to; he gives you a specimen of dogmatizing on generated and ungenerated being. Inquire the price of bread; you are answered, 'The Father is greater than the Son, and the Son subordinate to the Father.' Ask if the bath is ready, and you are answered, 'The Son of God was created from nothing.'"

[2] See the Alexandrian synodal letter apolog. contra Arian. § 3.

[3] To this the twelfth canon of this council refers.

secular power, — and in part by bringing up several new charges against him. As it was known how confidently Athanasius might rely on having the countenance of the Western church, in which the doctrine of the Homoousion predominated; how much sympathy he met with during his first residence there, inasmuch as the power of Constantius did not extend into the West; it must have been feared, that what was undertaken to be done against Athanasius would occasion a breach between the two churches of the East and of the West. This it was desired, if possible, to avoid. Delegates, therefore, were sent to the Western emperor Constans, and to the bishop Julius of Rome. These delegates set forth the charges which had been laid against Athanasius, and sought to gain the assent of the Roman bishop, and, through him, of the more important bishops of the West. But Athanasius also sent some presbyters of his own clergy to Rome, to defend him against these charges. They succeeded in refuting the accusations; and the deputies of the other party, in their embarrassment, let fall certain expressions which the Roman bishop[1] could, at least, so interpret as if they had appealed to the decision of a new and larger synod. He at once accepted this appeal; for very welcome to him was such an opportunity of establishing his own supreme judicial authority. He invited both parties, by their delegates, to present their cause before a synod to be assembled under his own presidency. But it had never entered the thoughts of the dominant party among the Orientals to concede to him any such supreme judicial authority. They looked upon it as a very strange affair, that he should so have misunderstood them. As their predecessors had not obtruded themselves, in the Novatian disputes, as judges over the Western church, — they declared to the Roman bishop, — so neither did it become him to obtrude himself as a judge in these controversies of the Eastern church: he was not to suppose, that, because he presided as bishop over a larger city, that he was on that account of any more consequence than other bishops.[2]

Meanwhile, as the above-mentioned Pistus found it impossible to acquire any authority at Alexandria, the bishops who were now assembled at Antioch named as bishop of Alexandria, in place of Athanasius, a certain Cappadocian of a violent and headstrong temper,

[1] We have, in this case, to be sure, only the report of one party; viz. the Roman-Athanasian.

[2] To this objection the Roman bishop, Julius, gave a very adroit and keen reply, which doubtless must have been felt by many of these bishops, whose unclerical ambition interested them so much in the business of exchanging their bishoprics in small towns for those in the principal cities and capitals; as, for example, Eusebius of Nicomedia, who contrived to get his bishopric of Berytus in Phœnicia exchanged for that of Nicomedia, once the imperial seat of the East Roman empire, and then this bishopric for that of Constantinople. "If you really consider," he writes to them, § 5, "the dignity of the bishops to be equal; and if, as you write, you do not estimate bishops by the greatness of the cities where they preside, then he to whom a small town has been intrusted should remain in the place to which he was appointed, and neither despise the flock committed to his care, nor pass over to those which have not been intrusted to him, thus despising the honor which God confers on him (I suppose that in this place the word δόξης must have fallen out after δουθείσης), and betraying a thirst for the vain honor that comes from man."

by the name of Gregorius. In the name of the emperor, he was installed as bishop of Alexandria by an armed force; and those who refused to acknowledge him were treated as rebels against the imperial authority. The greatest part of the community being strongly attached to Athanasius, whom they regarded as their spiritual father, while the civil and military authorities, who made no distinction between this business and any other which they were called upon to perform in the name of the emperor, proceeded to enforce obedience to the bishop who had been thrust upon the people, various acts of insurrectionary violence would naturally be the result. Blood was shed. The places which had been consecrated to the service of the God of peace were profaned by the rudest passions. Amid these scenes of disorder, the persecuted Athanasius had still time to escape. He repaired, at first, to a place of concealment in the neighborhood of Alexandria. From this spot he issued a circular letter to all the bishops, in which he described in strong colors the illegality and injustice of all the proceedings against him. Next, in compliance with an invitation of the bishop Julius, he repaired to Rome. There, by a synod convened near the close of the year 342, he was recognized as a regular bishop, having resided for the space of a year and a half in Rome, and no delegates from the part of the Orientals, who did not acknowledge the tribunal erected by the Roman bishop, having appeared to prove the charges laid against him. The Roman bishop announced to them this decision in a letter which was written with the feeling of superiority that springs from the consciousness of right, in opposition to illegal, arbitrary will.

All the opponents of Athanasius being looked upon by the Western church as Arians, they were now solicitous to vindicate themselves from this reproach; and many of them, without doubt, as plainly appears indeed from their own avowal, were in no wise devoted to the strictly Arian doctrines; though, at the same time, they were not in favor of the Nicene creed. The hierarchical spirit was expressed in a very remarkable manner, in the introduction to the first confession drawn up at Antioch, where the bishops allege the following as a reason why they could not be called Arians: "How possibly could we, who are bishops, follow the leading of a presbyter?"[1] Very justly, however, could the majority of them say, that from Arius they had received no new doctrines of faith; but rather, after a previous examination *of his* faith, had admitted him to church fellowship. At assemblies convened at Antioch in the years 341 and 345, five creeds were drawn up, one after the other. It was agreed to condemn the peculiar Arian formulas, whereby the Son of God was placed in the class of created beings, and whereby a beginning of existence was ascribed to him; and to assert, in the strongest terms, a *similarity* of essence between the Son and the Father. There still remained but two points of difference betwixt the doctrines here expressed by the Eastern bishops, and the doctrines of the Nicene council, understood according to

[1] Πῶς ἐπίσκοποι ὄντες ἀκολουθήσομεν πρεσβυτέρῳ;

their logical connection; the recognition of the unity of essence, or identity of essence, in contradistinction to resemblance of essence, — Athanasius asserted the logical necessity of acknowledging either Arianism, or the Homoousion, since the notion of similarity or dissimilarity was not applicable to the relation to God at all, but applied only to the relation of temporal and earthly things to each other, — and the doctrine of a generation of the Logos having its ground in the divine essence, not conditioned on any single act of the divine will, but rather preceding all individual acts of the divine will.[1] The Western bishops did not proceed to discuss and compare these confessions of faith, but simply stood fast by the council of Nice. Indeed, they were inclined to consider all the opponents of Athanasius in the East as Arians, and to suspect an Arian element in all their confessions of faith. The difference of languages, moreover, stood in the way of their coming to any mutual understanding; the Greek language not being, at the present time, so generally understood among the people of the West as it had been in former days.

Through the influence of the Roman church, the two emperors, Constantius and Constans, were induced to unite in calling a general council to meet at the city of Sardica in Illyria, in the year 347, for the purpose of deciding these disputed questions, and of healing the breach which now existed between the Eastern and the Western churches. Of the Orientals, comparatively but a few attended; partly, because they took no special interest in the disputes; partly, because they had no desire of joining in common deliberation with clergy of the West; and in part because the distance was inconvenient for them. There were present but seventy-six of the Eastern, and more than three hundred of the Western bishops. Where party interests were so opposite, and the excitement of feelings was so great on both sides, it was impossible to effect a union: the meeting served rather to make the breach still more marked and decided than it was before. The bishops of the West having demanded that Athanasius and his friends should be allowed to attend the assembly as regular bishops, and those of the East having refused to grant this, a total rupture took place between the two parties. The Western bishops continued to hold their session at Sardica; the Orientals drew off to Philippopolis in Thrace. The latter there renewed their sentence of deposition against Athanasius and his friends, and extended it also

[1] According to the Athanasian system, the following dilemma necessarily presents itself: either the Logos is placed on an equality with the creatures produced by a particular fiat of the divine will out of nothing, or he is acknowledged to be one with the divine essence, his generation proceeding from the essence of God, and being as inseparable from it as his holiness, wisdom, etc. All that God wills and decrees, he wills and decrees in the Logos as such. This distinction Athanasius considered necessary, not for the popular exposition of doctrine, but for the systematic exhibition of it. But to the major portion of the Eastern church teachers these propositions appeared offensive: for, from misconception and want of the gift for speculative apprehension, they were led to suppose that God was thereby subjected to constraint or natural necessity. In the *μακρόστιχος ἔκθεσις* at Antioch, those therefore were expressly condemned who taught: *Ὅτι οὐ βουλήσει οὐδὲ θελήσει ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱὸν ὁ πατήρ.*

to the Roman bishop Julius; and again composed a new symbol of faith.[1]

The council of Sardica, on the other hand, confirmed the decisions which had been already made by the Roman synod. A few among the assembled bishops had, moreover, proposed a new confession of faith in opposition to Arianism,[2] extending not solely to the doctrine of Christ's divinity, but also to the doctrine of his becoming man, and to the relation of the divine and human natures in Christ to each other. But, by the wisdom of such men as Athanasius, who did not wish to furnish occasion for new controversies, but only to hold fast the essential thing in the doctrine of Christ's divinity, just as it had been expressed in the Nicene creed, it was so managed that this confession was rejected, and it was declared, that the custom of the Arians to multiply and alter confessions of faith should not be followed.[3] The only consequence, for the present, which resulted from this issue of the council of Sardica, was, that the bond of fellowship between the two churches was completely severed. But, subsequently, the council sent delegates for the purpose of recommending to the emperor Constantius the cause of the exiled bishops of the East. Meanwhile, the Western emperor Constans endeavored to conciliate his brother to the party of Athanasius. The Oriental court party ruined their own cause by exposing the mean intrigues of some of their leaders, of whom Constantius himself began to be ashamed; and the ferments among the ever-turbulent people of Alexandria, who were longing after their beloved Athanasius, and who had become still more irritated by the atrocious acts of Gregory, — these ferments, which finally, in 349, led to the assassination of Gregory, doubtless aroused the political anxieties of the emperor. All these things coöperated to prepare the way for a change in the Eastern church.[4] Constantius wrote to Athanasius, who perhaps could not be

[1] According to the report of Socrates, they expressed therein the doctrine of the *ἀνόμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*, therefore the proper Arianism. In this case, we must suppose, that not the Semi-Arians, as in the ecclesiastical assemblies at Antioch, but the proper Arians, here had the preponderance; and that it was not the endeavor here, as it had been there, to lessen the doctrinal differences between the churches of the East and of the West, but rather to express them in the most marked manner. The fact, however, appears otherwise according to the report of Sozomen (l. III. c 11), who, notwithstanding it was his usual practice to follow Socrates, yet in the present case appeals to the synodal letter appended to the confession of faith. By his account, this latter seems to have borne a considerable resemblance to the Antiochian symbol, and to have sprung out of the same doctrinal interests: for the Homoousion is not mentioned; only the anathema is pronounced on those who supposed three gods, or identified Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but also on those who taught that there had been a time when the Son of God did not yet exist. Here then, also, we find nothing, it is true, which the proper Arians might not have subscribed; and perhaps it may have been, that the proper Arian party had in the present case possessed greater influence than they did in the drawing up of the several Antiochian creeds.

[2] This may be found in Theodoret. II. 6.

[3] Athanasii tomus ad Antiochen. § 5. *Ἵνα μὴ πρόφασις δοθῇ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πολλάκις γράφειν καὶ ὁρίζειν περὶ πίστεως.*

[4] Socrates, Sozomen, and Philostorgius, represent the matter as if the emperor Constans had procured the recall of Athanasius by threatening to bring about his restoration to Alexandria by force of arms. Unquestionably this account is confirmed by certain indications belonging to the time of the council of Sardica, which presuppose such a connection of events. Lucifer of Calaris (Cagliari) says in his l. I. pro Athanasio, c. 35, that, if Athanasius

so easily induced to place confidence in the emperor's promises, three letters in which he invited him to return back to his bishopric; and, in 349, Athanasius actually returned, and was received by his flock with great demonstrations of joy.

But in the same year in which Athanasius came back to Alexandria, a political change occurred which was unfavorable to him. He lost his patron, the emperor Constans, who was assassinated by the usurper Magnentius. Now, inasmuch as it was only a combination of circumstances that had coöperated to produce a momentary change, without much foundation for it, in the disposition of Constantius towards Athanasius, — as the flatterers of the Arian court party, favored by the eunuchs and chamberlains of the palace, ever found it more easy to gain the emperor's ear, than Athanasius, whose obstinacy made him an object of suspicion,[1] — it followed, as a matter of course, that the attacks upon him were soon renewed. Ecclesiastical and political charges were laid against him at once. It was asserted,

were really a heretic, it would be no sufficient excuse for Constantius, that he had been moved to recall him through the fear of being involved in a war with his brother Constans. Again, Athanasius was, at an early period, accused by his enemies of attempting to create enmity between the emperor Constans and his brother Constantius. Apolog. ad Constant. § 3. Theodoret, it is true, mentions also the threats of Constans against his brother, but attributes the change of feelings in that emperor towards the Athanasian party, to the fact that Constantius discovered the base intrigues of the worthless Arian bishop, Stephanus of Antioch, against Euphrates, bishop of Cologne. Athanasius in his hist. Arianor, ad monachos, §§ 20, 21, simply remarks, that Constans had given to the two bishops who had been sent from the council of Sardica to Constantius, a letter of recommendation; but he looks upon it as a consequence of that discovery made at Antioch, that Constantius was brought to his senses. Hence he, in the first place, forbade the persecutions going on against the Athanasians at Alexandria; and then, ten months later, after the assassination of Gregory at Alexandria, recalled Athanasius to that city. Still, however, the silence of Athanasius would prove nothing against the truth of the above-mentioned account; for he would naturally be unwilling to acknowledge a fact which might have served as a confirmation of the suspicion set afloat against himself, that he fomented enmity between the two brothers. It is true, Constantius himself seems to testify, in his first letter to Athanasius, that he had resolved on recalling him at his own motion: and he says, indeed, that it was his intention to write to Constans, with a view to obtain his consent to the proposed recall. But it is plain of itself, that this public declaration of a supreme magistrate meant but little; and since, at all events, even according to the report of Athanasius, it is not to be denied, that Constans had backed the demand of the council for the recall of Athanasius with his letter of recommendation, the application of Constantius to his brother for the recall of Athanasius could be nothing more than a mere formal proceeding. Besides, Constantius, although compelled to take this step, would naturally be unwilling to have it appear that he acted by compulsion. Constantius himself declared, in a document addressed to the Alexandrians, after the assassination of Constans, that he had recalled Athanasius to Alexandria out of respect to his deceased brother. Hist. Arian. ad monachos, § 50. But it is not probable that Constans was actually on the point of engaging in a war for this purpose, or that Constantius should have felt so much apprehension from a mere threat of his unwarlike brother; unless we are willing to suppose, that the former had to fear the landing of troops by his brother in Alexandria, on account of the exasperated state of feeling which then existed among the people. But it is easy to see, also, that the enemies of Athanasius might take pains to spread the rumor that he had persuaded Constans to threaten war against his brother; and that others would repeat it after them, for the purpose of giving a more brilliant coloring to the zeal of Constans for pure doctrine. The most probable supposition of all is, that different causes were here combined together.

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus says, hist. l. 15, c. 7, Constantio semper infestus.

that, for the purpose of deposing bishops who had been accused of some Anti-Nicene doctrine, he had stretched his ecclesiastical power beyond all lawful bounds; that he had held divine service on the Easter festival in a large church at Alexandria,[1] before its consecration had been finished by the emperor's command; and, especially, that he had intermeddled with political affairs in which he had no concern, and endeavored to involve the emperor in a quarrel with his brother Constans.[2] Various precautionary steps, however, were taken before they ventured to attack directly this important man himself. The first attack was directed against two church teachers, *Marcellus*, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and *Photinus*, bishop of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia, of whom the former had, from the beginning, been intimately connected with the Athanasian party. It was easy to fix suspicion on the latter, on account of his intimacy with the first, and thus accuse them both as false teachers.

Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, had from the first been one of the most zealous defenders of the Nicene Homoousion. Being a decided opponent of the theology of Origen's school, he would of course oppose also that system of the Triad derived particularly from the Origenistic scheme of faith, which prevailed in the Eastern church. All subordination, which was opposed to the Homoousion, appeared to him to be Arianism; and he traced the whole of this to the confusion of Platonic, Hermetic, and Gnostic ideas with Christianity. He declared Origen to be the author of this confusion. But Marcellus, by pushing to the extreme his opposition to Arianism, in a work against the Arian rhetorician Asterius, became suspected himself, as usually happens where opposition is carried to excess, of the contrary error, and of denying, as a Monarchian, — which he came very near doing, — the personal distinctions in the Triad. While the Arians distinguished the Logos dwelling in God from the Logos so called in an improper sense, he maintained, on the other hand, that this very name Logos was the only one which belonged to Christ according to his divine essence. This Logos was to be conceived, either as remaining quiescent and hidden within the divine essence, as the thinking reason of God, or as that reason proceeding forth into manifestation by means of outward acts,[3] as in the creation generally, so in the different revelations; particularly and preëminently in the highest of all revelations by the Redeemer, when the Logos, by virtue of a certain ἐνέργεια δραστική, assumed a human body as a ministerial organ in accomplishing the redemption of mankind. While the Arians asserted, that the titles applied to the Logos, — such as the πρωτότοκος τῆς κτίσεως, the Son of God, the image of God, — signified a relation of dependence and a beginning of existence; Marcellus admitted they were right in this last particular, but denied the consequence

[1] See above.

[2] Even Amm. Marcellinus was aware, that political charges chiefly were brought against Athanasius. Athanasium ultra professionem altiuś se efferentem scisciterique conatum externa.

[3] The ἡσυχάζειν and the ἐνεργεῖν δραστικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ, resembling the earlier distinction between a λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and προφορικός.

which they believed themselves warranted to draw from this premise, in reference to the essence of the Logos himself. All these predicates he would refer, not to the Logos *per se*, — respecting whom, considered alone, the evangelist John predicates only the being in and with God, — but to the particular active efficiency by which the Logos proceeded forth from God, — communicated himself outwardly, — and in a special manner to his radiation in human nature.[1] Christ had called himself distinctively the Son of man, in order to show thereby that he transferred to himself the name Son of God only in reference to the men who, through his irradiation in human nature, were to be made sons of God,[2] and this title should only be applied to Christ's human appearance.[3]

Like Sabellius, Marcellus also distinguished the divine essence in itself, — the unity in repose, — from the different ways of God's manifestation in creation and redemption; which latter were designated by the names Logos and the Holy Ghost. The procession of the Logos from God, by means of the above mentioned δραστικὴ ἐνέργεια, appeared to him to be the mediating cause of the whole creation. Like Sabellius too, he spoke concerning an evolution of the monad to a triad, and also represented it to be the final end and issue of the redemption, that all things should return back to the unity out of which they had proceeded.[4] We shall explain at greater length his notions of this, which he looked upon as the final consummation, when we come to speak of his doctrine concerning the person of Christ. Likewise the expression, three hypostases, or persons, seemed to Marcellus to be a hindrance to the right apprehension of the divine unity, and to imply in it too much the notion of separation.[5]

Marcellus at first had stood in high authority with the adherents of the Nicene council, at which he had zealously contended in behalf of the Homoousion. The Arians and Semi-Arians, on the other hand, eagerly took advantage of the weak spots which his exhibition of the Triad exposed to them, for the purpose of accusing him of Sabellianism. At an assembly held by this party at Constantinople in 336, the sentence of deposition was pronounced against him. The business of refuting him was intrusted to Eusebius of Cæsarea, who, as an Origenist, would be a decided opponent of Marcellus. Hence arose the two works of Eusebius against him,[6] which, containing important fragments from the writings of Marcellus, have become the principal sources of our information respecting his doctrines. He found, however, as did also his friends, an affectionate reception in the Western

[1] The γέννησις τοῦ λόγου has reference only to the ὁραστικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ προέρχεσθαι. He was the first who referred the passage in Coloss. 1 : 15, to Jesus considered as man.

[2] Ἵνα διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμολογίας θέσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀυτὸν κοινωνίας υἱὸν θεοῦ γενέσθαι παρασκευάσῃ. Euseb. de ecclesiastica theol. lib. I. c. 20. p. 87, ed. Colon.

[3] The words of Marcellus: Τὸ ἁπλῶς υἱὸν εἶναι μόνον ἔμφασίν τινα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἀνθρωπίνης ὄψεως παρέχειν εἰωθε. See c. Marcell. l. II. c. 2. f. 36.

[4] Ἡ μονὰς ἀδιαίρετος οὐσα εἰς τριάδα πλατύνεται. Eccles. theol. l. III. c. 4. f. 168.

[5] No δυὸ διαιρούμενα πρόσωπα. He remarks of Asterius: Οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ προσηκόντως εἰρηκε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. L. c.

[6] C. Marcellum and de ecclesiastica theologia.

church: the Roman bishop Julius was satisfied with the confession of faith which he presented to him. He probably, like Athanasius, was, in consequence of the decisions of the council of Sardica, restored to his bishopric.

Marcellus was driven, in spite of his will, to take the Sabellian view, in seeking to preserve consistently his favorite Homoousion against everything that looked like subordinationism; but his disciple Photinus (Φωτεινὸς), who had received from him the first impulse in his own theological career, allowed the manner in which he deviated from the usual doctrine of the church to appear more plainly. Thus, from this quarter, an unfavorable light was reflected on the source whence his doctrines had sprung, the system of Marcellus himself — a circumstance of which his opponents were not slow to avail themselves.

The renewed attack upon these two men at the synod of Sirmium in 351, where both were deposed from their places, was the first thing to seal the union of the Anti-Athanasian party,[1] and to show their power.

In the next place, as there was reason to fear the union of the Western church with Athanasius, advantage was taken of the residence of Constantius in the West, occasioned by the war with Magnentius, to prevail upon the Occidentals, by deceitful representations, and by exciting their fears of the despotic power of Constantius, to whom the Western empire was now subjected, to join with the East in the condemnation of Athanasius. The court party pretended that the present question did not relate at all to any interest of doctrine, but only to the person of Athanasius. By this statement of the case, many bishops who had not reflected much upon the matter might suffer themselves to be persuaded that they could yield what was required without compromising their orthodoxy; that they needed not to sacrifice the quiet of their churches to an individual man, who perhaps might in many respects be guilty, whom, at any rate, they could not protect by their single and feeble voices. To the emperor the matter might be so represented, that the bishops who refused to acquiesce in the condemnation, would appear to have acted, in an affair having no connection whatever with the system of faith, in disobedience to the imperial commands; to have shown a disposition, in spite of the emperor, to defend his declared enemy; hence, to be deserving of punishment as refractory and disobedient subjects. Thus was it contrived, at the church assemblies held in Arles and in Milan, in the year 355, to obtain, by force or by fraud, a great number of signatures. Some did not, in truth, really know what was required of them; the others were bribed by princely favor; and others were unmanned by their fears, and excused themselves to their consciences by the plea of ignorance of the circumstances, in order to avoid confessing to themselves, that they had allowed themselves to be induced by fear, to become untrue to their duty.

[1] Here was drawn up the first *Sirmian* creed, as it was called, — analogous to the fourth Antiochian.

At such a time, when all that is most sacred was given up and abandoned to the arbitrary will of despotism, it is the more gratifying to observe a few, who, raised by the power of faith above all that human power could offer or threaten, constantly opposed themselves to that arbitrary will; who, doubtless, with clear and calm discernment, saw through the arts of the court party, which assuredly were aimed, not barely against the person, but also against the doctrines of Athanasius; and were prepared to devote and to sacrifice everything they had, in the defense of truth, of innocence, and of the freedom of a church threatened with the most humiliating slavery. It was not the state, it was only the church, which, in these times of despotism and servility, had such men to show, — men inspired with the genuine spirit of freedom, and who never consented to do homage to mere power.

Among these men may be named particularly, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, distinguished for the zeal with which he administered his pastoral office; also Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poictiers. The latter, who was distinguished among the doctrinal writers of the Western church for a profoundness of intellect and a freedom of spirit peculiarly his own, had for many years lived quietly and undisturbed in the administration of his episcopal office, to which he had come about the year 350, without concerning himself about the doctrinal controversies of the East, until the arrival of the emperor in the West, in 355, introduced disquiet also into the Gallic church. Now, for the first time, he heard of the Nicene creed, and found in it the doctrine of the unity of essence in the Father and Son, which he had before this ascertained to be the true doctrine from the study of the New Testament, and had received into his Christian experience, without being aware that the faith which he bore in his heart had been laid down in the form of a creed.[1] He now held it to be his duty to sacrifice all else to the confession of the truth. "I might," says he, "have enjoyed all earthly advantages to overflowing, might have boasted of familiar intercourse with the emperor, and, like others, abusing the episcopal name, have exercised a dominion in the church intolerable to the community and to individuals, had I only been disposed to falsify the gospel truth, to shield my guilty conscience under the pretext of ignorance, and to excuse a bribed judgment with the plea that it was forced by the judgment of another."[2] He presented a memorial to the emperor,[3] in which, with the frankness becoming a Christian and a bishop, yet without overstepping the limits of a just respect, he told him many truths worthy of grave reflection, such doubtless as in any other way could not easily have come to his ears. He assured him, that sedition existed nowhere, as the court party pretended in order to excite his alarm;[4] the Arians were the only ones who disturbed the public peace; there was no other means of

[1] He says of himself, lib. de Synodis, § 91: Regeneratus pridem, et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens, fidem Nicænam numquam nisi exulaturus audivi; sed mihi homousii et homœusii intelligentiam evangelia et apostoli intimaverunt.

[2] Opus historicum fragment. I. § 3.

[3] Lib. I. ad Constantium.

[4] Nulla suspicio est seditionis.

healing the evils of the distracted church, but by putting an end to constraint in spiritual things, and leaving each one at liberty to live entirely according to the convictions of his own conscience. It was his earnest prayer, he said, that the emperor would graciously be pleased to allow the churches to attend on the preaching of those whom they preferred, whom they themselves had chosen; to receive from such the sacraments, to pray with such for the emperor's welfare and salvation." But, far different from Hilary, *Lucifer* of Cagliari, a man of stormy vehemence and fanatical zeal, did not understand how to unite to Christian frankness and love of truth, that respect for the existing order of the state, and that fulfillment of the duties of the citizen, which Christianity prescribes, and the genuine spirit of Christianity superinduces. True, he spoke in a beautiful and high-minded strain against the unreasonable expectations of the emperor, that the bishops should, at his command, condemn unheard an absent, and, in their opinion, an innocent man; and nobly he calls on the emperor to acknowledge Athanasius as his Christian brother, and as such to forgive him, even though he supposed him guilty of personal offenses against himself. On this occasion, too, he said many fine things about the universal Christian brotherhood, which should embrace all without distinction of earthly rank. "Are you ashamed," says he to the emperor, "to call Athanasius your brother? If you profess to belong to Christ, you are bound to call all Christians your brethren, not only Athanasius, but even those whom you see begging an alms of you; for we all, all I mean who belong to the church of the Lord, are one, since with the Lord there is no respect of persons." [1] But with all this, it must be allowed, his intemperate passion blinded him to his obligations of respect to the emperor. He called him an Antichrist, a servant of Satan, and addressed him in a tone which might well be regarded as exciting to sedition, and as tending to confirm the accusations of the Arian court party. Besides this, Lucifer contended for the independence and freedom of the church, not *in the spirit of the gospel*, which keeps spiritual and worldly things wholly separate from each other, but from another, *unevangelical* point of view; for, mixing together spiritual and secular things in another sense, confounding the theocratic forms of the Old and the New Testaments, he required that the secular power should be outwardly subordinated to the spiritual, that the church should possess the outward sovereignty, and consequently was in favor of setting up a priestly despotism in opposition to that of the emperor.[2]

[1] Pro Athanasio, l. II. c. 29. Si Christianum te profiteris, debes omnes Christianos fratres dicere, et quidem non solum Athanasium, sed et eos quos videris stipem petentes. Omnes etenim in ecclesia Domini constituti unum sumus apud quem non sit acceptatio personarum.

[2] When, for example, he says to the emperor (pro Athanasio, l. I. c. 7.): "So far was he from having any right to rule over the bishops, that he was rather, according to the laws of God, guilty of a crime worthy of death, if in the spirit of pride he refused to obey their decisions." Ut si subvertere eorum decreta tentaveris, si fueris in superbia comprehensus, morte mori jussus sis. Quomodo dicere poteris, judicare te posse de episcopis, quibus nisi obedieris, jam quantum apud Deum, mortis pœna fueris mulctatus. Hence, too, in his writings, he quotes from the Old Testament, whence he derived his ideas re-

Finally, the emperor once more used his power to destroy two bishops who stood in high authority, — the one on account of the seat of his episcopacy, the other on account of his venerable age, being more than a hundred years old, — both of whom he had more cause for sparing than others, — the bishops Liberius of Rome, and Hosius of Cordova. Liberius had orally declared, in opposition to the emperor's delegates, to his dogmatizing chamberlains, and to the emperor himself, that nothing should move him to condemn an innocent man, and subject the affairs of the church to the judicial decisions of the emperor. In like manner also Hosius, in a spirited memorial to the emperor, represented to him that he ruled over his equals, and had one and the same judge with them in heaven. Both, we must admit, acted on the narrow and unevangelical principle, that, as the emperor ruled independently in the secular province, so the bishops ought to rule independently in the spiritual. Liberius was banished to Beræa in Thrace, Hosius to Sirmium. Thus all who refused to obey were banished to different places, for the most part in the East; and many of them were very harshly treated.

When the victory was supposed to be already secured over the Western church, the next step was to attack Athanasius himself, the preëminent object of hatred to the episcopal court party and to Constantius. But Constantius, purposely, without doubt, sought to lull Athanasius into security, partly that he might have him more certainly in his power, and partly in order to guard against disturbances among the people of Alexandria. When Athanasius first heard of the plots of his opponents, the emperor in a brief letter promised him perfect safety, and bade him not be alarmed, and not to allow himself to be disturbed in the quiet administration of his office. When, therefore, the summons requiring him to leave the church was first sent to him by men who professed to have full powers from the emperor, he declared, that, as he had been directed by an imperial writ to remain at Alexandria, he held himself neither bound nor authorized to abandon the church intrusted to him by the Lord, except by a written order coming from the emperor himself, or at least in his name. He quietly proceeded, therefore, to discharge his episcopal duties in the same manner as before. But, while engaged in the church during the night of the ninth of February, A. D. 356, amidst a portion of his flock, who were preparing by prayer and song for the public worship, which, according to the Alexandrian usage, was to be celebrated on Friday morning, the Dux Syrianus burst suddenly into the church, with a troop of armed men, regardless of all reverence for sacred things. Athanasius, amidst the din and tumult of the brutal soldiery, perfectly retained his presence of mind: he endeavored first to preserve peace among the assembled members of his church, and to provide for their safety, before he thought of his own. He remained quietly on his episcopal throne, and bade the deacon proceed in the recitation of the 136th Psalm, where the words "For His

specting the church theocracy, more often than he did from the New. We perceive already in Lucifer a spirit of altogether the same cast with that of Hildebrand.

mercy endureth forever," were continually sung by the choir of the church. Meanwhile, however, the soldiers pressed forward continually nearer to the sanctuary. Monks, clergy, and laity, therefore, bade Athanasius save himself. But not until the greatest part of his flock had departed, did he slip out with those that remained, and escape the hands of the soldiers who were sent to arrest him.[1] Once more, by an armed force, the Alexandrian church were compelled to submit, and receive as their bishop an altogether unclerical, rude, and passionate man, Georgius of Cappadocia. Every sort of atrocity was committed under the name of religion; while Athanasius, threatened with death, and pursued as far as Auxuma in Ethiopia, found refuge among the Egyptian monks.

Thus, then, the Anti-Nicene party had obtained the victory throughout the whole Roman empire; but this victory was destined to work mischief on themselves. The party was, in fact, composed originally of two constituent portions; those whom we have designated already by the name Semi-Arians, who constituted the majority of the Oriental church, and the Arians properly so called, who formed by far the smaller number. Both parties had been, till now, united by their common opposition to Athanasius and to the council of Nice, and the peculiar differences between themselves had therefore no opportunity for expression. More especially had they whose views were completely Arian a strong interest in attaching themselves to the *dominant* party of the Oriental church. But as the external opposition which had held both parties together was removed, the opposition within their own body would now begin more distinctly to manifest itself. Ecclesiastical as well as political coalitions carry within them the principle of their own dissolution, which must follow as soon as the antagonism from without, to which the coalition owes its origin, comes to an end. In addition to this, two men appeared on the stage, who gave to strict Arianism, in contradistinction as well to the Homoiousian as to the Homoousian scheme, a more precise and logically consistent expression than it had hitherto received. These were Aëtius and his disciple Eunomius.[2] Particularly deserving of notice is the latter, as well on account of his steadfast zeal in defense of his own convictions,[3] and the purely dogmatic interest, untroubled by any secular motives, by which he was eminently distinguished from the Arian court party, as on account of the complete individuality of his doctrinal bent of mind, which was altogether original and of one piece.

As it respects the doctrine of Eunomius concerning the Son of God, he coincided entirely on this point with Arius, and here brought for-

[1] See Athanas. apolog. de fuga sua, § 24. Hist. Arian. ad monachos, § 81.

[2] Concerning the early education which shaped the life of Eunomius, we have small means of information; for the accounts of Gregory of Nyssa spring from a too hostile and party interest to be of any use.

[3] He himself, in his Confession, which he called *ἀπολόγια*, declares himself to the effect, that every other consideration had, with him, been made to fall into the background, in comparison with the free expression of his convictions. His address to his readers: *Αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, μηδὲ ἡμῖν χαλεπαίνειν, εἰ τύφου μὲν ἀμελήσαντες καὶ φόβου, τῆς δὲ παραυτίκα χάριτος καὶ ἀσφελείας τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ἄδειαν προτιμήσαντες παντὸς ἐπικαλύμματος γυμνὴν ἐκτιθέμεθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.* Basil. c. Eunom. lib. I. § 3.

ward nothing that was new; but, in his case, the connection of his doctrine concerning Christ with the peculiar character of his whole intellectual bent and dogmatic tendency is yet more strongly evident. The latter is much more sharply defined, and logically carried out. A doctrinal tendency which narrowly confined itself within the province of the understanding; which set itself to oppose the mystical and contemplative element, the element of feeling in theology, and hence also the predominant influence of the Platonic philosophy on theology; a tendency to conceive everything in a manner altogether too outward and mechanical, — this tendency, which we remarked already in Arius, appeared still more decidedly pronounced in the character of Eunomius.

By this so strongly decided bent he was led to oppose many of the elements in the religious spirit of his times which Arius had accepted, such as the veneration paid to martyrs and relics.[1] Arius, as we have said, had won respect by his rigid asceticism. Eunomius, on the contrary, was set against the prevailing ascetic tendency. That which, in Basil of Cæsarea, excited the especial admiration of others, the marks of his austere life visible in his personal appearance, was adverted to by Eunomius in terms sometimes rudely contemptuous. He depicts him as one who had grown haggard and pale by excessive fasting, and ascribes to the same cause the asperity of his polemical writings.[2] He seems to have represented asceticism as a discipline which aimed at no worthy end, and to have set forth an earnest regard for correctness of doctrine as a thing of vastly greater importance.[3]

Arius agreed with his opponents in acknowledging the incomprehensibleness of the divine essence and of divine things; but Eunomius endeavored not only to describe the manner in which the Son of God came into existence, and his relation to the Father, as matters quite comprehensible, but he asserted also the *comprehensibleness of the divine essence* generally: he combated the reigning principle, especially of those doctrinal writers whose views were shaped by the Platonic philosophy, that there was no possible form of knowing which comprehended the essence of divine things, but only a symbolical knowledge of them, for the human understanding. With the presumption which most often accompanies narrowness of mind, he said of those who defended the incomprehensibleness of divine things: "If some men's minds are so obtuse that it is beyond their power to

[1] Hieronymus adv. Vigilantium, § 9: Rides de reliquiis martyrum, et cum auctore hujus hæreseos Eunomio ecclesiis Christi calumniam struis.

[2] He calls him: *φακοτρίβωνα στρατιώτην* (in allusion to his meagre diet) *καὶ ἅγιον ἐξάγιστον· ὑπὸ νηστείας δὲ ὠχριῶντα καὶ ὑπὸ πικρίας φονῶντα.* Vid. Gregor. Nyssen. c. Eunom. lib. I. T. II. f. 291.

[3] Though no absolute reliance can be placed on the words of Gregory of Nyssa, yet there is doubtless some truth at bottom, when, comparing Eunomius with that promoter of ascetic austerities, Basil, he says of him: *Κελεύοντος μὴ παρέχειν πράγματα τῇ φύσει πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν διὰ τῶν τοῦ σώματος ὀρέξεων προϊούσῃ μηδὲ ἀντιβαίνειν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, μηδὲ ακριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ βίου σπουδήν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναί τινα βλάβην ψυχῆς διὰ τῶν τοιούτων συνισταμένην, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀρκεῖν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν αἱρετικὴν πίστιν πρὸς τελειότητα* L. c. f. 306.

comprehend anything, either of that which lies before their feet or of that which is above their heads, yet it would not follow from this, that the knowledge of the true being is unattainable by all the rest of mankind." [1] In perfect consistency with his own views, that the Son of God was but the first of created beings; that there was no absolute manifestation of God in Christ, but that Christ was only the most perfect of creatures, destined to conduct other creatures to the original source of all existence, as a being without himself, — in entire consistency with these views and principles, he taught therefore that the minds of believers ought not to stop with the generation of the Son of God; but, although they should follow him at first as the guide to the way, they ought to soar above him, as above all created beings, to that Being who is the original source of eternal life, as well as the author of all things, as their final aim. "The minds of those that believe on the Lord," says he, "should by their very nature, rising as they do above all sensible and spiritual beings, not stop even with the generation of the Son of God. They soar above this, in striving, out of an earnest desire for eternal life, to attain to the Highest." [2]

From the position, thus assumed, of a supernaturalizing dogmatism of the understanding, Eunomius was led to misconceive, in a remarkable manner, the nature of religion generally, and of Christianity in particular; placing it in an *illumination of the understanding*, in a *theoretical knowledge* of God and divine things. Thus, in opposition to those who defended the doctrine of the incomprehensibleness of God, he said: "In vain did our Lord call himself the door, if no one enters through this door to the knowledge and contemplation of the Father: in vain did he call himself the way, if he has not made it easy for those who would do so, to come to the Father. How could he be the light, if he did not enlighten men?" [3]

Inasmuch as the peculiar views held by Eunomius concerning Christ's relation to God precluded the idea of a fellowship of divine life through him, — the root of all else which Christianity bestows, — so, to Eunomius, the great thing was the communication of certain conceptions by Christianity; the connection between life and knowledge in Christianity being a matter of which he was profoundly ignorant. In the heat of his polemical zeal he even went so far as to charge those who denied the possibility of knowing God and the generation of the Son of God in the sense in which he conceived it, with denying generally the *objective truth of every possible knowledge of God.* He accused them of preaching *an unknown God; and,*

[1] Gregor. Nyss. orat. X. adv. Eunom. near the beginning: Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινος ὁ νοῦς διὰ κακόνοιαν ἐσκοτημένος μηδενὸς μήτε τῶν πρόσω, μήτε τῶν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐφίκνοιτο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐφικτὴν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ὄντων εὕρεσιν. T. II. f. 670. I set down the passage here with an emendation of the text, the correctness of which will be obvious to every one.

[2] Ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν εἰς τὸν κύριον πεπιστευκότων, πᾶσαν αἰσθητὴν καὶ νοητὴν οὐσίαν ὑπερκύψας, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ γεννήσεως ἱστασθαι πέφυκεν. Ἐπέκεινα δὲ ταύτης ἴεται πόθῳ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἐντυχεῖν τῷ πρώτῳ γλιχόμενος. In opposition to this, says Gregory of Nyssa: "If, then, eternal life is not in the Son, *he* spoke falsely who said: I am the eternal life." Orat. 10, f. 674, 675.

[3] Gregor. l. c. f. 671.

since without the knowledge of God there could be no Christianity, he held that, accordingly, they were not even to be called Christians.[1] This position led Eunomius to contend against that one-sided tendency prevailing in the church, by which the liturgical element was too much exalted above the didactic and doctrinal, — the sacrament above the word. What he opposed to this tendency was, however, one-sided in another way, — an overvaluation of the logical element, — of the doctrinal conception. The essence of Christianity, in his opinion, did not depend on certain sacred names or customs, but on the accuracy of doctrines.[2]

Gregory of Nyssa maintained, on the contrary, that Christianity proceeded from, and had its root in, the inner life, inward experience, the fellowship of life with Christ; but all this, we must add, depending on the mediation of the visible church, of a visible priesthood, through participation of the sacraments within the church. "We," says he, "have learned from the words of our Lord, that whosoever has not been born of water and of the Spirit, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven; and that whosoever eats the Lord's body, and drinks his blood, shall live forever. Even such as are not in their inner life Christians, may argue nicely on the doctrines of the Christian faith; as in fact, we hear of such as are not Christians making the doctrines of Christianity a subject for logical disputations. And thus many a person has arrived at the truth and still remained a stranger to the faith."[3] We here see one of the most significant differences of bent which manifest themselves in the theological spirit, — the opposition of the *intellectual* to the more *mystical* bent, — the one placing the essence of religion and its seat, for the most part, in correctness of thought and of knowledge; the other, in the inner life and the disposition of the heart.

Eunomius, however, was in nowise conscious of the new doctrinal tendency which would have gone forth from him, in case he had been able to gain preponderance in the church. It was by no means his intention to set up a new doctrinal system. He supposed he was teaching no other doctrines than those contained in the old simple creeds of the Eastern church; he believed that he was only clearly developing the included contents of the doctrine concerning the Son of God transmitted in them. Had it not been for the starting-up of the errors on another side, he was of opinion that many would have been perfectly satisfied with those simple articles which already embraced within them all that was necessary for right knowledge.[4] It is easy to see, too, how, from his own point of view, he *must* have so considered it, that his doctrines were none other than what necessarily

[1] Μηδὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν προσηγορίαν οἰκείως ἔχειν τοὺς ἀγνωστον ἀποφαινομένους τὴν θείαν φύσιν, ἄγνωστον δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς γεννήσεως τρόπον. Gregor. orat. XI. f. 704.

[2] L. c. 704. Οὔτε τῇ σεμνότητι τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὔτε ἐθῶν καὶ μυστικῶν συμβόλων ἰδιότητι κυροῦσθαι τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, τῇ δὲ τῶν δογμάτων ἀκριβείᾳ.

[3] Πολλῶν ἐστιν ἀκούειν ὑπόθεσιν ἑαυτοῖς εἰς λόγων ἅμιλλαν τὸ ἡμέτερον δόγμα προβαλλομένων, καὶ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιτυχανόντας τῆς ἀληθείας πολλάκις καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἡλλοτριωμένους τῆς πίστεως. Orat. XI. f. 704.

[4] See Eunomii apologia Basil. opp. ed. Garnier. T. I. f. 619.

resulted from the development of the ancient doctrines of the church, "concerning the faith in one God, the Almighty Father, from whom proceeded all existence, and the one only begotten Son of God, the God Logos, by whom all things were brought into existence." Is God the Almighty the alone author, himself without beginning, of all existence? Accordingly, then, everything, including the Son of God himself, came into existence from him. A communication from the essence of God cannot be conceived, without transferring to the divine being the representations of sense. A production, a bringing forth, cannot be conceived without beginning and end: the generation of the Son of God, which it is impossible to conceive different from any other production, any other work, must have had its beginning, as it must have been completed, at a definite point of time.[1]

The idea of an eternal generation appeared to the understanding of Eunomius, who could not divest himself of the forms of temporal and sensuous intuition, as a thing altogether absurd, self-contradictory. This idea of an efficiency flowing out of the essence of God was borrowed, as he supposed, from the pagan philosophy; and this idea had led the *philosophers* also into the false notion of a creation without beginning.

Again, it seemed to Eunomius to follow from the relation above mentioned, of the Supreme essence to all things else, that God, who is without beginning, is, by his essential nature, infinitely exalted above all other existences, and also above the Son; and that he can be compared with nothing else. But, by this supposition, he imagined nothing further was determined, as yet, respecting the essence of the Son of God, except in this relation. The difference of created beings among one another depended on the divine will, which had fixed for each being the specific limits of its particular existence; and God had brought forth the Logos alone, — as the first and most perfect of created beings, — and conferred on him the greatest possible likeness to himself, — though not, of course, likeness of essence, — had given him divine dignity, and creative power, because it was his will to make this being his instrument in creating all other existences. While Arius taught[2] that God gave the first place in creation to the Son, by virtue of his absolute foreknowledge that the Son, when incarnate, would by his perfect obedience to the Father under every trial, render himself worthy of such exaltation; Eunomius, rejecting this view, held that every other perfection of the Son flowed from that *nature* of the Logos *itself*, which it was the Father's good pleasure to bestow on him. "It was not by his obedience that he became Son of God and God; but it was because he was brought forth as

[1] Gregor. Nyss. orat. VIII. T. II. f. 650. Πάσης γεννήσεως οὐκ ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἐκτεινομένης, ἀλλ' εἴς τι τέλος καταληγούσης ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τοὺς παραδεξαμένους τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν γένεσιν τό τε (not τότε, as the editions have it) πεπαῦσθαι τοῦτον γεννώμενον, μηδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστως ἔχειν. He conceived the creating act of God after an altogether anthropopathic, temporal manner. God had instituted the Sabbath for the purpose of showing that his creation, as it had an end, must also have had a beginning: Οὐ γὰρ τὴν πρώτην τῆς γενέσεως ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην, ἐν ᾗ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, ἔδωκε τὴν ὑπόμνησιν τῆς δημιουργίας. L. c. f. 652.

[2] See above, p. 407.

Son and only begotten God, that he became obedient to the Father in words and works."[1] This is what constitutes the immeasurable difference between him and all other creatures, that God brought forth *him* immediately; but all other beings mediately, and through him. Therefore, in respect to his relation to the Father, and in respect to his nature, he cannot be compared with other creatures.[2] On this point, moreover, Eunomius believed that his views agreed with the doctrine of the old church symbol concerning the Logos. Strictly connected with his whole mode of apprehending Christianity, is his supposition of an infinite, ever impassable chasm between the first and supreme essence, and all created things, and by reason of which he holds that God can communicate his essence to no other being.[3]

As Eunomius — the predecessor of Socinus in that outward supernaturalism of the understanding which forbids the idea of an inner fellowship of divine life — must therefore give so much the greater prominence to the idea of an outward communication of knowledge by revelation, of an outward revelation through the senses, so we may properly notice here the theory which he hints at respecting the supernatural origin of language; namely, that God taught the first men language by oral communication, by giving to things their appropriate names.[4]

The Arianism which was expressed after this manner would of course bring out in stronger relief the difference between the Arian and the Semi-Arian parties.

The Antiochian church, over which the Arian bishop Eudoxius presided, became the gathering point for the adherents of the Arian doctrine so distinctly expressed by Aëtius and Eunomius. Against these, a violent opposition was excited on the part of the Semi-Arian party; and several of the bishops who stood at the head of it, such, for example, as Basil of Ancyra in Galatia, possessed great influence with the emperor Constantius, to whom it was easy to represent the Eunomian doctrines as blasphemous.

At the head of the Arian court party at this time stood two men, versed in all the intrigues of the court, who had already shown how well they understood the art of changing their principles and convictions according to circumstances, and particularly according to the prevailing tone of the palace, *Ursacius*, bishop of Singidunum in Mœsia, and *Valens*, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia.[5] These bishops

[1] Οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ὑπακοῆς προσλαβὼν τὸ εἶναι υἱὸς θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ υἱὸς εἶναι καὶ γεννηθῆναι μονογενὴς θεὸς γενόμενος ὑπήκοος ἐν λόγοις, ὑπήκοος ἐν ἔργοις. Gregor. Nyss. orat. II. c. Eunom. f. 470.

[2] Μόνος ὁ υἱὸς τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνεργείᾳ συστὰς ἀκοινωνητον ἔχει τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεγενηκότα σχέσιν. L. c. orat. III. f. 548.

[3] Concerning God: Οὐ κοινωνὸν ἔχων τῆς θεότητος, οὐ μερίστην τῆς δόξης, οὐ σύγκληρον τῆς ἐξουσίας, οὐ σύνθρονον τῆς βασιλείας. Gregor. Nyss. orat. II. f. 440, and Eunomius' confession of faith published by Valesius in his notes to Socrates. l. V. c. 10. f. 61, ed. Mogunt.

[4] Against Basil, whom he accuses τῇ ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφίᾳ κατακολουθεῖν καὶ περικόπτειν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίαν μὴ ὁμολογοῦντα παρ' ἐκείνου τὰς ὀνομασίας τεθεῖσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. Orat. XII. f. 768, — Ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἀπαναίνεται τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντας ὁ θεὸς ὁμιλίαν, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν οἰεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰς προσφυεῖς τῷ πράγματι τεθεῖσθαι προσηγορίας. L. c. f. 817.

[5] These two men, disciples of Arius, who thus far had been concerned in all

devised a plan whereby they hoped to conceal, for a time, the differences between the Eunomian party, and the ruling majority of the Oriental church, and perhaps by degrees to get entirely rid of the articles of doctrine which were opposed to that party. They availed themselves, for this purpose, of that tendency which had gone forth from the school of Eusebius of Cæsarea, whose successor in office was his disciple Acacius, — the tendency to guard against overstepping the limits of human knowledge, to avoid determining too much with regard to things transcending the powers of the human understanding, and which would fain employ only biblical expressions for public determinations of doctrine. It could be plausibly represented to the emperor, that all the disputes which had, for so long a time, distracted the church, were occasioned by that poor little word οὐσία; that it needed only to remove this infelicitous word from the vocabulary of the church, and peace would be restored; that the word οὐσία, about which there had been so much dispute, did not once occur in Holy Scripture in the metaphysical sense which had been given to it; that all attempts to define what belonged to God's essence did, in fact, as was universally acknowledged, exceed the limits of the human understanding;[1] and that it was quite possible to settle, finally, in a manner which all must approve, everything which was needful to maintain the divine dignity of the Saviour, without keeping alive that unholy strife about the οὐσία, provided only that due prominence were uniformly given to the likeness between him and the Father. Such reasons could, of course, be easily presented in a convincing light to the emperor and those who followed the court.

First at an assembly of the court party held at Sirmium in Lower Pannonia, A. D. 357, a symbol of faith was drawn up in the sense above given: "Whereas so much disturbance has arisen concerning the distinction 'unity of essence' or 'likeness of essence,'" — concerning '*difference* of essence,' which the Eunomians maintained, a wise silence was observed, — "therefore nothing henceforth shall be taught or preached respecting the *essence* of the Son of God, since nothing is to be found on that subject in Holy Scripture, and since it surpasses the measure of the human faculties."[2] The venerable Hosius,

the intrigues against Athanasius, presented, when, through the influence of the emperor Constans, the Athanasian party began to conquer, a writing to the Roman bishop, Julius, in which they declared all the charges brought against Athanasius to be false, testified their repentance, and pronounced the anathema on the Arian doctrines. See Athanas. apolog. c. Arian. § 58.

[1] It is easy to see that such explanations could not have come from those who were really in earnest about the principles of the Eunomian system, or who were not long before ready to sacrifice them, in part at least, to policy. But we could not suppose the latter, since the doctrine of the comprehensible nature of the *οὐσία* was in fact something *quite new*, peculiarly Eunomian, a doctrine, moreover, in which the Arians, properly so called, were not wholly agreed. It may also be questioned whether this new plan of conciliation was not a continuation of the older one which had come from Eusebius of Cæsarea; whether it did not perhaps spring from his disciple and successor, bishop Acacius of Cæsarea.

[2] Quod vero quosdam aut multos movebat de substantia, quæ Græce *οὐσία* dicitur, id est, ut expressius intelligatur, homousion aut quod dicitur homœusion, nullam omnino fieri oportere mentionem, nec quenquam prædicare; ea de causa et ratione, quod nec in divinis scripturis contineatur, et quod super hominis scientiam sit, nec quisquam possit nativitatem ejus

who had passed his hundredth year, and was now living in exile, was induced to subscribe this confession, and even reported to be its author, with the hope of thus giving it additional weight; and no pains were spared to bring over the Roman bishop Liberius. His earnest longing for perfect freedom, and wish to return to his bishopric, finally prevailed on the man who had exhibited so much firmness at first, to abjure his own convictions. He subscribed a creed drawn up by the court party at Sirmium, which perhaps was none other than that second Sirmian confession.[1] In a letter to Ursacius and Valens, and another to the Oriental bishops at large, he testified his acquiescence in the condemnation of Athanasius; and only begged most earnestly, that they would prevail on the emperor to let him speedily return to Rome.

But the leaders of the Semi-Arian party saw in that Sirmian creed a cunningly contrived device to effect the suppression of *their* peculiar doctrines, and to secure the triumph of the Eunomian. The attempt to unite the contending parties by expunging the disputed articles, and introducing general formulas, became, as usually happens, but the seed of new and still more violent schisms. Two of the most respectable bishops of the Semi-Arian party, Basil of Ancyra and Georgius of Laodicea in Phrygia, published, in conjunction with other bishops assembled in a synod at Ancyra, A. D. 358, a long and copious document, of a doctrinal and polemical nature, in which the doctrines of this party concerning the resemblance of essence, as well in opposition to the Nicene as to the Eunomian articles, were fully unfolded; at the same time that the church was warned against the artifices of those who, by expunging the term οὐσία, were seeking to suppress the doctrine of the resemblance of essence itself. It was here very clearly shown, that true and perfect resemblance in all other things presupposed resemblance of essence; and that without

enarrare de quo scriptum est: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? Is. 53 : 8 (according to the Alex. vers.). Harduin, Act. Concil. T. I. f. 706.

[1] That he subscribed a creed drawn up at Sirmium, Liberius himself says in Hilarius, fragm. VI. ex opere historico, § 6; but the signatures of the bishops to this creed, which Hilary himself notices, do not, it must be admitted, seem to belong to the second Sirmian creed. Yet the conclusion which some who would fain pass a milder judgment on the conduct of Liberius, have drawn from this circumstance, viz. that he only subscribed the *first* Sirmian creed, of the year 351, which proceeded from the Semi-Arian party, and was extremely moderate (see above), — this is in the highest degree improbable. The then dominant court party were in fact not looking after authorities to support Semi-Arian creeds; but, on the contrary, their entire efforts were directed to the procuring of influential signatures in favor of their new conciliatory creed. Now as Liberius, to judge from his way of speaking against his own conscience in the affair of Athanasius, and from the illiberal spirit which betrays itself in his letters to the Eastern bishops, and to Ursacius and Valens, was surely ready, in this state of feeling, to submit to anything, provided only he could be released from his confinement, and be able to return to Rome; it is impossible to see, why the court party should not have required of him what it must have been most important for them to secure. Unless we suppose, then, that Hilary or his scribe committed an error in the title, but one other supposition remains, — which, beyond question, has much in its favor, — viz. that the *third* Sirmian creed is here meant. The only difficulty is, that it does not perfectly accord with the testimony of Athanasius, that Liberius spent two years in exile; which statement, however, need not be considered as claiming to be strictly correct in point of chronology.

this the notion of a Son of God, essentially different from created existences, could not be maintained. The emperor Constantius heard of these controversies. It was contrived to prejudice his mind against several of the leaders of the Eunomian party; so that he who possessed the inclination — no less expensive to the state, than it was injurious to the church — of convoking synods,[1] held it to be necessary once more to convene a general council, at which the bishops of the East and of the West should assist, for the restoration of unity to the church. Such a reunion the leaders of the Arian court party had much reason to dread; for as it was the case before, that the common opposition to the Nicene Homoousion had united together the Arians and the Semi-Arians, so it might easily happen now, that the common opposition to strict Arianism would cause the difference between the Semi-Arians of the East and the Homoousians of the West to retire into the background; and, in that case, the far inferior strictly Arian party would have to yield to the overwhelming majority of the Orientals and Occidentals, belonging to the two parties. The bishops Ursacius and Valens, therefore, employed every art in their power to prevent the assembling of such a general council from the two quarters of the world. As various circumstances came to their aid, they so far actually succeeded as to procure, that two councils should be assembled instead of one; an Oriental council to meet at Seleucia in Isauria, and a Western council to meet at Ariminum (Rimini) in Italy.

Next, Ursacius and Valens entered into negotiations with several bishops of the Semi-Arian party, for instance, Basil and Georgius, whom they accidentally met at the emperor's court in Sirmium, respecting a creed which was to be laid before the councils soon to be assembled. This took place in the evening before Pentecost, A. D. 358.[2] Just as in the case of political compromises, something was sacrificed, and something was conceded, on both sides, for the sake of union. To the Semi-Arians it was conceded, that the Son of God was before all time, and before all conceivable existence generated of God, — which conception was to be apprehended only in a spiritual manner.[3] It was conceded to them, that the Son was in all respects like to the Father, as the Scriptures taught. Under this "all," the Semi-Arians might understand the οὐσία to be also included; but the Eunomians, looking at the article from their own point of view, instead of finding in the clause "according to the Scriptures," or "as the Scriptures teach," a confirmation of that resemblance extending to all respects, might, on the contrary, consider themselves warranted so to interpret the clause, as if it contained a limitation of

[1] The moderate Pagan, Ammianus Marcellinus, says of him, l. 21, c. 16, that, by the multitude of synods which he convened for the purpose of imposing on all his own religious opinions (the bishops travelling at the public expense, and in the public vehicles), he interrupted the business of the public conveyances, rei vehicularie succidisse nervos; and, in accordance with this, Hilary says: Cursus ipse publicus attritus ad nihilum perducitur. Frag. III. ex opere historico, § 25.

[2] Of these transactions Epiphanius speaks, hæres. 73, and moreover gives the date.

[3] Yet the Eunomians also might admit this, understood in their own way. (See above.)

what went before, to wit, in all respects, so far as the Holy Scriptures extended this *all;* and in their opinion, God the Father, according to the Scripture doctrine, was to be compared, so far as his essence was concerned, with nothing besides himself. To make out this interpretation, they may also have availed themselves of the article which the Semi-Arians, making concessions on the other side, allowed to pass, — that the term οὐσία, forasmuch as it only served, from not being understood by the laity, to create disturbance, and forasmuch as the Holy Scriptures did not contain this word, should for the future never be employed in explaining the doctrine concerning God. As this confession of faith was a production of clerical court policy, so, too, it renounced altogether the ecclesiastical form in its conclusion; being drawn up in the form of a decree proceeding from the emperor's privy council; and when it was mentioned that this confession had been drawn up in the presence of the emperor, the attribute which pagan flattery had given to the head of the Roman empire — that of the eternal — was applied to Constantius.[1] The weak spot here exposed by this court party, Athanasius well knew how to take advantage of: he said of the Arians, that, in affixing with so much precision the date to their confession of faith, a thing that was customary only in political transactions, they let it be known that this was their faith only for this particular moment; and they did not hesitate to give to the emperor Constantius the epithet "Eternal," which they refused to Christ.

The court party, whose intention was, in the first place, by means of such a creed, to hush up all differences, now distributed their friends and organs in both the councils; but their artful plots came near being overthrown by the firmness and harmony of the *Homoousians* of the Western church on the one side, and the *Homoiousians* of the Eastern church on the other. The majority in the two councils which assembled in 359 — one at Ariminum (Rimini) in Italy, the other at Seleucia, in Isauria — was far too great to be overreached at once. In both councils, there was an unwillingness to have anything to do with the new articles, though they contained nothing heretical, and bore on their front only the love of peace. Those, especially in the Western church, who, owing to their ignorance of the relation of the church parties of the East to each other, could not penetrate the designs which the authors of such forms had in view, were still full of mistrust, and joined the side of those who understood the real motives. So, by the majority of the council at Rimini, the Nicene creed, and by the majority of the council at Seleucia, the fourth Antiochian creed were maintained in opposition to all those proposals. But when the court bishops found that with all their arts they were defeated in the councils themselves, they still endeavored to carry out their designs in another way, by those low artifices in which they were not to be excelled. The two councils, by the direction of the emperor, were to lay before him their decisions, each sending ten delegates chosen from the body of assembled bishops. The bishops at

[1] Ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ καλλινίκου βασιλέως.

Rimini had earnestly petitioned the emperor for a speedy decision, in order that they might return to the communities where their presence was needed. But the delegates of the West could not obtain an audience from the emperor, who pretended that he must first dispose of the political business on his hands, so as to have his mind perfectly free to deliberate on sacred things. Under this pretense, they were put off from one time to another, and obliged to pass the winter in Adrianople. The bishops meanwhile must quietly remain assembled at Rimini, and leave their communities in the lurch; and yet there were several who left, without waiting to obtain permission of absence from Constantinople. After the ten bishops had become pretty well weary of journeying from one place to another, and of waiting for the emperor's pleasure, and when they were longing to get back to their country and their churches, Ursacius and Valens began to urge them with motives, taking advantage of their impatience at any longer residence in the East, as well as of their ignorance of the relation in which the church parties of the East stood to each other. They prevailed upon them, at Nicæ in Thrace, to subscribe their names to a creed, which, according to the plan so often mentioned, forbade all propositions respecting the οὐσία, as being unscriptural, and merely stated in general that the Son of God was like the Father, *as the Holy Scriptures taught*. With this creed they repaired to Rimini, and there also, by artful representations and threats, succeeded in carrying through their design with the majority. The happy issue of these proceedings was now used as an argument in treating with the deputies of the Oriental council who were staying at Constantinople. It was represented to them, that the object was at last attained, which had, for so long a time, been sought in vain, — to banish the Nicene creed and the Homoousion from the Western church. Such an opportunity ought not to be suffered to pass without advantage; and in the article which set forth a resemblance between the Father and the Son, as the Scriptures taught it, everything was in fact contained which they could reasonably require. Besides this, the emperor Constantius, though busily engaged in making preparations for a great festival,[1] yet took an active part in these transactions. He spent an entire day and most of the night in the council of bishops, sparing no efforts of his own to persuade the delegates to yield. By his authority and influence, which perhaps had more weight than his reasons, it was finally brought about, that the deputies of the Oriental council also subscribed a creed similar in all respects to that proposed at Rimini. A council which assembled at Constantinople in 360 re-confirmed this creed. Moreover, Eudoxius, the principal mover of the Eunomian party at Antioch, had succeeded in getting himself made bishop of Constantinople; the bishop Macedonius, who belonged to the Semi-Arian party, and who had made himself unpopular by his violent measures, having been deposed. Eudoxius, who now, as bishop of Constantinople, enjoyed the greatest influence, united his efforts with those of Acacius, bishop of

[1] In celebration of his entrance into the consular office.

Cæsarea in Palestine, a man whose personal character gave him considerable authority, to bring it about in the first place, that the creed from which the articles concerning the οὐσία were expunged, should be everywhere adopted. The emperor Constantius detested as blasphemers those who openly taught and defended the Eunomian doctrines; and as refractory, as the disturbers of good order, and enemies to the peace of the church, those who advocated the Homoousion and the Homoiousion. Both parties must inevitably incur his displeasure, if they ventured on a free and open expression of their opinions, — if they refused to comply with the humors of the court. The emperor had resolved to put an end to all doctrinal disputes by means of the artificial arrangement above described: deposition and exile, or even a worse fate, threatened the bishops who refused to acquiesce. Eudoxius himself must consent to desert his favorite Aëtius of Antioch, who had become offensive to the emperor by too open a display of his Arian logic. Eudoxius had procured for Eunomius the bishopric of Cyzicus; but he advised him to accommodate himself to the times. Eunomius, however, neglected to follow this counsel of a prudent church policy; and, having openly taught his doctrines, was complained of to the emperor, who manifested the warmest displeasure. His friend Eudoxius, who told him that he must ascribe this misfortune to the neglect of his own good advice, warned him of the persecution which lay in store for him, and he fled. He now became the leader of the party which went by his name, the other important members of it being governed more by political than by doctrinal motives. If the dominion of that party which procured the adoption of the creed of Nicæ and Rimini could have lasted longer, still it would have been hardly possible for the two contending parties to continue holding this undefined and neutral position. The strict Arian or Eunomian party would doubtless have at length taken advantage of the expunging of the articles relating to the οὐσία, to make their own openly expressed doctrines the dominant creed of the church; as, in fact, an attempt of this sort had already been made at Antioch, which was only suppressed through fear of the emperor.[1]

This artificial union created in many churches the utmost confusion. Many who really agreed with each other in their system of faith were in this way separated by misunderstandings; for many who, out of weakness, or ignorance of the relations of the contending doctrinal parties to one another, had subscribed the creed which left out the articles respecting the οὐσία were now regarded by the zealots of their own party as apostates, as betrayers of the true doctrine, as Arians. They seemed to stand in church fellowship with those who, in their system of faith, were not one with them; and by those who should have borne with them as brethren weak in the faith, brethren erring through ignorance, they were treated with hostility, as false teachers.

But an arrangement which had been carried through by outward force, and imposed on the church by arbitrary human will, in defiance

[1] Sozomen, l. IV. c. 29.

of her own natural course of development, could have no substantial basis, but must dissolve of itself, as soon as the outward force was removed from which the whole had proceeded. With the death of the emperor Constantius, everything took an entirely different direction; and under the reign of the pagan emperor, his successor, who gave equal liberty to all the Christian parties, the relations of these parties to each other, after throwing off what had been imposed upon them, could proceed to shape themselves after a manner conformed to the actual course of church development. The party attached to the Homoousion were prepared to derive the greatest advantage from their former oppressions, and from the period of freedom which now followed; for many had, in fact, been estranged from it merely by force or by misunderstanding, and these were now willing to break loose again from their connection with the Arian party, and unite themselves with those to whom they had always remained bound by the ties of faith. In the next place, Semi-Arianism was well suited to form a transition point to the more consistent system of the Homoousion; and the collision into which Semi-Arianism had fallen with Eunomianism would naturally tend to promote this transition. But the persecutions which the zealous professors of the Homoousion had been obliged to undergo might easily engender a repulsive fanaticism, which would tend to multiply divisions and misunderstandings, as we see in the case of Lucifer of Cagliari. The great Athanasius, however, was not less distinguished for his prudence and moderation in the time of peace, than he had been for his firmness and consistency in the season of conflict; and through his influence, which was supported by that of others of like temper, such as Eusebius of Vercelli, this danger was averted from the church.

Several of the bishops, on their way home from their banishment in different countries, met together under the presidency of Athanasius at Alexandria, in the year 362. Here it was resolved to do all that was possible in the way of meeting those who were desirous of uniting once more with the orthodox church. Those who, under the preceding government, had, through weakness, allowed themselves to be hurried into fellowship with the Arian party, might, without any further steps, be acknowledged and received as members of the Catholic church, and be retained in the same offices which they had hitherto filled in their respective communities.[1] To those only who had been among the *leaders* of the Arian party, this privilege was not conceded; but yet they might be received as members of the Catholic church, on renouncing their spiritual offices. This ecclesiastical body expressed its views in a noble spirit of Christian charity: "We wish all who still stand aloof from us, and who seem to have

[1] It was thought that indulgence could the more properly be employed in this case, inasmuch as several of the bishops had yielded only in form, in order to retain possession of their churches, and preserve these from the infection of Arianism, which would otherwise have been spread through them by Arian bishops placed over them by force; as Aaron yielded for the moment to the Jewish people, in order to keep them from returning back to Egypt and falling irrecoverably into idolatry. See Athanas. epist. ad Rufinianum.

united with the Arians, would give up their delusion, so that all in every place might say, 'One Lord, one faith;' for what is so glorious and lovely as that, in the words of the sweet singer, brethren should dwell together in unity? Ps. 133 : 1; for so we believe the Lord also will dwell with us according to his promise, 'I will dwell in them, and walk with them.'" Divisions also, which had arisen from disputes about words, it was attempted to heal by coming to a mutual understanding respecting the conception denoted by the words. In respect to one schism alone, which had arisen in the Antiochian church, but where, in like manner, there was no real difference of doctrinal views at bottom, this aim was frustrated, through the want of impartiality; and so the germ was nourished of a long-continued and — in its consequences — important schism, of which we must now speak in brief.

The beginning of this schism is to be traced back to a much earlier period. About the year 330, the already mentioned Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, had been deposed from his office by the Anti-Nicene party; but a majority of the community remained faithfully attached to him. They refused to acknowledge as their bishops the Arians who were thrust upon them, and formed a separate church party under the name of *Eustathians*. When, in 360, the Arian bishop Eudoxius resigned the bishopric of Antioch, to become bishop of the imperial city of the East Roman empire, *Meletius*, then bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, was, after a long contest, chosen his successor. Meletius was attached to the Nicene doctrine, or at least inclined that way; but he did not belong to the zealots who made the essence of Christianity to consist in this or that formula of belief, and who in their sermons treated of nothing else than the current doctrinal questions of the day.[1] It is probable that, without entering into controversies of doctrine, he presented in his discourses the gospel truths in the way best suited to the wants of his flock. The Arians, who could not understand the spirit of such a man, interpreted this moderation as a proof of his agreement with their own doctrines, or at least supposed they might reckon, that, if he had hitherto appeared neutral, he would now, out of gratitude for so important a bishopric, openly preach Arianism in his sermons; but they found themselves mistaken.

Meletius preached an inaugural discourse in 361,[2] characterized by a spirit of Christian moderation entirely free from the fear of man. His starting-point was, that fellowship with Christ[3] is the foundation of the whole Christian life; that he only who has the Son can have the Father also. "But we shall continue," said he, "in fellowship

[1] Thus, doubtless, sermons were often preached which were entirely barren of profit to the hearers. An example of bad taste, carried to a singular extreme, is given in the case of a discourse preached by an Arian at Antioch. Hilar. c. Constant. § 13. The point was, that God, in the proper sense, could not have a son; for if he had a son, he must also have had a wife, with whom he could live and have intercourse; and so on after the same absurd and irreverent manner, little to the edification of his flock.

[2] Preserved in Epiphan. hæres. 73. Galland. T. V.

[3] The Χριστὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ

with the Son and with the Father, when before God and the elect angels, nay, also before *kings*, we *confess* him, and are not ashamed of our confession." This brought him to lay down his own confession of faith concerning the Son in decided opposition to strict Arianism; yet in so moderate expressions, that even Semi-Arians could have nothing to find fault with, as he did not touch upon the disputed Homoousion. Perhaps Meletius belonged to the class who, like many of the Orientals, had gradually gone over from the moderate Semi-Arianism which we find in a Cyrill of Jerusalem, to the doctrines of the Nicene council. He purposely took care not to give way too much to the doctrinal tendency of his hearers, not to venture upon too nice distinctions; and for this reason, he even rebuked the speculative pride which affected to know and determine too much concerning these incomprehensible things. He reminded them of the apostle's word, that human knowledge was but in part, and that perfect knowledge was to be expected only in the life to come.

When the Arians saw they had been deceived in their expectations from Meletius, they deposed and banished him, after he had been in the active duties of his office scarcely a month. Now the friends of Eustathius, who in the mean time had died, instead of attaching themselves to Meletius, as they ought to have done, since he agreed with them in doctrine, had contracted a prejudice against him, and suspected him because he had been instituted bishop by the Arian party, and perhaps also because, as he did not belong to the number of blind zealots, he appeared to them not sufficiently decided. Hence they did not acknowledge him as bishop, and remained a separate party under the presbyter Paulinus, who had already for a long time conducted their public worship. The document of the Alexandrian council was now sent separately to the flock of Paulinus. This community was invited, with all love, to receive those of the other party who were willing to unite with them, dismissing controversies on unessential matters and verbal disputes, which hindered union; but no mention was made of Meletius. All this plainly showed, that only the church of Paulinus was acknowledged to be in the right, and that there was no inclination to recognize Meletius. In addition to this, Lucifer of Cagliari was sent to hush the disputes, a man the least of all fitted to be a mediator of peace. It was wholly in character with his ignorant zeal, that he should pronounce Meletius an Arian, and give a head to the opposite party, by ordaining Paulinus as their bishop. Thus was laid the foundation of a schism, which was propagated for a long time, and which, on account of the general sympathy of the other churches, came to have important consequences: for the Western and the Alexandrian churches declared in favor of Paulinus; the Oriental church, for the most part, in favor of Meletius.

The same Lucifer, who gave to the Antiochian schism a duration which, without his interference, it perhaps never would have had, proceeded, in this same spirit of ignorant zeal, to lay the beginnings of another important schism. The moderation which reigned in the decisions of the Alexandrian council could not, of course, be very pleas-

ing to a man of his character. He was for receiving no one who had been connected with the Arian party, so long as he retained his office; and, as he believed that the Catholic church was defiled by the readmission of unworthy ecclesiastics, he became the founder of a separate party, the *Luciferites*, who regarded themselves as constituting the only pure church.

Under the reign of the emperor Jovian, the relation of the parties to each other continued, in the main, to be the same; for although this emperor espoused the Nicene doctrine, yet it was his principle (see above, p. 88) never to interfere, by his political power, either in the affairs of religion generally, or in the internal concerns of the church in particular. The same principle was followed by his successor, the emperor Valentinian; but his brother Valens, to whose hands he had intrusted the government of the East, being a pupil of the bishop Eudoxius, from whom he had received baptism, was a zealous Arian; and, as by natural disposition he was inclined to harsh, cruel, and despotic measures, he allowed himself to be used as a tool of the fanaticism and of the ambitious designs of the Arian clergy. Then followed a period of most deplorable desolation in many of the Oriental churches. Worthy bishops were persecuted and driven away; worthless men, who had their friends and patrons among the imperial eunuchs and chamberlains, were imposed on the churches as clergymen and bishops. Still, however, this persecution turned out to be rather favorable than prejudicial to the interest of the Nicene party; for the Semi-Arians were driven more and more, by the persecutions which they had to suffer from the dominant Arian party, to the party of the Homoousians. It was only by uniting with the last party, now dominant in the West, that they could expect to obtain help in their oppressed situation. Aversion to the strictly Arian party, the wish to be united with the party which in many quarters offered them the hand, and which could afford them the most powerful assistance, — all this led many among the Semi-Arians to measure the difference which separated the two parties by another standard than that which they had hitherto applied. They explained to themselves the Homoousion at first in their own sense, just as many had already done at the Nicene council; but with this difference, that the approximation was then the effect of outward constraint, while at bottom there was an earnest desire that this compulsory union might be dissolved; but here, on the contrary, the approximation grew out of inward inclination. Add to this, that all that was distinguished on the side of science and intellect inclined to the doctrine of the Homoousion; and that this party, accordingly, which must finally prevail on account of the consistency of their system, obtained also increasing consequence by the superiority of the character and talents enlisted on its side.

It was especially the three great church teachers of Cappadocia, Basil of Cæsarea, his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and his friend Gregory Nazianzen, who, with the like prudent zeal, guided by freedom of spirit and moderation of temper, contributed to procure the victory

for the Nicene doctrines even in the Oriental church. The labors of *Basil* fall more particularly within the period of the reign of Valens. Not only by his energy and firmness, but also by his high standing in the opinion of the people, he offered a successful resistance to the tyranny of Valens; and by his means the entire province of Cappadocia was preserved from those desolations occasioned by the influence of arbitrary will which befell other provinces of the East. The emperor Valens, when he visited Cæsarea, was for compelling him to receive his Arians into the fellowship of the church.[1] The highest officer of state, the præfectus prætorio Modestus, sent for him, and, on the principles of the Roman state religion, demanded whether he alone, when all others obeyed the emperor, dared to wish to have any other religion than that of his master.[2] Basil replied that he had nothing to be afraid of: possessions, of which men might deprive him, he had none, except his few books, and his cloak. An exile was no exile for him, since he knew that the whole earth is the Lord's. If torture was threatened, his feeble body would yield to the first blows, and death would bring him nearer to his God, after whom he longed. Valens himself was constrained to show respect for Basil. Many times he was on the point of condemning him to exile,[3] but he did not venture on that step. In general, the great love and the great consideration in which many of the bishops stood with the people was a means of security to their churches. The ardent desire of the people of Alexandria for Athanasius, who, for a wise purpose, had for some months withdrawn himself, induced the emperor Valens, from the apprehension of a tumult, to recall him; and Athanasius enjoyed, in the last years of his toilsome and stormy life, until 373, the quiet which had before been denied him.

Especially hurtful to the Oriental church were the internal schisms which had resulted from the attempts to bring about union by compulsory measures under the emperor Constantine. The influence of this policy continued still to be felt. It was much easier to introduce confusion than to restore things to their natural order. By misunderstandings, by personal disputes about individuals to whom one or the other party was attached, divisions were created, which could not so easily be healed. It was a crisis through which the Oriental church, whilst wavering between Arianism, Semi-Arianism, and the adoption of the Trinitarian unity of essence, must necessarily pass, before it could emerge from its distracted state to union in the latter. Now here there was special need of prudence and forbearance, so as to avoid the repelling of such as were on the point of transition, and to meet the advances of those who were gradually becoming inclined to adopt the Homoousion. Under these circum-

[1] Basil speaks of his conflicts with the highest officers of state, and the imperial chamberlains, who tried to induce him to yield to the will of the emperor: *Μέχρι νῦν προσβολὰς μέν τινας παρὰ τῶν μεγάλων ἀρχόντων ἡμῖν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ταύτας σφοδρὰς, τοῦ τε ὑπάρχου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα διαλεχθέντων ἰδιοπαθῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐναντίων. Τέως δὲ ἀτρέπτως ἡμᾶς πᾶσαν προσβολὴν ὑπομεῖναι τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ χαριζομένῳ ἡμῖν τὴν συνεργείαν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἐνδυναμώσαντι ἡμῶν δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.* Ep. 79 ad Eustath.

[2] *Ὅτι μὴ τὰ βασιλέως θρησκεύεις.*

[3] Gregor. Naz. orat. 20.

stances, Basil distinguished himself not less by his zealous and prudent activity in laboring to restore peace to the church than by the constancy and firmness of his resistance to all that was foreign and extraneous. Many things were said by him on this occasion, worthy of being ever remembered in similar crises. "This age,"[1] he writes, "has much that tends to the ruin of the church. Edification of the church, reformation of the fallen, sympathy with the weak, support of the sound and healthy ones among the brethren, are nowhere to be met with. No remedy is provided for the maladies earlier prevailing; no means of prevention against such as threaten us in the future. In good truth, the condition of the church generally is like that of an old garment, which may easily be rent by the slightest accident, and which can never be again the same firm whole which it was.[2] In such a time, it requires zeal and great caution to do that which can be of any real benefit to the communities. The real good would be this, — to unite together again what has heretofore been torn asunder. But this union might be brought about, were we willing to accommodate ourselves to the weak in matters where it can be done without prejudice to men's souls."[3] Basil took every pains to place on more friendly terms the Oriental and Western churches, rent asunder by misunderstandings, by their different action with regard to the schism between Meletius and Paulinus at Antioch, — between the Antiochian Old city and New city, — and to obtain assistance from the Western church in allaying the troubles of the Eastern. "By your help — he writes to the Christians of the West — must the faith be restored to the East. It is time now for you to show to the East your thankfulness for the blessings which you have received from her."[4] His good intentions would have met with better success, if he had found it possible to overcome the pride and obstinacy of Roman bishops like Damasus.[5] The alliance, however, between the East and the West had finally for its consequence, that the emperor Valentinian, in conjunction with his brother, sent, in the year 375, an edict to the East, in which they protested against those who wrongly used the name and power of the princes to carry on persecutions under religious pretenses.

The victory of the Homoousion, for which the way had thus been prepared, was fully established under the emperor Theodosius the Great. Already by a law of the year 380 he directed that those only who agreed with bishop Peter of Alexandria, or Damasus of

[1] Ep. 113 to the Presbyters in Tarsus.

[2] *Ὅλως ἔοικε λοιπὸν ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατάστασις ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ, ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως ῥᾳδίως καταῤῥηγνυμένῳ, ὃ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰσχὺν ἐπανελθεῖν πάλιν ἀδυνατεῖ.*

[3] *Ἕνωσις δ' ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ βουληθείημεν, ἐν οἷς μηδὲν βλάπτομεν τὰς ψυχὰς, συμπερενεχθῆναι τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις.*

[4] *Ὧν ἐλαβέτε παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν, τούτων ἐν καιρῷ παρασχέσθαι αὐτῇ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν.* Ep. 91 ad Valerian.

[5] In reference to the qualities necessary in one who would undertake an embassage to Rome, he himself says of a simple man whom he designates as less suitable for this purpose: *Εὐγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδέσιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τὴν συντυχίαν, ὑψηλῷ δὲ καὶ μετεώρῳ, ἄνω που καθημένῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούειν τῶν χαμόθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φθεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένῳ, τι ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς ὁμιλίας, ὃς ἀλλότριον ἔχει θωπείας ἀνελευθέρου τὸ ἦθος;* Ep. 215.

Rome, in faith and doctrine (that is, who embraced the Nicene doctrine of likeness of essence), should remain in possession of the churches; and this law the emperor endeavored also gradually to carry into execution. The residential city of the East Roman empire was and had been for forty years, at the time this law was passed, a principal seat of the Anti-Nicene party. At the head of the party stood at this time a certain bishop Demophilus, who, by a dignity of personal appearance which inspired respect, accomplished much, and had been enabled to bring together the divided portions of the communities. His opponents had nothing further to object to him than this; that his piety, for which he was so highly esteemed, was an empty pretense, — as they supposed themselves warranted to presume in the case of a person not orthodox in his creed.[1] Two years before, a distinguished man in the annals of the church had succeeded in collecting together here a community out of the scattered adherents to the Nicene doctrine. It was one of those three great church teachers of Cappadocia, *Gregory*, son of the Gregory who was bishop of the city of Nazianz in that province. The tie of friendship, knit between him and Basil in early youth, while they were pursuing their common studies at Athens, proved of great importance to the Greek church. True, the execution of the common plan of life, which they had there sketched out and agreed upon, was defeated by many circumstances which afterwards stood in the way; but the two men had ever continued to be closely united in spirit, in their separated spheres of life and of activity, and they were naturally constituted to be supplements one to the other. Gregory's superior calmness of temper would naturally moderate the vehemence of the excitable Basilius; and the greater activity of the latter would force Gregory to quit his beloved repose. He required a firm, decided friend, who would make it necessary for him to step forth from his wavering uncertainty between two opposite tendencies of life. It was the oscillation between the silent contemplative life and a life devoted to practical labors for the church. Already, as a presbyter, he had assisted his father in the performance of his official duties; and having become weary of the business, had retired into solitude. Then he was compelled by his friend Basil to take upon him the newly founded bishopric in the little place Sasima in Cappadocia prima, the metropolitan diocese of Basil. Basil felt persuaded that he was bound to gain over for the service of the church the splendid gifts of his friend, who was so disinclined to the active life. But it was a poor service of friendship which he rendered him, by transporting him to a field of labor little suited to him, and under very unfavorable conditions. He was to help in maintaining the rights of Basil against the new Metropolitan placed over the second province which arose after the division of Cappadocia, — the strife-loving bishop Anthimus of Thyana. And for the playing of such a part, Gregory was neither inclined in his wishes, nor suited by nature. He fled away

[1] Καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν πλάσμα ὀρθότητος καὶ εὐλαβείας παρὰ πάντων συμφώνως τῶν ἀφικνουμένων θρυλλεῖται. Basil. ep. 48.

from this conflict of worldly passions and worldly interests. Then, again, he assisted his aged father in the prosecution of his functions, and administered the episcopal office for a while after his death. After this, he retired back again to solitude, in a retreat near Seleucia in Isauria.

But once more he was called away from this place of seclusion; and following thereupon was the most active and troublous period of his life. He was chosen to preside over the then small and forsaken community of which we have already spoken as consisting of the oppressed Christians still adhering to the Nicene doctrine in Constantinople. Renouncing once more the contemplative life, he accepted the call, partly because he felt himself in duty bound not to let the opportunity pass unimproved of bringing about at last the victory of pure doctrine; in part also, perhaps, because the prospect of entering upon so wide and splendid a field of labor as might be opened for him at Constantinople had more attractions for a man who was not wholly free from vanity, than the narrow field at Nazianzen. Far-famed are the five discourses which he preached there in defense of the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity against the objections of the Eunomians, and which gained for him the surname of *the theologian*.[1] By the way in which he distinguished himself from other impatient, violent bishops, who abandoned themselves to the impulses of a passionate zeal; by uniting moderation with a zeal for pure doctrine; by shaming his passionate and fanatical enemies through his own gentleness and forbearance, he might doubtless effect more than by his eloquence. It is also the merit of Gregory, that he did not, like other church teachers of this period who had been drawn into the field of controversy, forget, in his zeal for those views of doctrine which he had found to be correct, that the essence of Christianity does not consist in speculative notions, but in the life; that he did not suffer himself to be misled by an exclusive zeal for orthodoxy of conceptions to neglect practical Christianity. Much rather did he make it a matter of special concern to combat that lust of dogmatizing, in which all other religious interests were swallowed up; that exclusively prevailing tendency to speculation in religion, which tended to the injury of a living, active Christianity. He often declared strongly against the delusive notion, that all manner of frivolity might be united with zeal for sound doctrine, and often presented before his hearers, with pointed earnestness, the truth, that, without a holy sense of divine things, men could have no understanding of them; that sacred matters must be treated in a sacred manner. He often spoke against the perverse manner of those who looked upon discussions on divine things as upon any other conversation[2] on topics of ordinary discourse, and often declared to them, that the full and perfect knowledge of divine things was not the end of the present earthly life, but that its end was, "by becoming holy, to become ca-

[1] Ὁ θεολόγος, because θεολογία, in the stricter sense, was the term applied to the doctrine of Christ's divinity, as contradistinguished from οἰκονομία, the doctrine of his incarnation.

[2] Ὡςπερ τὰ ἱππικὰ καὶ τὰ θέατρα, οὕτω καὶ τὰ θεῖα παίζειν.

pable of the full intuition in the life eternal." Gregory at first held the meetings of his church in the hall of a private house belonging tc a kinsman of his. This being the spot whence the triumph of the Nicene doctrine at Constantinople began, the private place of assembly was subsequently converted into a large church, which, in commemoration of the resurrection of the pure doctrine there commenced, received the name of *Anastasia*.

Thus the emperor Theodosius, when, in November of the year 380, he entered Constantinople, found the community whose faith he acknowledged as his own, with its bishop, Gregory, not even in possession of a church, but assembled in one corner of the city in a private house; while the Arian bishop, Demophilus, was in possession of all the churches. The emperor left it to the latter's choice, either to subscribe to the Nicene creed, or to give up the churches. Demophilus was not a man who regarded the favor of princes and earthly prosperity as of more account than the interests of religion and of the truth. He chose to do the latter; and the Arians, from this time onward, were obliged to hold their assemblies at Constantinople without the city walls, which they continued to do until into the sixth century.

Gregory was then conducted by the emperor, surrounded by his nobles, and the imperial body guard, which was necessary to protect him from the insults of the fanatical multitude still devoted to Arianism, into the cathedral. The heavens were overclouded and dark when this took place, which was interpreted by the superstition of the bigoted zealots as a token of the divine anger. But, as the clouds scattered, and the sun broke through, this delusion was refuted, and a favorable impression produced. The emperor now resolved to assemble a second general council in the capital of the East Roman empire, which should settle the hitherto disputed questions, seal the triumph of the Nicene doctrine, and at the same time solemnly inaugurate the new patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory Nazianzen, according to the original plan. In the beginning, when for the most part none but Asiatic bishops were present at the council, Meletius, bishop of Antioch, venerable on account of his great age and his opposition to the Arian doctrines, stood at the head of the assembled body; and by him Gregory Nazianzen was consecrated bishop of Constantinople. Meletius soon after died; and Gregory came into possession of the highest authority, which, moreover, his new position, as patriarch of the second capital of the world, would give him.

To Gregory had been bequeathed, by his friend Basil, the favorite plan of bringing about, between the two great portions of the church, a restoration of the peace which had been disturbed especially by the Antiochian schism. The death of Meletius, during the session of the council, furnished a favorable opportunity for effecting this object. Paulinus, too, was very old; and if no successor was chosen to Meletius, the steps probably might soon be taken for a new choice, in which both the parties could unite, and the schism would be brought to an end. Gregory used every possible argument to persuade the other Oriental bishops, and his words might have the more effect be-

cause, as the friend of Meletius, he might be more prejudiced than others on this side. But his arguments were defeated by the ambition and obstinacy of many, who would yield none of their rights, and who chose the bishop Flavianus as Meletius' successor.

Thus a new prop was given to the schism, which continued to propagate itself till the beginning of the fifth century, although the influence of the Eustathian party was ever on the wane. The manner in which this division was at last wholly removed stood in direct contrast to the manner in which it had been elicited and maintained; evincing how, in matters of this sort, the advances of love will accomplish vastly more than all force and all arguments of persuasion. The venerable bishop, Alexander of Antioch, on a festival day, conducted his whole flock, clergy and laity, to the church where the Eustathians held their assemblies. All united together in prayer and song; even the crowd who, as the church was insufficient to contain them, stood assembled in the streets. Devotion and brotherly love united all hearts; a feast of charity was celebrated, and the division was thought of no longer.[1]

But that *now*, in the time of which we are speaking, so favorable an opportunity for putting an end to the schism should be neglected, was too much for Gregory's patience, and, disgusted at seeing his colleagues sacrifice in this way the good of the church to their private passions, he withdrew himself entirely from public transactions, vitiated by so many impure motives. When afterwards the Egyptian and the Western bishops arrived, who belonged to the Anti-Meletian party, they took no pains to conceal the dissatisfaction which they felt at the appointment of Gregory as patriarch of Constantinople, because Gregory was a friend of Meletius, and had been ordained by him; and for various other reasons. They could bring at least an apparent argument, on grounds of justice, against the validity of Gregory's appointment, namely, that he had, at all events, been earlier constituted and regarded as bishop over another community (either at Nazianz or at Sasima); and therefore, according to the laws of the church, could not be transferred to another bishopric, — an ecclesiastical rule,[2] which, it must be owned, was often enough transgressed in the East, without any such weighty reasons as might be urged in the present case, and which assuredly, when appealed to, must have served, on the part of the *Orientals*, as a cover for other motives. The bishops of the Roman church, which was more strict in the observance of this law, may have been more sincere in appealing to it. But Gregory Nazianzen had no desire to enter into a profane quarrel about a splendid church office. He requested the emperor and the bishops that he might be allowed to resign this office, since he would very readily, like Jonah, sacrifice himself for the ship of the church; although this request perhaps was not designed in the first place to be so seriously taken. His petition being at once universally accepted, — which perhaps, being what he had not expected, chagrined him, — he delivered, before the

[1] Theodoret. l. V. c. 35.

[2] See above, p. 186, 187.

assembled council of a hundred and fifty bishops, a farewell discourse, in which he dealt out many a hard truth against the worldly-minded bishops. Gregory of Nyssa seems now, by the superiority of his well-trained intellect, to have acquired special influence over the doctrinal transactions of the council. The result of it was precisely what the preceding struggles had been preparing the way for, that the Nicene creed, which before had been *forced* on the Oriental church, and therefore repelled by it, was now voluntarily adopted by a great majority of that church, where it found a more general welcome. In the provincial cities, where the dogmatizing spirit was not so prevalent, the transition from Arianism to the Nicene doctrine might often take place in a very imperceptible manner. For when the people heard Christ called from the pulpits, "God, and the Son of God, the begotten before all time," they were led by their Christian feelings to place in these words more than was meant by the Arian preachers according to *their own* connection of ideas, into which the people did not enter; and so Hilary remarked, that "the ears of the audience were more pious than the hearts of the preachers." Accordingly, when Homoousian preachers took the place of the Arians, the people remarked no very great change.[1]

The Nicene creed, in the new form in which it was here made known, departed but slightly from the original one. The most important change was an addition to the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, which was brought about by the further progress in the development of the church system; which leads us now to throw a glance on the history of this doctrine, the determination of which belonged with the rest to the complete and established form of the doctrine of the Trinity.

As it concerns the *doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit*, a much longer time transpired before the idea of the unity of essence was consistently carried out in its application to this part also of the Christian consciousness of God. The system of subordination would of course extend itself also, after the due measure and proportion, to this doctrine; as was apparent in the church teachers of the preceding period. The views of Origen on this point also were the prevailing ones in the system of the Eastern church, until they were suppressed by the consistent development and the triumph of the doctrine concerning the Homoousion. It is remarkable that, at the Nicene council, the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit was expressed only in very vague and general terms. Yet the opposition to Arius ought naturally to have led to a more exact determination here; for, while Arius regarded the Holy Spirit as being the first created nature produced by the Son of God, he placed the same distance betwixt the Son and the Holy Spirit which he had supposed between the Father and the Son.[2] But this point possessed as yet no very great interest

[1] Hilarius Pictav. c. Auxentium, liber § 6. Hoc putant illi fidei esse, quod vocis est. Audiunt Deum Christum, putant esse, quod dicitur. Audiunt Filium Dei, putant in Dei nativitate inesse Dei veritatem. Audiunt ante tempora, putant id ipsum ante tempora esse, quod semper est. Sanctiores aures plebis, quam corda sunt sacerdotum.

[2] See Athanas. orat. I. c. Arian. § 6.

in doctrinal polemics; and many who saw their way clear to subscribe to the Homoousion as it respected the Son of God would have scrupled to extend this same determination also to the Holy Spirit. The unity of the Christian consciousness of God had here so little permeated as yet the apprehension of the idea, that Gregory Nazianzen could still say, in the year 380: "Some of our theologians consider the Holy Spirit to be a certain mode of the divine agency (as, for instance, Lactantius had done in the preceding period); others, a creature of God; others, God himself. Others say, they do not know themselves which of the two opinions they ought to adopt, out of reverence for the holy Scriptures, which have not clearly explained this point." Hilary of Poictiers held it best to remain fast by the simple Scripture doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, which, as it seemed to him, furnished no materials for more exact logical definitions. He believed that he found in the sacred Scriptures no such exact definitions concerning the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father, as he found concerning the relation of the Son. He supposed that he found the name God nowhere used expressly of the Holy Spirit, and he did not venture therefore expressly so to name him; but yet a great deal seemed to him to be already implied, when the Holy Spirit is called in Scripture the Spirit of God, and it is said of him that he searches the deep things of God. He was well aware, as he expresses it, in his own original way, that nothing could be foreign from God's essence which penetrates into its depths.[1] "Should one ask us," says he, "what is the Holy Spirit, and we knew of nothing further to reply than that he exists by, and from, Him by whom and from whom are all things, that he is the Spirit of God, but also God's gift to believers, — and this answer displease him, then might the apostles and prophets also displease him; for they affirm only this of him, that he *exists*."[2]

The peculiarity of Eunomius' turn of mind, as we have characterized it, discovers itself also, distinctly defined, in his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He names the Holy Spirit as the first among the created natures, formed according to the command of the Father, by the agency of the Son; which Spirit, as being the first after the Son, has received indeed the power to sanctify and to teach, but wants the divine and creative power. It is characteristic of Eunomius, that he separates the power that sanctifies and enlightens, from the divine and creative power; a proof that he did not apprehend the element of knowledge and the ethical element, in religion, in their connection with a divine life, — did not know that the source of life is the central point of all.[3]

[1] De Trinitate l. XII. c. 55. In an address to God: Nulla te, nisi res tua, penetrat; nec profundum majestatis tuæ, peregrinæ atque alienæ a te virtutis causa metitur.

[2] L. II. de Trinitate, c. 29.

[3] This Eunomian subordinationism, conceived after this outward manner, is seen also in the fragments of Arian sermons published by Maii. "In like manner as the Father is superior to the Son, so is the latter superior to the Holy Spirit." Spiritum Sanctum Deum non dicimus, quia nec Scriptura dicit, sed subitum Deo filio et mandatis illius filii in omnibus obtemperantem, sicuti filius patri. Et quemadmodum pater totam virtutem et totam sapientiam et bonitatem in

But Athanasius, from the beginning, because of his systematic and logical turn of mind, and because, with him, the development of doctrine, proceeding out of the depths of the Christian consciousness, tended in this direction from the beginning, was induced to apply the Homoousion to the doctrine of the Trinity equally, and so to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He was led particularly and expressly to unfold this doctrine, because many of the Semi-Arians were on the point of adopting the Homoousion, explaining it to themselves according to their own meaning, but without being able to make up their minds to apply this determination to the Holy Spirit. The latter appeared to them a being created by the Son, as an instrument for carrying into effect the divine purposes; a ministering spirit, like the angels. In opposition to these, Athanasius sought to show that Arianism could be consistently renounced, only when men acknowledged in the Triad nothing foreign to God's own essence; when men acknowledged but *one* essence, agreeing with itself, self-identical. He appealed, in proof of the divinity and identity of essence of the Holy Spirit, to the testimony of the Holy Spirit, and to the witness of the universal Christian consciousness. Unfolding what is contained in both these testimonies, he said: "How could that *which is sanctified by nothing out of itself*, which is itself *the source of sanctification* for all created natures, be of the same essence with *that* which is sanctified by it?" In the Holy Spirit we receive fellowship with God, participation in one divine life; but this could not be so, if the Holy Spirit were a creature. As certainly as we are by him made partakers of the divine nature, so certainly must he himself be one with the divine essence.[1] As he who has seen the Son sees the Father, so he who *has the Son has also the Holy Spirit;* and he who has the Holy Spirit has also the Son, and is a temple of God. As the Son, being in the Father, and the Father being in him, cannot be a creature, so neither can the Holy Spirit, being in the Son, and the Son being in him, be a creature.[2]

From this time forward, the identity of the essence of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son was maintained by the most eminent teachers of the Oriental church, by such men as Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius and Didymus; and at length this doctrine also passed over into the synodal articles. After the Alexandrian council, already mentioned, and an Illyrian one of the year 375[3] had set the example in this matter, the extension of the ὁμοούσιον to the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit was adopted also into the new form which the Nicene creed received through the

substitutione filii consignavit, ita et filius totam virtutem et totam sapientiam in Spirito Sancto patre jubente monstravit. Script. vet. collectio nova. T. III. 1828. p. 212. The Holy Spirit primum et majus patris per filium opus, creatum per filium, natura sanctum, sanctificantem possidens virtutem. Non Deus neque Dominus, non creator neque factor, non colendus neque adorandus, qui quæ facta sunt per filium sanctificat et illuminat et consolatur et interpellat gemitibus inenarrabilibus pro nobis. In isto spiritu et angeli adorant et archangeli. L. c. p. 229, 30.

[1] Ep. I. ad. Serapion, § 24. Εἰ δὲ ϑεοποιεῖ, οὐκ ἀμφίβολον, ὅτι ἡ τοντοῦ·φύσις ϑεοῦ ἔστι.

[2] See Athanas. ep. 1, 3, 4, to the bishop Serapion of Thmuis.

[3] Which was the first to extend the ὁμοούσιον to the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit.

second general council at Constantinople. The Holy Spirit was described by this Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, in the scriptural phraseology, as "the Spirit proceeding from the Father; the governing, quickening Spirit, who is to be worshipped and honored at the same time with the Father and the Son."[1]

On the first clause of this formula, there arose, in later times, a difference of views between the two portions of the church, the Eastern and the Western, the germ of which we discover even in the present period.

In the Eastern church, it was according to the prevailing view to consider God the Father as being "the sole efficient cause (causa efficiens) of all existence; the Logos as being the revealing and mediatory principle; and the Holy Ghost as being the completive divine principle in the creation. God the Father effected all through the Son, in the Holy Spirit."[2] As connected also with this view of the matter, in the Oriental church, the unity of the divine essence rested upon this as its basis, that God the Father should be acknowledged as "the sole efficient cause (*μία ἀρχή*) from whom all else was derived, from whom the Son was generated, and from whom the Holy Spirit proceeded, and who effects all through the Son and in the Holy Spirit." This formula, so connected with the views of the Oriental church, "that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father," was made especially prominent and held fast in opposition to the doctrine of *the creation of the Spirit*, — "that the Holy Spirit is not related, after the same manner as the Son, to the essence of God, but is a creature of the Son." The opposite to this doctrine was expressed as follows: "that the Holy Spirit does not derive his essence from the Son in the way of dependence, but is related after the like independent manner to the Father, as the common *ground;* that, as the Son is begotten of the Father, so the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father."

As it concerns, on the other hand, the exposition of this doctrine in the Western church, it was believed, especially ever since the time of the more precise logical carrying out of the conception of the unity of essence in the Triad by Augustin, that, in order to hold fast the doctrine in a consistent manner, the inference must necessarily be drawn, that, as the Son of God was in all respects identical in essence

[1] Τὸ *κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τό ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον.*

[2] Athanas. c. Serapion. l. I. c. 24. The Father creates and renews all through his Logos in the Holy Spirit. Basil. Cæsar. de Sp. S. c. 16. By the *will* of the Father all spirits have received their existence, by the *agency* of the Son they were brought into existence, by the presence of the Holy Spirit they are completed in their existence. There are not *τρεῖς ἀρχαί*, but *μία ἀρχή, δημιουργοῦσα δι' υἱοῦ καὶ τελείουσα ἐν πνεύματι.* Gregory of Nyssa, T. III. de baptismo Christi, represents the Father as the *ἀρχή*, the Son as the *δημιουργός*, the *πνεῦμα* as the *τελειωτικὸν τῶν πάντων.* Basil of Cæsarea endeavors, in his 38th letter, to show how it is necessary, that from the operations of God in man, one should mount, step by step, to the idea of the Trinity. All good which is wrought in us by the power of God, we recognize as the operation of the Holy Spirit. From this we pass to the idea of the author of all the good which is wrought in us by the Holy Spirit, who is the Son of God. But he is not the supreme and highest ground-cause (*ἀρχή*), but this last is the Father; thus we ascend from the Son to the Father.

with the Father, and as the Father had communicated all to the Son, so, too, the Holy Spirit proceeds as well from the Son as from the Father. There are not two different Spirits, one belonging to the Father, the other to the Son: but there is one Spirit of both; as he is called in the Holy Scriptures sometimes the Spirit of the Father, sometimes the Spirit of the Son. How, then, could it be otherwise than that he, the Spirit of both, proceeds from both?[1] As the Homoousion was made prominent in opposition to Arianism, so it was believed necessary also, in the same opposition, to express this definition, viz., that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and from the Father, and the contrary appeared as a remnant of the Arian system of subordination.[2] Added to this was Augustin's speculative theory concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, which allowed him to find an analogy pointing to the Trinity throughout the whole creation, and especially in the spirit of man as the image of God. God the Father is the divine Being; the Son is knowledge, as a self-manifestation of this being, — hence the Son is begotten of the Father; will, love, as that wherein being and knowing embrace each other, is the fellowship of both, the exhibition of the divine unity; hence the Holy Spirit, as the fellowship, is the love in which both embrace each other, and which proceeds from both. And since the Holy Spirit denotes the fellowship of both, he is also that whereby we may be made partakers of the fellowship with the Father and Son. In all nature, as a manifestation of God, Augustin believed that he saw a symbol of this Trinity, there being everywhere to be observed a universal being, the particular being, and the unity and harmony of the whole, in which both are presupposed.[3]

Moreover, the opposition between the two theories came, even already, to be publicly expressed; although, on the part of the Western church, it was not the Oriental church doctrine, but Arianism; and although, on the part of the Oriental church, it was not the Western church doctrine, but the doctrine of the creation of the Spirit, which constituted the matters of dispute. Nevertheless, the way was thereby prepared for a struggle betwixt the two tendencies. Thus, the great Syrian church teacher, Theodore of Mopsuestia, in his confession of faith, contended against the representation that the Holy Spirit did not derive his essence immediately from God the

[1] See e. g. Augustin. in evangel. Joann. Tract. 99, § 8: A quo autem habet Filius, ut sit Deus (est enim de Deo Deus), ab illo habet utique, ut etiam de illo procedat Spiritus Sanctus, ac per hoc Spiritus Sanctus, ut etiam de Filio procedat, sicut procedit de Patre, ab ipso habet Patre.

[2] Keeping at a distance all notions of time, and everything that bordered on *subordinationism*, Augustin was unwilling to let even the representation pass, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father to the Son, and then first proceeds from the Son, to sanctify the creature. Spiritus Sanctus non de Patre procedit in Filium, et de Filio procedit ad sanctificandam creaturam, sed simul de utroque procedit: quamvis hoc Filio Pater dederit, ut quemadmodum de se, ita de illo quoque procedat. L. c. § 9.

[3] Sermo 71, § 18. In Spiritu Sancto insinuatur Patris Filiique communitas. Quod ergo commune est Patri et Filio per hoc nos habere communionem et inter nos et secum. — Serm. 212, § 1: Spiritus Sanctus, unitas amborum. — De Trinitat. l. 15, § 27: Spiritus Sanctus communem, qua invicem se diligunt Pater et Filius, nobis insinuat caritatem. — Esse, species rei et ordo. Confessio, l. 13, c. 11, de vera religione, § 13.

Father, but had received his existence through the Son.[1] Cyrill of Alexandria, having, in the ninth of his anathemas, pronounced sentence of condemnation on those who denied that the Holy Spirit is a property of Christ,[2] Theodoret remarks upon this, in his refutation of these anathemas: "If it is meant to be said here, that the Holy Spirit is of like essence with the Son of God, and proceeds from the Father, let this be conceded. But if it is meant to be said, that he has his existence from the Son, or through the Son, let it be rejected as blasphemous;" and he refers for proof to John 15: 26; 1 Cor. 2: 12. Theodore and Theodoret both evidently intended here to combat but one and the same doctrine, — that which favored the notion of the creation of the Spirit. But the Western church, in the effort to combat Arianism, expressed herself in an opposite form. When the West Gothic church of Spain, in the time of king Reccared, went over from the Arian doctrine to the Nicene, that Western theory was first adopted as an addition to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed.[3] At the third ecclesiastical assembly at Toledo, A. D. 589, the creed was presented with this addition, and sentence of condemnation pronounced on those who did not believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son, where evidently those were intended who still remained attached to the Arian doctrine which had hitherto prevailed there.[4]

As we observed, the Oriental church was the proper theatre for the controversies on the doctrine of the Trinity, with regard to which the Western church, in the main, kept itself more tranquil. The Anti-Nicene doctrine had found here but few advocates. The most considerable man among these latter was *Auxentius*, bishop of Milan, who was rather inclined to Semi-Arianism, and who defended the symbol of faith drawn up at Rimini. The major part of his church being satisfied with him, he was protected by the emperor Valentinian,

[1] Διὰ νίοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν εἰληφός. — Maii believed that he found the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son expressed in a passage of Theodore's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, published by him. Spicileg. Rom. T. IV. p. 525. But this would only follow from a reading which cannot be the correct one. When the passage is read in its connection, and as restored in its right form, the meaning is exactly opposite. Theodore, that is to say, wishes to guard against the inference that the Holy Spirit, when Paul previously called him the Spirit of Christ, was thereby degraded, made dependent on Christ, as was taught by those who defended the doctrine of the creation of the Spirit; since, by afterwards calling him the Spirit of him who raised up Jesus from the dead, — going back from Christ to the Father, — he thereby gives it plainly to be understood, that, although the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, he is nevertheless not excluded from the divinity of the Father. Προειπὼν πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, πάλιν φησὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος Χριστὸν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐπαναγαγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα· οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἢ σαφῶς διδάσκων, ὅτι ἐκ (must be εἰ καὶ) τοῦ νίοῦ καὶ (must be struck out) τὸ πνεῦμα οὐκ ἀλλότριον τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητός ἐστι.

[2] Ἴδιον εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. These words, according to their proper connection, do not belong here, but are taken simply in the connection which Theodoret gave to them for the purpose of attacking them.

[3] Spiritus Sanctus, qui procedit a Patre Filioque.

[4] A conciliatory mean betwixt the two theories was offered by Augustin's explanation, that inasmuch as the Son has everything from the Father, but everything as shared with the Father, so it might be said, Spiritum Sanctum *principaliter* procedere a Patre. Augustin de Trinitate, l. 15, § 29, de civitate Dei, l. 11, c. 24; and with this intermediate view the theories of an Athanasius and a Basil might also agree. See above.

conformably with that prince's maxim of toleration. After the death of Auxentius, in 374, a violent schism arose at the choice of a new bishop. *Ambrose*, who, as *consular* over the provinces of Liguria and Æmilia, had his head-quarters at Milan, deemed it necessary to go himself into the church, and exhort the people from the chancel to be quiet. A child — perhaps so instructed — shouted the name of *Ambrose;* and this was considered to be a voice from God in favor of Ambrose, who already, in his civil offices, had acquired universal esteem and love. The fact that he was but a catechumen was not allowed to be any impediment. He was first baptized, and somewhat later ordained as bishop. The church of Milan afterwards came into critical situations, in which she was protected by the energy and firmness which Ambrose had acquired and preserved in other offices, and in other relations. The empress Justina, the mother of the young emperor Valentinian II., took advantage of his minority to contrive some method of introducing Arianism, which had zealous friends among the leaders of the allied troops of the Goths. Had Ambrose yielded in a single point, had he given up to them a single church, they would probably have continually gone on increasing their demands. It was said, the emperor had power to determine all matters within his government, — that the churches belonged to him. Ambrose, on the other hand, affirmed that they were intrusted to him by God. The plans of Justina were met and defeated by his energy, firmness, and superior influence.

Semi-Arianism and Arianism continued to predominate for some time among the rude populations, especially of German origin, which were during this period converted to Christianity; because they had been first instructed by teachers who were attached to those principles; because they held fast to the form in which they had once received Christianity, and this very form may have constituted a convenient point of transition for these rude nations. This mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Trinity may have been better suited to them than the Nicene view, which presupposed a more cultivated logical spirit. The doctrine of Ulphilas, as appears from documents lately published, was the Eunomian throughout. We perceive in him also the narrow dogmatic zeal of Eunomius; so that, to him, every other mode of apprehension, the homoousion, and the homoiousion, but especially the first, appeared wholly heretical and anti-christian.[1] It seems to have been a peculiarity of the Arian teachers, as

[1] The doctrine of Ulphilas is *thus* represented by his pupil: The Deus solus ingenitus, — qui cum esset solus, non ad divisionem vel diminutionem divinitatis suæ (herein is contained a reproach, directed against the supposition of a derivation from the essence of God), sed ad ostensionem bonitatis et virtutis suæ, sola voluntate et potestate impassibilis impassibiliter etc. unigenitum Deum creavit et genuit, fecit et fundavit. (Here the view was to be made prominent, that nothing could be conceived in a generation whereby it differed from a creation.) Homousianorum odibilem et execrabilem, pravam et perversam professionem ut diabolicam adinventionem et dæmoniorum doctrinam sprevit et calcavit. Sed et homoeusianorum errorem et impietatem flevit et devitavit et per sermones et tractatus suos ostendit differentiam esse divinitatis patris et filii: et patrem quidem creatorem esse creatoris, filius vero creatorem esse totius creationis, et patrem esse Deum Domini, filium autem Deum esse universæ creaturæ. Quapropter homousianorum sec-

we see in the example of Ulphilas, that, being less practiced logicians, they adhered more tenaciously to the simple Bible doctrine, and were not for teaching anything which they could not prove with the exactness of verbal testimony from the Bible. Hence they frequently offered it as an objection to the defenders of the Nicene council, that they were obliged to have recourse to speculative reasoning, instead of the Bible, to prove the Homoousion.[1] This simple mode of presenting doctrine contributed, perhaps, to make them better adapted to be teachers of the rude tribes of people. But we must certainly make a great distinction among these Arian teachers, according to their religious and moral character. They could be easily urged on to a fanatical spirit of persecution, by means of the great importance which they attached to these differences.

To the rude populations among whom Arianism found admission, belonged the Vandals. When, in 430, this tribe took possession of North Africa, there arose, under their kings Geiserich and Hunnerich, several violent persecutions against the adherents of the Nicene doctrine. In part, the Vandal princes wished to retaliate the oppressions which their companions in the faith had to suffer in the Roman empire; in part, those of their subjects who agreed in faith with the Roman Christians were objects of suspicion to them; and in part they were led on by the rude, fanatical, Arian clergy. Victor, bishop of Vita, in Numidia, near the close of the fifth century, wrote a history of this persecution.

b. Consequences of this new shaping of the Doctrine of the Trinity on the Doctrine concerning Creation and other Doctrines therewith connected.

The new Nicene form of the doctrine of the Trinity, which finally supplanted the older system of subordination, had also an important

tam destruebat, quia non confusas et concretas personas, sed discretas et distinctas credebat (the adherents of the Homoousion are reproached, therefore, with removing the true distinction of persons in the Triad), homoeusion autem dissipabat, quia non comparatas res, sed differentes affectus (that no comparison could be made between the Father and the Son, in conformity with the Eunomian doctrine) defendebat et filium similem esse patri suo, non secundum Macedonianam fraudulentam pravitatam et perversitatem contra scripturas dicebat. L. c. p. 18. And concerning the Holy Spirit: A patre per filium ante omnia factum. He appealed to the fact that according to the doctrine of John and Paul all things were created through the Son, therefore also the Holy Spirit. Sanctus Spiritus nec (should doubtless be et) advocatus (παράκλητος) nec Deus nec Dominus potest dici, sed a Deo per Dominum ut esset accepit, non auctor neque creator, sed illuminator, sed sanctificator, doctor et educator, adjutor et postulator (who makes supplication in believers and for them. Rom. 8), prædicator. p. 19. In the Testament which Ulphilas drew up at Constantinople before his death, he says, p. 21: Ego Ulphila episcopus et confessor semper sic credidi et in hac fide sola et vera testamentum facio ad Dominum meum, — and his doctrine as here briefly expressed agrees with the previous presentation of it. Of the Holy Spirit it is said: Unum Spiritum Sanctum virtutem illuminantem et sanctificantem, ut ait Christus propter correctionem ad apostolos (which refers to the farther development of Christian truth through the Holy Spirit).

[1] The Arian Maximinus says to Augustin: Si affirmaveris de divinis Scripturis, si alicubi scriptam lectionem protuleris, — nos divinarum scripturarum optamus inveniri discipuli. Augustin. collat. cum Maxim. Arian. § 26.

influence on the whole Christian doctrine concerning God. The doctrine of an emanation within the Triad left still remaining a certain foothold for emanation theories generally; and here accordingly the questions about speculative cosmogonies might find a point of union, as they had actually found in the case of Origen. But now, when, by the logically consequent system of Athanasius, a strong line of demarkation was drawn between that which is grounded in the divine essence, is derived from it and ever remains the same with it (as the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit), — and that which is produced, by an act of the divine will, from nothing,[1] — all, in fact, which must be comprehended under the word creature, — the Christian conception of creation was kept from being confounded with the doctrine of emanation, whilst the hypothesis of an eternal creation, to which Origen had been forced in order to maintain his speculative consistency, was repelled.

The Arians wished to show to their opponents, that the same arguments which the latter employed to prove the Son's eternal generation, might also be employed to prove a creation without beginning. Athanasius said: "We cannot conceive of paternity as being an accessory thing with God, for if it were so, we should have to conceive of the Divine being as subject to change. If to be a father was worthy of him we can never conceive of him as other than such."[2] To this the Arians replied, that by the same reasoning we should have to deny also a beginning of God's creation. But Athanasius could not feel that there was any force in this objection. He here made valid the distinction between that which is produced by the will of God externally, and that which is grounded in the divine essence. The conception of the former implies a beginning: the conception of the latter excludes all beginning.[3] But the question why God, having always the power to create, has not always created, Athanasius dismissed as a question of presumptuous curiosity. Nevertheless, — he supposed, — it was undoubtedly possible to give a reason why it could not be otherwise. Since every creature is produced from nothing, eternity of existence in a creature would be a contradiction.[4] But he failed to consider that *being* without *temporal beginning*, and *eternal being*, are by no means equivalent conceptions: that a becoming, grounded in the dependence on a supreme cause, without temporal beginning, is a possible object of thought, — though it may be difficult for minds limited to the conditions and forms of time to seize such a conception.

The acute mind of Augustin easily perceived the difference be-

[1] Concerning the sense of this expression, see Vol. I. p. 565.

[2] Διὰ τοῦτο ἀεὶ πατὴρ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγέγονε τῷ θεῷ τὸ πατὴρ, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τρεπτὸς εἶναι νομισθῇ· εἰ γὰρ καλὸν τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα, οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ ἦν πατὴρ, οὐκ ἀεὶ ἄρα τὸ καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ. Orat. I. contr. Arian. § 28.

[3] Τὸ ποίημα ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποιοῦντός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας γέννημά ἐστι· διὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν ποίημα οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἀεὶ εἶναι, ὅτε γὰρ βούλεται ὁ δημιουργὸς, ἐργάζεται. Τὸ δὲ γέννημα οὐ βουλήσει ὑπόκειται, ἀλλὰ τῆς οὐσίας ἐστιν ἰδιότης. L. c. § 29.

[4] Ἵνα δὲ κἂν ἄμυδρόν τινα λογισμὸν εὑρόντες μὴ σιωπήσωμεν, ἀκουέτωσαν, ὅτι εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὄυνατὸν ἀεὶ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠδύνατο τὰ γεννητὰ ἀΐδια εἶναι, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γὰρ ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γένηται. Τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα πρὶν γένηται, πῶς ἠδύνατο συνυπάρχειν τῷ ἀεὶ ὄντι θεῷ;

tween a creaturely *becoming*, and an eternal, unconditioned *divine being*. To him it was clear, that an ever-existing spiritual world, without temporal beginning, might be conceived, without its being necessary on this account to conceive it to be equal with God, the *alone eternal;* and without prejudice to the doctrine of God as the almighty Creator; since a becoming without beginning is not equivalent to eternal being.[1] Augustin was, in his untrammeled thought, quite conscious to himself of the difficulties growing out of the mind's dependence on temporal forms of intuition;[2] and he chose rather to confess his ignorance, than to assert a thing dogmatically.[3] "I fall back," he says, "upon that which our Creator has seen fit to let us know; and I confess that it transcends my powers, to know that which he may permit wiser men to know here in the present life, or which he may reserve for perfected saints to come to the knowledge of in another life."[4] In this reservedness, he would set the example himself, lest his readers might suppose that *every* question could be answered. This self-restraint he regarded as the condition of all true progress. "For," says he "if the child is fed in proportion to its powers, it will be capable of receiving more as it grows stronger; but if its food exceeds its capacity, it will fail before it can grow."[5] But while, in such things, Augustin exhorted to humility of knowledge, he was opposed to that narrow kind of faith which scornfully disallowed the speculative need. "See," he says in his Confessions,[6] "I answer the one who asks, 'What was God doing before he made heaven and earth?' — not as one is said to have done, who sought to parry the force of such a question by a joke, 'He was preparing hell for those who pry into deep things.' I should prefer to answer: 'I know not' — what in fact I know not, rather than to raise a laugh against him who asks questions about deep things, and to be praised for a false answer."

As Augustin carefully guarded against conceiving God's work of creation as an act in time, so too he was led by this habit, and by his general view of the world, which proceeded out of a deep religious feeling, to profounder views of the relation between God's creation, preservation, and government of the world, and between the natural and the supernatural. Next after Origen, he was the first to unfold still farther the conception of the miracle; and in this explica-

[1] Et si semper fuerunt (angeli), creati sunt, nec si semper fuerunt, ideo Creatori coæterni sunt. Ille enim semper fuit æternitate immutabili, isti autem facti sunt; sed ideo semper fuisse dicuntur, quia omni tempore fuerunt, sine quibus tempora nullo modo esse potuerunt, tempus autem quoniam mutabilitate transcurrit, æternitati immutabili non potest esse coæternum. De civ. Dei, l. XII. c. 15, § 2.

[2] Augustin, as Kant afterwards, recognized the same antinomies in relation to space and time. As there are infinita spatia temporis, so there are infinita spatia locorum. L. c. l. XI. c. 5.

[3] Vereor, ne facilius judicer affirmare quod nescio, quam docere quod scio. L. c. l. XII. c. 15, § 3.

[4] Redeo igitur ad id, quod creator noster scire nos voluit, illa vero, quæ vel sapientioribus in hac vita scire permisit, vel omnino perfectis in alia vita scienda servavit, ultra vires meas esse confiteor.

[5] Si enim pro viribus suis alatur infans, fiet, ut crescendo plus capiat; si autem vires suæ capacitatis excedat, deficiet, antequam crescat. L. c.

[6] Confess. l. XI. c. 12, § 14.

tion is to be found the germ of everything profoundly said on this subject by the scholastics of the thirteenth century. According to Augustin, the whole course of the world's history is, from beginning to end, a realizing of that which, in the divine Idea, was determined from eternity as a connected whole. What subsists all at once in the divine Idea, is realized in time only by degrees. In this regard, nothing new can take place, — nothing which was not prefigured in that ideal order of the world. Again, in the forces and laws which God implanted at the beginning in creation, is contained all which God permits to proceed therefrom in the whole course of nature, whether with or without the agency of men, whom God uses as his instruments. "In one way," says Augustin, "all things are in God's word, where they subsist not as created but as eternal; in another way, they are in the *elements* of the world, where all that ever was to be was created at once (potentially); in yet another way, they are in the things which, *after* the causes created at one and the same time, are not created at one and the same time, but each in its appointed time.[1] He contends against the opinion held by some, that, the world being once created by God, everything else is produced by the world itself, according to the order and command of God, but without his interposition. Against this opinion, he cites the passage in John 5: 17, and adds: "Let us believe then, or if we may, let us *know* that God worketh hitherto even until now, so that if his agency were to be withdrawn from created things, all would perish."[2] If we look, then, at the divine, ideal order of the world, we shall see that everything there coheres together. What is called a miracle, and what takes place according to the ordinary course of nature, have alike their ground in this divine order. All, again, is alike the work of God, without whose continuous creative energy, nothing can subsist. Yet everything which God works stands not in like manner related to the powers implanted in nature at the creation. Here it is necessary to distinguish between that which God permits to proceed from these powers, and that which presupposes new divine influences and powers, superadded to the former. This makes the difference between the natural and the supernatural. Yet even the supernatural is not anything contrary to the course of nature; for by virtue of the all-comprehending wisdom of God, and of the order and harmony running through all his works, nature was, from the beginning, planned with reference to everything that should take place in it, though under new and accessory influences. The views thus unfolded may be presented in Augustin's own words: "The elements of this corporeal world have their specific powers and properties, — that which each can do and cannot do; that which can, and which

[1] Hæc aliter in verbo Dei, ubi ista non facta, sed æterna sunt: aliter in elementis mundi, ubi omnia simul facta futura sunt: aliter in rebus, quæ secundum causas simul creatas non jam simul, sed suo quæque tempore creantur. De Genesi ad literam, l. VI. § 17.

[2] Sic ergo credamus, vel si possumus etiam intelligamus, usque nunc operari Deum, ut si conditis ab eo rebus operatio ejus subtrahatur, intercidant. L. c. l. V. § 40.

cannot happen from each. From these primal causes of things, everything that is produced comes in its proper time. But the almighty power of the Creator can produce out of all this, in a way transcending the natural course, something else besides what lies in those primal causes containing the seminal principles of all things. Yet nothing else than what is also contained *in them* by possibility, — that is, could be produced *from* them by God;[1] for his almighty power is not arbitrary will, but the almighty power of wisdom; and he brings out of each thing, in its time, what he designed, at the creation, to have it in his power to bring out of it."[2] "God, the Creator of all nature," says Augustin, "does nothing which is contrary to nature; for that must be in conformity with the nature of each thing, which *He* does, from whom all measure, number, and order in nature proceeds. We say, not without propriety, that God does something which is contrary to nature, when it is contrary to the course of the nature known to us. This ordinary course of nature, which is known to us, we are accustomed also to call *nature;* and when God does anything which is contrary to *this*, we call it a miracle. But against that highest law of nature which lies equally beyond the knowledge of the ungodly and of the yet simple, God is as little capable of doing anything as he is of acting against himself."[3]

Thus Augustin sees throughout all nature the immediate agency of God, and looks upon the miracle as simply an event which is calculated to arouse the attention of such as pay no heed to that agency of God which lies veiled under the ordinary course of nature. "Who," says he, "can look abroad upon the works of God, by means of which this whole universe is governed, and not be struck and overwhelmed by the wonders there displayed. Would he but contemplate the power of life lying in a single seed, he would find it to be a great thing, enough to astonish every thoughtful observer. But because men, from being intently bent on something else, pay no regard to the works of God in which they should daily praise him, therefore has God, as it were, reserved to himself certain unusual things which he may do, in order that by these wonders he may rouse up men who are asleep, as it were, to the worship of himself."[4]

[1] Super hunc autem motum cursumque rerum naturalem potestas creatoris habet apud se posse de his omnibus facere aliud, quam eorum quasi seminales rationes habent, non tamen id, quod non in iis posuit, ut de his fieri vel ab ipso possit. De Genesi ad literam, l. IX. § 32.

[2] Neque enim potentia temeraria, sed sapientiæ virtute omnipotens est, et hoc de unaquaque re in tempore suo facit, quod ante in ea fecit, ut possit. L. c. Therefore he says: the caussales rationes, quas Deus mundo indidit, are ad utrumque modum habiles creatæ, sive ad istum, quo usitatissime temporalia transcurrunt, sive ad illum, quo rara et mirabilia fiunt, sicut Deo facere placuerit, quod tempori congruat. L. c. l. VI. § 25.

[3] Deus creator et conditor omnium naturarum, nihil contra naturam facit: id enim erit cuique rei naturale, quod ille fecerit, a quo est omnis modus, numerus, ordo naturæ. Sed contra naturam non incongrue dicimus aliquid Deum facere, quod facit contra id, quod novimus in natura. Hanc etiam enim appellamus naturam, cognitum nobis cursum solitumque naturæ, contra quem Deus cum aliquid facit, mirabilia nominantur. Contra illam vero summam naturæ legem a notitia re motam sive impiorum sive adhuc infirmorum tam Deus nullo modo facit, quam contra se ipsum non facit. Contra Faustum l. XXVI. c. 3.

[4] Quis est, qui considerat opera Dei, quibus regitur et administratur totus hic mundus, et non obstupescit obruiturque miraculis? Si consideret vim unius grani,

c. *The Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ.*

Closely connected with the history of the doctrine concerning Christ's divine nature, is the history of the doctrine concerning his human nature, and concerning the relation of the human to the divine element in his person: for the opposite tendencies in the mode of apprehending the former doctrine would extend their influence also to the different modes of conceiving the *latter*. They who more exactly conceived the notion of Christ's divinity would be led thereby to conceive with more distinctness and precision the notion of his human nature; and to draw a clearer line of separation between the predicates "divine" and "human" nature, in order to secure themselves against transferring human finitude to the divine essence of Christ. But they who acknowledged the Logos only as the most perfect of created beings were not therefore laid under obligation by any doctrinal interest to distinguish from the Logos a rational soul mediating his union with the human body. It was, on the contrary, for the interest of their doctrine to make no such distinction, so as to have it in their power to bring up everything which might otherwise be referred to the human soul in Christ, as a proof of the non-absolute being of the Logos himself. This holds good in its application to Arius and Eunomius.[1] But when the distinction of the two natures was objected to them by the defenders of the Homoousion, they accused these latter of denying the true personal unity of the God-man, — of making the *one* Son of God and the *one* Christ to be two Sons of God and two Christs,[2] — precisely the same objection as had in the preceding period been brought against Origen, when he, for the first time, gave systematic form to the doctrine of Christ's complete human nature.

Arianism, as we have seen, did full justice neither to the divine nor to the human side in Christ. The second wrong was the natural consequence of the first. But Marcellus of Ancyra was driven from the opposite point to a similar result. In proposing to himself, as the object of a one-sided interest, to glorify the Logos, he was ready (in order to secure this single purpose of being able to maintain the absoluteness of the Logos, and to remove from him all appearance of dependence and subordination) to sacrifice the veritable reality of the human nature in Christ. It was one part of the mischief of these disputes, moving within a circle of abstract formulas, that, instead of starting in the first place from a total intuition of the person of Christ as it historically manifested itself, men treated the doctrine of the Logos in an abstract manner, and as a separate thing by itself. Independent of all consideration of the historical Christ, Marcellus had

magna quædam res est, horror est consideranti. Sed quia homines in aliud intenti perdiderunt considerationem operum Dei, in qua darent laudem quotidie creatori, tanquam servavit sibi Deus inusitata quædam, quæ faceret, ut tanquam dormientes homines ad se colendum mirabilibus excitaret. In Joann. evangel. c. 2 Tract. VIII. § 1.

[1] From Gregor. Nyss. orat. II. T. II. f. 482, it is clear that in Eunomius' confession of faith it must have been said: "*οὐκ ἀναλαβόντα ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀνθρώπου.*"

[2] See Eunomius against Basil. Gregor Nyss. c. Eunom. orat. IV. f. 578.

framed to himself the conception of a δραστικὴ ἐνέργεια of the Logos, to which he referred all that he supposed could not be referred to the Logos himself without detracting from his absoluteness. Everything pertaining to the agency of the Logos in revelation, and so also the whole temporal manifestation of Christ, he set apart and appropriated to this operative energy of the Logos. Now here, he agreed with his opponents the Arians in this respect, that in the man Christ Jesus he did not recognize an independent human soul, but made the incarnation of the Logos to consist in his simply assuming a human body. And this had an important influence upon his whole conception of the doctrine concerning Christ. The person of Christ would have appeared to him of far greater significance, had he started with the intuition of that Christ in whom nothing was wanting that belongs to the purely human nature,—with the intuition of the actual Christ. Not having done so, he felt compelled to deny the existence of a true human soul in Christ, and to affirm rather, that the special revealing agency of the Logos was the animating principle of Christ's body. According to *his* idea of the Logos, however, this could not be the whole of his infinite essence, but only a certain partial energy of that essence, by which the entire personality of Christ was formed. The "drastic energy" of the Logos, appropriating to itself the body of Christ, was that which formed the person in him. We know not how Marcellus defined this agency of the Logos in all its details. More particular explanations of this point are not to be found in his writings. It may be that one whose interest in doctrinal matters was so completely absorbed, as his was, in the doctrine concerning the Logos, did not bestow much attention on this particular point. At all events, if he had proceeded to develop the contents of his thoughts into clear consciousness, he must have been led to some such theory as the Sabellian.

We must now take notice of the following remarkable antithesis in the doctrine of Marcellus. On the one hand, by referring all the passages in the New Testament relating to Christ which appeared to him to fail of saying enough for the absoluteness of the Logos, to the person of Christ formed by that ἐνέργεια δραστικὴ of the Logos, he would of necessity, be led to assign to this person the highest place in the creation. This, in fact, would harmonize completely with his view of the end of redemption; namely, that the assumption of human nature by the Logos was for the purpose of obtaining for man the victory over Satan, who had deceived and overcome him; of glorifying man's nature by exalting it to a divine life; of bestowing upon it the highest dignity.[1] But on the other hand, his all-engrossing inter-

[1] In explaining John 12 : 28, Marcellus says: Ἵνα δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς σαρκὸς δευτέρᾳ δόξῃ τὸν πρότερον θνητὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀθάνατον ἀπεργάσηται, καὶ τοσαύτῃ αὐτὸν δοξάσῃ δόξῃ, ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν τῆς προτέρας ἀπαλλαγῆναι δουλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἀξιωθῆναι δόξης, — and afterwards: Ἵνα ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπατηθέντα πρότερον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, αὐτὸν αὐθις νικῆσαι τὸν διάβολον παρασκευάσῃ· διὰ τοῦτο ἀνείληφε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα ἀκολούθως τοῦτον ἀπαρχὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας παραλαβεῖν παρασκευάσῃ. Euseb. c. Marcell. Ancyran, l. II. f. 48, 49.

est in behalf of the doctrine of the Logos placed him under the necessity of lowering Christ, as man, to the position of a mere instrument, of a means which must of itself disappear, as soon as the end it was to subserve should be attained; and so to reduce the humanity of Christ to a mere accident, which the Logos would finally cast aside.

If later theologians fell into labored and tortuous explanations of the Epistle to the Colossians because they were unwilling to find there the doctrine of Christ's divinity, Marcellus was forced into the like tortuous interpretations by an opposite interest, — that of not being required to suppose anything whereby the absoluteness of the Logos might seem to him to be impaired. As he could not think it possible that, by the image of the invisible God, the first-born was to be understood, — the Logos in himself, — he felt constrained to understand by these names the man formed by the δραστικὴ ἐνέργεια of the Logos. And hence the creation which is here attributed to him must be understood to refer only to the new spiritual creation brought about by Christ, which, in its effects, must be extended also to the higher spirits, since this indeed is implied in the fact that Christ, after his resurrection, was exalted above all the other orders of creation. The first-born is Christ only as the first new man, the centre of the whole creation, the final instrument, by whom the unity of the creation was to be restored after the subdual of all evil.[1] Accordingly, to this new creation brought about by Christ, he applied also the words in Proverbs 8: 22–23; and in this connection cites the declaration of Paul: "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," understanding by this what had been predetermined, from all eternity, to be the foundation of God's kingdom.[2] But, inasmuch as in his view the *personal* Christ, when compared with the idea of the Logos, retreated far into the background, and everything was depending only on the transient moment during which the δραστικὴ ἐνέργεια of the Logos animated the body, the question presented itself to him: Why should this energy continue any longer after its end had been reached, after the perfect redemption, the complete victory over the kingdom of evil has been accomplished, and the redeemed, at the resurrection, have attained to the perfect enjoyment of blessedness? It was, in truth, simply in order to this end, that the Logos took the alien σάρξ into union with himself. Here Marcellus appealed to the declaration of Christ, "The flesh profiteth nothing, — it is the Spirit that quickeneth." How then — he argued — should the flesh that profiteth nothing remain united with the Logos through all eternity; how should the form of a servant, which he assumed, continue for evermore to abide with him?[3] Thus

[1] Πρωτότοκον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰς ὃν τα πάντα ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ἐβουλήθη ὁ θεός. Ἀκούεις, ὅπως οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ προϋπάρχοντα ἐν τε οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν καινὴν κτίσιν ἐκτίσθαι συμβαίνει. c. Marcell. l. II. f. 44.

[2] Θεμέλιον μὲν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων τὴν κατὰ σάρκα ἀυτοῦ προορισθεῖσαν οἰκονομίαν. L. c. f. 45.

[3] Πῶς ἐγχωρεῖ τὴν ἐκ γῆς τε οὖσαν καὶ μηδὲν ὠφελοῦσαν [σάρκα] ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσιν αἰῶσιν αὐτῷ λυσιτελοῦσαν συνεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ; πῶς ἔδει τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφὴν ἣν ανέιληφεν ὁ λόγος, μορφὴν οὖσαν δούλου συνεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ; c. Marcell. l. II. f. 44.

he was forced, by his one-sided doctrine of the Logos, to conclude that the Logos would finally, when the end should have been attained, emerge from that particular form of manifestation through the "flesh," would cast off the human veil, and that then the particular kingdom of Christ would come to a close, and only the universal kingdom, being, and agency of the Logos, who is one with the Father, would continue to exist. He refers for proof to 1 Corinth. 15 : 28, and to the word "until" in Ps. 110 : 1.[1]

It becomes very plainly apparent how much the true moment, the point of most importance in the doctrine of redemption is undervalued by the Marcellian scheme, — how the separating gulf between God and the creature is once more pushed into notice, and the significance of personality wholly overlooked, — when Marcellus says: "Should any one maintain, however, that Christ's human flesh was worthy of the Logos, because the Logos made it immortal by the resurrection, let him know that everything immortal is not therefore worthy of God, — for God is greater than immortality itself, — he who can, by his will, make even things that are not, immortal. But that everything immortal is not therefore worthy of being taken into union with God is evident from the fact that the angels, though immortal, do not for this reason approach any nearer to union with God."[2] It is nevertheless certain, however, that he must have been clearly aware of the close corner into which he was driven by maintaining these positions; of the contradiction in which he involved himself with the scriptural doctrine which he meant to hold fast. The question came up: What then was to become of this "flesh," raised up to immortality? "It is beyond our powers of knowledge," he says, "to answer this question. We see but through a glass darkly, and our knowledge is but in part. We shall first know how this is, when we see face to face. Therefore question me not about things concerning which I have no distinct knowledge from Holy Scripture. For this reason I can say nothing definite about this divine 'flesh' in union with the Logos. But I believe Holy Scripture, that there is one God and his Logos, who proceeded from the Father, so that by him all things might subsist; but who will, after the restitution of all things, subject himself to the God and Father who put all things under his feet, that the Logos may be in God, even as he was before."[3]

Marcellus' disciple, Photinus, bishop of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia, in proceeding to develop still further the doctrine received from his master, overstepped the limits which the latter had prescribed to himself. He could not rest satisfied with the vague and uncertain expressions of Marcellus with regard to Christ's humanity. In striving to resolve the contradiction which his predecessor had left standing, he was pushed on still further. While Marcellus had started

[1] Οὐκοῦν ὅρον τινὰ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ οἰκονομία τε καὶ βασιλεία. L. c. f. 51.

[2] Ὅτι οὐ πᾶν ὅπερ ἀθάνατον, τοῦτο ἄξιον θεοῦ· μείζων γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀθανασίας ὁ θεὸς, ὁ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βουλήσει καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἀθάνατα ποιεῖν δυνάμενος. Ἔτι δὲ οὐ πᾶν τὸ ἀθάνατον ἑνῶσθαι θεῷ ἄξιον δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀγγέλους ἀθανάτους ὄντας μηδὲν διαφορεῖν τῇ ἑνότητι τοῦ θεοῦ. L. c. f. 52.

[3] C. Marcell. l. II. f. 53.

with no other interest than that in behalf of the Logos doctrine, and was led along to his peculiar theory of the nature and person of Christ only by his wish to secure this doctrine against objections, Photinus, on the other hand, directed his attention to the whole doctrine concerning Christ's person, and sought to make out for himself an appropriate, designative conception of this doctrine. Thus he came to a view of it which was in all respects akin to Sabellianism.

The Logos, he regarded as the divine reason, — either the thinking reason within the divine essence, or the active reason revealing itself outwardly (the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος or προφορικός).[1] He would not apply the title "Son of God" to the Logos, but only to the Christ who appeared in time. The existence of the Son of God began first, he taught, with his birth from Mary. He existed before this only in the divine idea, — in the divine predetermination. In this sense he explained those passages in the Old Testament which were understood to refer to a preëxistence of the Messiah.[2] Like Sabellius, he considered that a certain irradiation of the divine essence in the form of the Logos was that which constituted Christ's personal being, — that Christ's human personality was derived from a certain *hypostatizing* of the Logos. Hence it is signalized as his doctrine, that God's expanding essence constitutes the Son of God, or that the expansion of the divine essence is to be denominated the Son.[3] Photinus taught also, like Marcellus, that the particular kingdom of Christ would have its end, when that final consummation should be reached.[4] He would probably differ, however, from Marcellus, in this, that while he held to a future termination of Christ's kingdom, he did not apply this limitation to Christ's personality formed from the irradiation of the Logos, but attributed to the latter an eternal duration. Had not this been so, such a disparagement of the dignity of Christ would certainly have been urged as an objection against him. It may also be gathered from the opposite theses of the Sirmian council, that he interpreted the names "Holy Ghost" and "Paraclete" as denoting simply the agency of God or of Christ.

From the proper doctrine of Photinus, however, we must be careful to distinguish what commonly passed by the same name. The fine distinctions between the doctrines of the Monarchians were such as eluded common discernment; and as Photinus had much that bore

[1] The theses laid down against the doctrine of Photinus by the council of Sirmium, A. D. 357, are of great weight in helping us to make out the characteristic points of that doctrine. Here we find this formula: Εἴ τις ἐνδιάθετον ἢ προφορικὸν λόγον λέγοι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

[2] See Epiphan. hæres. 51: Ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἦν υἱός. On the passage in Daniel 7: 13: Τοῦτο προκαταγγελτικῶς ἔλεγεν, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ υἱοῦ ὑπάρχοντος, ἀλλὰ δὴ ὃ ἔμελλεν υἱὸς καλεῖσθαι μετὰ τὴν Μαρίαν, προχρηστικῶς τὰ πάντα ἀναφέρεται εἰς αὐτὸν, ἀπαρχῆς δὲ οὔπω ἦν, λόγος δὲ ἦν, καθάπερ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ λόγος. With this agree also the opposite theses of the Sirmian council.

[3] The Sirmian anathematism: Εἴ τις πλατυνομένην τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν υἱὸν λέγοι ποιεῖν ἢ τὸν πλατυσμὸν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ὀνομάζει. To which belongs this also: Εἴ τις τὸν ἀγέννητον ἢ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας λέγειν γεγεννῆσθαι τολμᾷ.

[4] To this the opposite thesis, in the Sirmian confession of faith concerning Christ, has reference: Οὗ ἡ βασιλεία ἀκατάπαυστος οὖσα διαμένει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀπείρους. Ἔσται γὰρ καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

resemblance to the Samosatenian doctrine of the Triad, men might easily confound his entire doctrine with the Samosatenian theory.

In opposition to these two tendencies in the mode of conceiving the doctrine concerning Christ, the Arian and the so-called Photinian, that is to say, properly speaking, the Samosatenian, two others now proceeded to form themselves in the dogmatico-polemical interest, maintaining, on the one hand, the completeness of the human nature of Christ, and, on the other, the true personal union of the two natures. According as the one or the other of these predominated, differences would now arise in the mode of apprehending this doctrine. Yet while it was sought to hold fast the theory of personal unity along with the completeness of the human nature taken up into union with the Logos, as the essential thing, many differences in particular modes of conception might have existed, without encroaching on the unity of faith.[1] The most eminent church teachers, such as Athanasius, Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory Nazianzen, labored to preserve the unity of faith on this side, and to suppress those schisms which were now existing in the bud. But the germ was already formed of antagonisms which could no longer be suppressed, but must go on to develop themselves without stop or hindrance.

Especially important was the influence of the two great church teachers of Cappadocia, Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa, on the development of this doctrine. We find in them the further prosecution of the tendency which commenced with Origen. They adopted from Origen the doctrine, that the Logos united himself, by the mediation of a rational human soul (of a ψυχὴ νοερὰ), with the sensuous nature. The essential point of this union, the characteristic mark of the personal unity, they placed in this, namely, that the divine Logos took all the parts of human nature into fellowship with himself, and pervaded them. They affirmed, it is true, that this permeation took place potentially from the first moment of the human existence; but, with Origen, they taught at the same time that its consequences, in respect to *all* the parts of human nature, did not unfold themselves until after Christ's resurrection; that, after his

1 As, for example, Hilary of Poictiers expressed his own peculiar mode of apprehending the doctrine as follows: "Christum sibi animam assumsisse ex se et corpus per se;" i. e. a soul derived in some way from his divine essence, to which it was especially related; and a body miraculously so wrought by the divine informing power, that although in shape it resembled other human bodies, it was yet of a more exalted nature, so that to all sensuous affections which he was not liable to by any necessity of nature, he voluntarily subjected himself, to secure a particular object in view, viz. the salvation of man, κατ' οἰκονομίαν. See Hilar. de Trinitate, l. IX. et X. A doctrine similar to that set forth in the preceding period by Clement of Alexandria, according to which, it must be admitted, especially so far as it concerns the view of Hilary, the ideal of purely human virtue, which Christ must present, in order to be the Redeemer of mankind and the author of a new moral creation in humanity, could not be rightly understood. To this theory of the body, Hilary suffered himself to be misled by the false ascetic theory which derived sin particularly from the sensuous nature. As it respects the other position, however, the correct notion hovered before his mind that the human nature of Christ cannot be regarded as one that came in the natural course of the development of sinful humanity.

ascension to glory, his body also became transfigured to a form analogous with the divine essence. See vol. I. p. 639.

In refutation of the charge brought by Eunomius, that, by the supposition of a complete human nature in Christ along with the divine nature, a duality was ascribed to him, Gregory of Nyssa says: "Beyond question, such a duality would find place, if, along with the divine nature, there existed in Christ another alien one in its own peculiar characteristic marks and properties. But, as everything had been transformed after the analogy of the divine nature, into which the human has risen, as wood into the fire, such a distinction no longer holds good."[1] From this theory was derived the argument for a transfer of the divine predicates to the human nature, and, vice versa, for a reciprocal interchange of attributes.[2] As in the case of Gregory of Nyssa the principles of the Origenistic system of faith appear everywhere more sharply defined than they do in the case of Gregory Nazianzen; so he maintained that the glorified body of Christ, by that sublimation (*ἀνάκρασις*) into the essence of the divine nature, laid aside gravity, shape, color, limitation, all the properties of the sensuous nature: a proper human nature was to be ascribed to it only during the period of its earthly appearance. Hence also he taught the doctrine of the omnipresence of the glorified body of Christ: "After the same manner as Christ exists in the superterrestrial regions, so also he exists with *us* in all parts of the world."[3]

In opposition to this theory, derived from the Origenistic theology, came forth the system of the younger *Apollinaris*, a man thoroughly trained in the study of the ancient Greek literature, and a native of Laodicea in Syria, of which city he finally became bishop. This person belonged, by his whole theological bent, to that class of men who, while repudiating a blind faith, would seek to reconcile the opposition between faith and knowledge by such a presentation of the doctrines of faith as would be satisfactory also to reason. Investigation into the doctrines of faith should, as he supposed, serve to make men fully and clearly conscious of everything contained in these doctrines, and enable them to separate therefrom those foreign elements, proceeding from other sources, which had involuntarily or insensibly become mixed up with them. Scientific development should give to the doctrines of faith the conceptual expression corresponding to their pure substantial contents. Thus, for example, he observed that low Jewish and pagan modes of conception had imperceptibly gained admission into the Christian consciousness; therefore, to preserve the purity of the Christian faith, he thought it necessary to provide a remedy against this evil by some such reduction of doctrines to clear and distinct

[1] We see here much that is analogous to the later Monophysitism. See Gregor. Nyss. orat. IV. f. 589, T. III. 265. His ep. ad Theophilum.

[2] The *ἀντιμεθίστασις τῶν ὀνομάτων*, which afterwards became the occasion of so much controversy.

[3] Gregory of Nazianzen expresses himself more temperately. He says we should not attribute to the glorified body of Christ any properly sensuous qualities, but neither again a spiritual essence (*φύσις ἀσώματος*); that it is impossible to determine anything more than this respecting the nature of his glorified body (*θεοειδὲς στέρου σώματος*). Gregor. Naz. orat. 40, f. 671.

conceptions. "Faith alone," he contended in opposition to those who continually spoke of faith, and rejected all new investigation, "faith alone is, as yet, of no value; everything depends on *the contents* of this faith. It is only the *pious* faith, embracing within it the genuine Christian matter, which possesses value. But to preserve this substantial matter pure, to keep away from it all impious elements, investigation is necessary. Faith, without examination, was of no service to Eve. The faith of Christians should be accompanied, therefore, with examination, lest unawares it should become mixed up with pagan or Jewish opinions."[1] He was no advocate of a stiff supernaturalism; but he would have the supernatural to be so apprehended as that nature and the rights of nature should also be recognized. The supernatural is in harmony with the natural; or, as this principle was expressed by him, "Nature is not disturbed by her Creator"[2] — meaning that God never so brings about supernatural events as to subvert the laws of nature, or to destroy that peculiar property of an essence which has its ground in the laws of its nature. From this follows the conclusion which, in the place above cited, Apollinaris expressly deduces from it, — that God uses all beings as his instruments in a way corresponding to the peculiar nature of each one. Thus, for instance, he makes use of rational beings, endowed with formal freedom, in no such way as to destroy their peculiar attribute as free beings, — in no such way as to deprive them of that which distinguishes them from natural essences. What important consequences flow from the principle here expressed is sufficiently evident.

Interest for what strictly belongs to the Christian faith, and the scientific interest, were, with him, combined in one. The object he had at heart was, by investigation, to set forth in its full validity the supernatural element of the Christian faith, which, by many opinions passing current for orthodoxy, he believed to be exposed to danger. Thus, it seemed to him, in particular, that the view which proceeded from Origen, of a rational, human soul, assumed by the Logos as the organ of his self-manifestation in humanity, deprived the doctrine of Christ as the God-man of its true significance. From this, men had insensibly been led on to substitute at length, in place of the God-man, a mere prophet, endowed by the Logos with extraordinary gifts of illumination. Like the older Patripassianists against whom Origen contended, he thought it of the highest importance to hold fast upon this one point; namely, that in Christ's appearance, God revealed himself immediately. He thought he could show, with mathematical necessity,[3] how the character of Christ's person must be represented in order consistently to recognize in him the God-man; holding that they who made the incarnation to consist in the union of the Logos with a human soul could not truly behold the God-man

[1] Μόνον τὴν εὐσεβῆ πίστιν ἀγαθὴν ἦν νομίζεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ τῇ Εὔᾳ συνενεγκεῖν τὴν ἀνεξέταστον πίστιν, ὥστε προσῆκε καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξητασμένην εἶναι, μὴ που λάθῃ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνεμπεσοῦσα δόξαις. Gregor. Nyss. Antirrhetic. c. Apollinar. (Zacagni monum. vet. T. I.) p. 130.

[2] Οὐ φθείρεται ἡ φύσις ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτήν. L. c. p. 245.

[3] Γεωμετρικαῖς ἀποδείξεσι καὶ ἀνάγκαις.

in Christ. He propounded to them the following dilemma: *Either* the man taken into union with the divine Logos still continued to retain his own self-determining, free will, — in which case a true personal union would forever be impossible, since man with his own free will can only be an organ through whom the Logos operates, precisely as he uses prophets and holy men as his organs:[1] Christ would, on this supposition, differ from other inspired messengers of God only in degree; he would not be God-man, but only a divine man, — such as every true believer becomes, — a self-consecrated instrument to the service of God.[2] *Or else*, we must suppose that, in this union with the divine Logos, the human nature loses its own free will. But inasmuch as this free will belongs to the essence of man's nature, the latter, in losing its free will, can be no longer a human nature; and therefore it would be idle to talk longer of a union of deity with humanity. Neither again can it be supposed that God, the creator of man's nature, would deprive it of that which constitutes its essence, and thus annihilate it.[3] Apollinaris, therefore, objected to his opponents that they, like Paul of Samosata and Photinus, recognized in Christ, not the God-man, but only the divine man;[4] that they made of Christ two persons, two sons of God, — a Son of God in the proper sense, and a son of God in the improper sense.[5] Against the defenders of the common view, he says: "If one who receives God is true God, then, since many receive him, there are many gods."[6] He accused his opponents, that, as unbelievers under the pretense of faith, they were ashamed of that God who was born of a woman and crucified by the Jews, — even as were the latter.[7] And so little capable was he of distinguishing the divine fact from the human mode of apprehending it, that he could say, "As they are ashamed of Christ, so will Christ also be ashamed of them."

The doctrine concerning *Christ*, as the God-man, Apollinaris held to be the properly characteristic and fundamental doctrine of Christianity. That Christ was a man united with God, and performed miracles in the exercise of a divine power, — he supposed, — even Jews and Pagans might concede, as the Jews said the same thing, in fact, of Elijah; but faith in the God-man was that which constituted the Christian.[8]

[1] Σοφία φωτίζουσα νοῦν ἀνθρώπου, αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. Antirrhetic. p. 215.

[2] Οὐχ ὁ ἐπουράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ δοχεῖον. Antirrhetic. p. 255. Ἄνθρωπος ἔνθεος.

[3] Φθορὰ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου ζῶον τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτεξούσιον· οὐ φθείρεται δὲ ἡ φύσις ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἀυτήν. L. c. p. 245.

[4] Τὸ ἄνθρωπον ἔνθεον τὸν Χριστὸν ὀνομάζειν, ἐναντίον εἶναι ταῖς ἀποστολικαῖς διδασκαλίαις, ἀλλότριων δὲ τῶν συνόδων, Παῦλον δὲ καὶ Φωτεινὸν καὶ Μάρκελλον τῆς τοιαύτης διαστροφῆς κατάρξαι. L. c. p. 135. On his own principles he understood the words ἄνθρωπος ἔνθεος and θεῖος as synonymous, since, according to his theory, a man composed of spirit and body, in whom God dwelt, could be none else than a divine man, specially actuated by the Divine Spirit. It is deserving of notice, also, how wrongly he conceived of the doctrine of his contemporary, Marcellus of Ancyra. See above.

[5] A φύσει υἱός, and a merely θέσει υἱός. L. c. p. 185, 209, 232.

[6] Εἰ ὁ θεὸν δεξάμενος, θεὸς ἐστιν ἀληθινὸς, πολλοὶ ἂν εἶεν θεοὶ, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ δέχονται τὸν θεόν. Antirrhetic. p. 237.

[7] Οἱ δὲ ἐν σχήματι πίστεως ἄπιστοι τῷ ἐκ γυναικὸς τεχθέντι θεῷ καὶ σταυρωθέντι πρὸς Ιουδαίων ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις ἐπαισχύνονται. L. c. p. 185.

[8] Ἀλλ' ἐδέξαντο ἂν Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, εἴπερ ἄνθρωπον ἔνθεον εἶναι τὸν τεχθέντα ἐλέγομεν, ὥσπερ Ἠλίαν. L. c. p. 184.

But how, then, did Apollinaris realize to himself, from his own point of view, the idea of the God-man, which seemed to him so important? Two beings persisting in their completeness, he conceived, could not be united into one whole. Out of the union of the *perfect* human nature with the Deity one person never could proceed;[1] and more particularly, the rational soul of the man could not be assumed into union with the divine Logos so as to form *one* person. This was the negative side of the doctrine of Apollinaris; but, as to its positive side, this was closely connected with his peculiar views of human nature. He supposed, with many others of his time, that human nature consisted of three parts, — the rational soul, which constitutes the essence of man's nature;[2] the animal soul, which is the principle of animal life;[3] and the body, between which and the spirit, that soul is the intermediate principle. The body, by itself considered, has no faculty of desire; but this soul, which is united with it, is the source and fountain of the desires that struggle against reason. This soul Apollinaris believed he found described also by the apostle Paul, in the passage where he speaks of the flesh lusting against the spirit.[4] The human, mutable spirit was too weak to subject to itself this resisting soul; hence the domination of the sinful desires. In order, therefore, to the redemption of mankind from the dominion of sin, it was necessary that an immutable divine Spirit, the Logos himself, should enter into union with these two parts of human nature. It does not pertain to the essence of that lower soul, as it does to the essence of the higher soul, that it should determine itself; but, on the contrary, that it should be determined and ruled by a higher principle: but the human spirit was too weak for this: the end and destination of human nature, therefore, is realized when the Logos, as an immutable, divine Spirit, rules over this lower soul, and so restores the harmony between the lower and the higher principles of man's nature.[5]

Accordingly Apollinaris supposed, — as it seemed to him to be necessary to do in order to the acknowledgement of Christ as God-man and of the true unity in him, — but one nature in Christ, the divine nature made human; and but one movement of will corresponding with this nature, — but one agency actuating the entire life; since every act in him would of necessity proceed from the immutable Spirit as the moving principle, just as, in man, the whole life is determined and directed by the presiding soul. In a letter to the emperor Jovian, Apollinaris says: "When the fullness of time was come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, that he might be the Son of God and God according to the Spirit, the Son of man according to the flesh; one Son, not two natures, viz. one adorable nature,

[1] A fundamental position with Apollinaris: Εἰ ἀνθρώπῳ τελείῳ συνήφθη θεὸς τέλειος, δύο ἂν ἦσαν. L. c. p. 223.

[2] Ψυχὴ λογικὴ, πνεῦμα, νοῦς.

[3] The ψυχὴ ἄλογος.

[4] Antirrhetic. p. 138.

[5] The νοῦς, which is by its nature the αὐτοκίνητον; the ψυχὴ ἄλογος, which is the ἑτεροκίνητον. Οὐκ ἄρα σώζεται τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος δι' ἀναλήψεως νοῦ καὶ ὅλου ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ προσλήψεως σαρκὸς, ᾗ φυσικὸν μὲν τὸ ἡγεμονεύεσθαι, ἐδεῖτο δὲ ἀτρέπτου νοῦ, μὴ ὑποπίπτοντος αὐτῇ διὰ ἐπιστημοσύνης ἀσθένειαν ἀλλὰ συναρμόζοντος αὐτὴν ἀβιάστως ἑαυτῷ. L. c. p. 225.

and another to which adoration is not due; but one nature of the God Logos become incarnate, to which in its union with the flesh one adoration is due."[1] He meant that the two natures, divine and human, are in Christ fused into one; he is to be recognized as Lord in this one nature composed of deity and humanity.[2] In his work against Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, he says, "the instrument and the force which puts it in motion produce, by their own nature, but one action; and where the action is one, there is but one essence lying at the ground of it."[3] "They would make that to be possible which is impossible (pierce a rock with the finger) who would place two minds in Christ, a divine and a human;[4] for if every mind freely determines itself, according to its own proper nature, it is impossible that there should be two natures combined in one subject, willing opposite things.[5] "As Paul nobly says, 'In God we live, move, and have our being,' so too His will, dwelling by the Logos in the flesh, was sufficient to quicken and move the same; the divine energy taking the place of the soul."[6] "When two different essences are combined, the result — he maintained — is a neutral being; as in the case of the mule, the qualities of the ass and of the horse are combined; and as from the mixture of two colors, results a third. But nothing which comes out of such combination, has the two opposite kinds of qualities in perfection; it has them only in part, and mixed together: and so with the union of God and man in Christ. He is, thus, neither wholly man, nor wholly God; but a mixture of God and man."[7]

In this way, Apollinaris supposed that he avoided all the difficulties which attended the other theory, and that he had demonstrated how the divine and human natures in Christ must be conceived to be united into personal unity. Christ, like every other man, consisted of three parts, of spirit, soul, and body; but with this difference, that, in his case, the place of the weak and mutable human spirit was filled by an immutable divine Spirit: for this reason, therefore, is Christ also the God-man,— a name which otherwise could not be ascribed to him.

As Apollinaris supposed that the spirit properly constitutes the

[1] Οὐ δύο φύσεις τὸν ἕνα υἱὸν, μίαν προσκυνητὴν καὶ μίαν ἀπροσκυνητὴν, ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρχωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει. Maji Scriptorum nova collectio T. VII. 1833, p. 16.

[2] Μιᾷ συγκράτῳ τῇ φύσει ἄνθρωπον τὸν κυρίου λέγομεν. L. c. p. 16.

[3] Ὀργανὸν καὶ τὸ κοινοῦν μίαν πέφυκεν ἀποτελεῖν τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Ὧι δὲ μία ἡ ἐνέργεια, μία καὶ ἡ οὐσία, μία ἄρα γέγονεν οὐσία τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκός. L. c. p. 20.

[4] Δακτύλῳ γλίφουσι πέτραν οἱ δύο νόας ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δογματίζοντες.

[5] Εἰ γάρ πᾶς νοῦς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶ ἰδικῷ θελήματι κατὰ φύσιν κινούμενος, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὑποκειμένῳ δύο τοὺς τἀναντία θέλοντας ἀλλήλοις συνυπάρχειν. Maji T. VII. p. 70.

[6] Ἐπεὶ γάρ ἄριστα Παῦλος βοᾷ, ἐν τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμὲν, ἤρκει καὶ μόνον τὸ αὐτοῦ θέλημα, διὰ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ σκηνώσαντος λόγου, πρὸς τὸ ταύτην ζωοποιεῖν καὶ κινεῖν, ἀναπληρούσης τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τόπον καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου νοός. L. c. p. 203.

[7] Μεσότητες γίνονται ἰδιοτήτων διαφόρων εἰς ἓν συνελθουσῶν, ὡς ἐν ἡμιόνῳ ἰδιότης ὄνου καὶ ἵππου, καὶ ἐν γλαυκῷ χρώματι ἰδιότης λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος· οὐδεμία δὲ μεσότης ἑκατέρας ἔχει τὰς ἀκρότητας ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου, ἀλλὰ μερικῶς ἐπιμεμιγμένας· μεσότης δὲ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐκ ἄρα οὔτε ἄνθρωπος ὅλος οὔτε θεὸς, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου μίξις. L. c. p. 310.

man; and as instead of the human spirit, he supposed the divine, immutable spirit, the Logos, in Christ, so in this view of the matter he might say, that the Logos was man before his appearance in humanity, understanding in this sense those passages where Christ speaks of his being with the Father before the creation. "The man Christ — says he, in following this connection of ideas[1] — preëxisted; not as though the spirit, that is God, was a different being from Christ himself, but so that the Lord was the divine spirit in the nature of the God-man.[2] In this way only is it possible to understand how he existed before his birth on earth; how he was before all things; was of the same race with God."[3] Hence he says, Christ did not become man, but he became *as* man, — namely, he was not of the same essence with man in the most exalted part of his nature.[4]

This difference of Christ from other men, Apollinaris believed, might also be clearly pointed out in his life. All human development is progressive; it proceeds from conflict and effort, for the very reason that the human spirit is a mutable one, which can only seek to subject the inferior soul to itself by degrees. But we find nothing of this kind in the case of Christ, who from the first ruled the inferior soul by his transcendent, divine Spirit.[5] The union of the divine Logos with a *perfect human nature* takes place only in the case of individual believers, who, by their fellowship with the God-man, are made to partake of his victory over sin, and his dominion over the inferior soul.[6]

With this theory, Apollinaris believed he possessed the advantage of being able, without harm to the unaltered properties of all parts of the human nature which the divine Logos assumed into union with himself, to affirm the unity of person, and, as evidence of this, the interchange of attributes.[7] He was fond of certain expressions, entirely at variance with the scriptural phraseology, and which began now for the first time to become current, "God died, God was born."[8] He maintained, that worship was due to the sensuous nature united with the Logos in one person;[9] a thing which, on the other hand, they who attributed to Christ a perfect human nature could not maintain, without adding a fourth essence to the Trinity. He now brought

[1] After having thus expounded the sense which such expressions have in the connection of ideas in Apollinaris, it is needless to enter at large into the refutation of those arbitrary interpretations of his meaning, which men have indulged in on speculative grounds to which Apollinaris was utterly a stranger.

[2] Καὶ προϋπάρχει ὁ ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς, οὐχ ὡς ἑτέρου ὄντος παρ' αὐτὸν τοῦ πνεύματος, τοῦτ' ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσει θείου πνεύματος ὄντος. Gregor. Nyss. Antirrhetic. p. 149.

[3] Προϋπάρχειν τῆς ἐν γῇ γεννήσεως, πρὸ πάντων εἶναι, σύμφυλον εἶναι. L. c. p. 191.

[4] Οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος, διότι οὐχ ὁμοούσιος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ τὸ κυριώτατον. Antirrhetic. p. 177. Hence the title of the book refuted by Gregory of Nyssa: Ἀπόδειξις περὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως τῆς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἀνθρώπου. L. c. p. 126.

[5] The inference of Apollinaris: Οὐδεμία ἄσκησις ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐκ ἄρα νοῦς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπινος. L. c. 221.

[6] Ἐν τῇ ἑτεροκινήτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου νοῦ ἐνεργουμένῃ σαρκὶ τελείται τὸ ἔργον, ὃ ἐστι λύσις ἁμαρτίας, μεταλαμβάνει δὲ τῆς λύσεως ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοκίνητος νοῦς, καθ' ὅσον οἰκείοι ἑαυτὸν Χριστῷ. L. c. p. 220. In the case of Christ, there was only a πρόσληψις σαρκὸς, — in that of individual believers, an ἀνάληψις ὅλου ἀνθρώπου.

[7] The ἀντιμεθίστασις τῶν ὀνομάτων.

[8] See l. c. 264.

[9] L. c. 241.

it as a charge against his opponents, that they were obliged to suppose a change in Christ's body, a deification of it contradictory to its own nature, and to represent the true union of the divinity and the humanity as being the result of Christ's resurrection;[1] of which charge the above-described theory of Gregory of Nyssa, and other theologians trained in the school of Origen, especially furnished the occasion. He controverted the theory of the human omnipresence of Christ; teaching that Christ, although in respect to his body, in heaven, yet in respect to his divine essence united with the body, is everywhere with believers.[2]

But now, then, how did Apollinaris represent to himself the coöperative agency of the Logos — that is, of the spirit which formed the proper man — with the σὰρξ which he appropriated? It is surprising that a man of so much acuteness should not seem to be aware of the contradictions in which he here involved himself. The Logos continues still to be the immutable, the infinite, the omnipresent Spirit, while yet his agency is one limited by the σὰρξ.[3] By virtue of the σὰρξ animated by himself, he appropriated to himself the passions inherent to it.[4] The capability of suffering which is in the σὰρξ passes over to the Logos, as the divine animating power of the Logos is communicated to the σὰρξ. But how can such a thing be conceived, except on the supposition that a personality, distinct from the infinite Logos, proceeds from the influence of the Logos on the σὰρξ? And the idea of an intermediate being, neither wholly God nor wholly man, would lead to the very theory which Apollinaris was solicitous to avoid. From the fragments that have come down to us, it is difficult to form any clear idea of the way in which Apollinaris would explain to himself the prayer of Christ,—that, if possible, the cup of agony might pass from him. On the one hand, he considered this to be conclusive evidence of the fact that he who was entering upon his agony distinguished his own will from that of the Almighty Father.[5] Against his opponents, on the other hand, he maintained that this will was not, as they supposed, the will of the man taken from the earth, but that of the God who came down from heaven.[6] This we cannot otherwise explain, than by supposing that Apollinaris, when he attributed to the Logos the capability of suffering which pertained to the σὰρξ, and thus accounted for the words of the prayer, felt warranted to infer from these words a case of passionate emotion, which must be attributed, however, to the heavenly Logos who animated that σὰρξ.

[1] See l. c. pp. 277, 284.

[2] Ὅτι καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὄντος τοῦ σώματος, μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐστι μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. L. c. c. 59, p. 286.

[3] Respecting Christ's relation to the Father, he says: Διαιρῶν μὲν τὴν ἐνέργειαν κατὰ σάρκα, ἐξ ἰσῶν δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα (the divine essence, the animating spirit). The ἰσότης ἡ ἐν δυνάμει and the κατὰ σάρκα τῆς ἐνεργείας διαίρεσις. L. c. p. 194.

[4] The σὰρξ συνετέθη πρὸς τὸ οὐράνιον ἡγεμονικὸν, ἐξοικειωθεῖσα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ παθητικὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ λαβοῦσα τὸ θεῖον οἰκειωθέν. Maji T. VII. p. 301.

[5] Εἰ ἰσοσθενὴς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐρχόμενος ἦν, πῶς ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ γινόμενος προσηύχετο κτλ. L. c. p. 203.

[6] Ὅτι τὸ θέλημα τοῦτο ἴδιον εἴρηται οὐκ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἐκ γῆς, καθὼς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τοῦ καταβάντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Antirrhetic. p. 201.

Apollinaris entertained no purpose of separating himself from the catholic church, of setting up a particular theory at variance with the old catholic doctrine, and founding a new sect; for he was convinced that the essence of the church doctrine was expressed in a consistent manner only in his own theory, and that the one which had proceeded from the school of Origen was self-contradictory. He therefore could honestly subscribe, as he did through his delegates, to the articles established by the aforesaid synod held at Alexandria A. D. 362, in opposition to the above-described Arian doctrine concerning Christ's human nature. He directed that his name should be subscribed to the articles by which the hypothesis of a body without soul or spirit (*σῶμα ἄψυχον καὶ ἀνόητον*) in Christ was condemned, for *he* too supposed that there was a soul belonging with the body, and a spirit ruling over the soul, in Christ. He believed that all this was first established in a way which was tenable and in full agreement with the idea of the God-man by his own theory.[1] The disciples of Apollinaris affirmed that their master first taught the right way to understand the mystery of the incarnation of the Logos, and how it was that with one will and one energy Christ performed miracles and suffered.[2] But when Apollinaris came out more openly with his doctrine, and supposed that he had demonstrated in an irrefragable manner what belonged to the completeness of the conception of the God-man, Athanasius affirmed, in opposition to him, that the true Christ was incapable of being construed by human reason.[3]

The controversy which was carried on against the doctrines of Apollinaris led men to think of the necessary connection between the recognition of a perfect, spiritual and sensuous human nature, and the doctrine concerning that which constituted a Redeemer and the redemption, in its more exact relations to a systematic body of divinity.

Athanasius, for example, in his work against Apollinaris, alleges, in opposition to his doctrines, substantially the following reasons: "How could Christ represent for us the pattern of the holy life after which we ought to strive, if his nature was not entirely homogeneous with ours? He could not redeem human nature in its completeness, unless he had himself assumed all the parts of which it consists?" He points to those affections and actions of Christ which could be conceived only as belonging to a human soul; as, for example, his sorrow and mortal agony, his praying, his descent to Hades for the redemption of the spirits in prison.[4] If Apollinaris says that Christ could

[1] See Apollinaris' own explanation in his letter to the synod held at Diocæsarea. Leontius Byzantin. c. fraudes Apollinaristarum, in Canisii lectiones antiquæ, T. I. f. 608, ed. Basnage.

[2] Words of the Apollinarist Julian: *Τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι μίαν οὐσίαν τε καὶ φύσιν σύνθετον ἑνί τε καὶ μόνον κινουμένην θελήματι καὶ μιᾷ ἐνεργείᾳ, τά τε θαύματα πεποιηκέναι καὶ τὰ πάθη μόνος καὶ πρῶτος, ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολινάριος ἐφθέγξατο, τὸ κεκρυμμένον πᾶσι καταφωτίσας μυστήριον.* Maji, T. VII. p. 70.

[3] *Ὁ ἀληθινὸς Χριστὸς οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ διαγραφήσεται.* Adv. Apollinaristas, l. 1, § 13.

[4] The opinion, however, is assuredly without any foundation, that the opposition to Apollinarism led to the adoption into the Apostles' Creed of the article respecting the design of Christ's descensus ad inferos; for this must far

not assume the human soul free from sin, without subjecting it to a violence destructive of its essential nature, such a theory, Athanasius alleged, whereby sin was supposed to be a *necessary* thing in human nature, led to Manichæism. According to this, sin would be the nature of man, and freedom from sin stand in contradiction with his nature. But directly the opposite was the case. Freedom from sin was man's *original* nature; it was only by reason of the corruption of that original nature, that sin had obtained such dominion over it. Christ elevated it once more to its original freedom. There lay here at the bottom of the controversy between the two theories, different conceptions with regard to freedom, which somewhat later, amidst the Pelagian disputes, were still more clearly brought out. Apollinaris understood by freedom, the freedom of choice; Athanasius understood by it, freedom to goodness, to moral development undisturbed by anything of a foreign nature. Gregory Nazianzen[1] says, in opposition to Apollinaris: "Christ must, in his character of Redeemer, appear in human nature, not barely because he made use of human nature as a sensible veil and must bring down the divine element to man's apprehension in this sensible veil; for if so, he might in truth have chosen any other sensible veil as the organ for its manifestation; but he must assume the *human* nature, in order to make *man* holy; consequently he must assume the whole man, consisting of soul and body."

Moreover, through public synodal articles, the opposition to the doctrine of Apollinaris was expressed by Western councils subsequent to the year 376, and by the second general council of Constantinople. Yet no more new articles of doctrine concerning the divine and human nature in Christ were publicly established in this controversy.

Accordingly, there are from this time onwards two deviations to opposite sides, between which the doctrine of the church, in proceeding still further to shape itself, was compelled to direct its course, — Apollinarism, and that which was called Photinianism. The problem was this: on the one hand, to satisfy, in opposition to Photinianism, the idea of the *God-man*, to affirm the true union of the divine and human natures in Christ; and, on the other hand, to suppose no such union of the two natures as that either one of them should appear to suffer injury thereby, and especially that the purely human element should seem to be in any way disturbed. Now one or the other of these tendencies might predominate, — a fact which would be connected with, and dependent on, the different characters of two peculiar theological schools. One of these tendencies was that of the governing influence of religious feeling, and of the contemplative

rather have been made a prominent point long before this, in opposition to those Gnostics who wholly denied the descensus Christi ad inferos. Apollinaris did not deny this, although his opponents objected to him, that this, as well as many other doctrines belonging to the essence of orthodoxy, could not be reconciled with his theory. We have his own words, in which he holds forth this doctrine; if it be true that it is the same Apollinaris who is cited in the Catena Nicephori, Lips. 1772, T. I. 1475. He considered this descensus as constituting a part of the pain and anguish of Christ's death.

[1] Ep. ad Cledon. and orat. 51.

habit growing out of it; the other, that of the analyzing understanding. On the one side was the ruling *supernatural*, on the other, the *rational* element. This corresponds to what has already been in general remarked concerning the character of the two opposite schools, the Alexandrian and the Antiochian.

The Antiochian school could hardly fail to be led, by its prevailing historico-grammatical tendency, to give more importance than others were wont to do, to the human side in the life of Christ. Where an allegorical or otherwise artificial method of interpretation easily contrived means to obscure the plainly manifested human element in the life of Christ, the principles of interpretation adopted by that church naturally produced the contrary effect. While other schools adjusted and interpreted all the appearances brought to view in the gospel narrative, according to a doctrinal conception of Christ already fixed and established, this school, on the other hand, formed its conception of Christ much more from the gospel history. On determining the sense of those passages where Christ himself speaks of his knowledge as being, in a certain respect, limited, they could not be so easily satisfied with the forced explanations to which others had recourse. The simple contemplation and exposition of the gospel narrative led men like Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, to adopt such views of Christ as did not exclude the idea of a process of development in him corresponding to the ordinary course of human nature, and like that, in a certain sense, progressively advancing, and making its way through trials and difficulties. This mode of representation, however, either was not, or did not continue to be, in the case of Theodore, a mere isolated notion, taken up for some immediate purpose; but it formed a necessary organic member in the well-concocted whole of his dogmatic system, whose central point was the doctrine concerning Christ. In order to a right understanding of this, it will be necessary here for us to anticipate certain points which pertain to his doctrine of human nature, and which cannot be seen in their proper place and relation without taking into view the latter.

Theodore supposes two portions or states in the entire history of the creation: the rational nature, left, at all stages of its existence, to itself; changeable, and exposed to temptations; — and, on the other hand, the rational nature, raised, by the communication of a divine life pervading and transfiguring it, above the limitation of a finite existence, delivered from all temptations and conflicts, and placed in an unchangeable state of moral purity. The one portion extends to the general resurrection, the other follows after it.[1] Man, who is the representation of God's image for the whole creation, is the medium of transition from the first of these states to the second. This transition could be no otherwise brought about, than by the elevation of

[1] Excerpta Marii Mercatoris ed. Garnier. p. 100. Placuit Deo in duos status dividere creaturam; unum quidem, qui præsens est, in quo mutabilia omnia fecit; alterum autem, qui futurus est, cum renovans omnia ad immutabilitatem transferet.

the human nature itself to communion with God, and, by means of this, to a divine life exalted above change and temptation. This was the end of Christ's appearance, by which God's image first became truly realized in human nature; man first raised to that dominion over all nature for which he was destined at the creation, and made the object of reverence and worship for all created beings.[1] Now, in order to accomplish this, God must take upon him human nature in its peculiar condition of mutability, and, by means of the conflicts and temptations which belong to this state, form it for that higher condition which is the end of all development. Human nature must appear, therefore, at first, even in Christ, as a nature subjected to temptations and conflicts; and this presupposes a free-will, in which is implied—though without the presence of sinfulness or of any actual sin, yet—the possibility of sinning.[2] Without such a free, self-determining will, a true human nature cannot exist. Conflict by means of free-will appeared, moreover, to Theodore, the necessary condition of all progress in the development of rational creatures. Without this, the bestowment of that higher state of immutability, to which Christ was to attain by the resurrection, and to which through him mankind and the whole world of spirits was also destined to attain, could appear no otherwise than as an act of God's arbitrary will; not, as it is represented in sacred Scripture, the merited reward of a victorious conflict.[3] Now, in this way, Theodore might have been led to the doctrine of a deification of the human nature in Christ, somewhat like the later Socinian view, and consequently excluding the notion of a true being of God in Christ. But he was remote from this, so far at least as he expressed himself with consciousness. He *sincerely*

[1] See the fragment of Theodore, in the book written on purpose to refute him, by Johannes Philoponus. It contains his commentary on the history of the creation, in Genesis, l. VI. c. 10. Ὁ θεὸς τὰ τῆς εἰκόνος ἡμῖν διασῶσαι βουλόμενος, ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἕνα λάβων, ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ ἄτρεπτον ποιήσας, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἑαυτῷ συνάψας, ἵνα μὴ μόνον εἰς ὕψος τυγχάνων, παρὰ πάσης προσκυνῆται τῆς κτίσεως, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ πάντα φοβερός τε καὶ ἀνεπιβουλευτὸς ᾖ τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἅτε μηδεμίαν παρατροπὴν ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν ὑπομένειν οἱόστε ὤν. According to this theory, he could explain the 8th Psalm, it is true, as relating immediately to human nature in general; but yet maintain that, in its highest meaning, and in the whole extent of its contents, it refers to Christ, as the one in whom all that is said in this Psalm of human nature, became first fully realized. See the fragment of his commentary on the 8th Psalm, in Corderii Catena in Psalmos, f. 166. Comp. Concil. œcum. V. Collat. IV. c. 19.

[2] Hence Theodore supposed in the history of the temptation, which he considered as a transaction of the inner sense through the medium of a visionary appearance and communication of the evil spirit, an inward possibility in Christ of being tempted, so that he victoriously withstood the temptation by the power of his will. See the fragment from Theodore's work against the emperor Julian, published by Münter, fragmenta patrum Græcorum, fascic. I. "The end of the temptation, ἵνα καθαρῶς ἀναμάρτητος ὀφθῇ, οὐ τῷ μὴ πειρασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ φυλάξασθαι πειρασθεὶς — ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς πειραζόμενος."

[3] L. c. Concil. V. Collat. IV. Ita et animam Christi utpote humanam et sensus participem (partaking of human feelings and affections) prius accipiens et per resurrectionem in immutabilitatem constituens, sic et nobis eorumdem istorum per resurrectionem præbuit communionem. Post resurrectionem e mortuis et in cœlos ascensum impassibilis factus et immutabilis. Before his resurrection Christ was mutabilis in cogitationibus suis; it was not till after his resurrection he became immutabilis. In this sense he explains 1 Tim.: ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, referring it to the ἀναμαρτησία first communicated to him in its strict and proper sense by the Divine Spirit after the resurrection.

adopted the doctrine of the church respecting the divine incarnation. He by no means accommodated himself, barely in compliance with prevailing authority, to the expressions of the church, meaning to explain them in a different and alien sense. But he wished to frame to himself, after the analogy of human nature, and out of his contemplation of the life of Christ, a definite conception of that which is to be understood by Christ as God-man in his earthly appearance. He was here striving after the same thing as Apollinaris, only the two men took their departure from opposite points. The progressive deification of the human nature in Christ up to the time of his ascension to glory, he contemplated as a consequence and effect of the original and hidden union, — the very end for which God had appropriated the human nature even from its birth. But this union, existing from the first and presupposed through the whole life of Christ by virtue of his constantly victorious conflict, revealed itself in a gradually progressive manner in its effects, as the orderly process of the development of human nature required.[1] By virtue of that union, he developed his human faculties, both moral and intellectual, far more rapidly than other men: hence in his temptations he was not left to himself, but came off victorious by means of this union, although not without the coöperation of his own free-will. In a measure always proportionate to the bent of his own will manifested in the conflict, was revealed through him the divine power of the Logos constantly united with him, thus raising him step by step to continually higher degrees of glory, till he attained to the highest and most perfect degree after his resurrection. Thus Theodore could now apply even to the humanity of Christ a principle to which he attached the greatest importance; namely, that there is no such thing as unconditional predestination, that this is uniformly conditioned by the foreknowledge of the bent of the human will.[2] God ordained the man Jesus to that supreme dignity which he was to receive *in part* from the time of his birth, and to enjoy in its *whole extent* after the resurrection, because he foreknew that his will would persevere in its fidelity through every temptation.

Let us illustrate these statements by citing some of the explanations of Theodore himself: "Thus we see him," says he, "before

[1] Theodore's fundamental principle. Concil. V. Collat. IV. c. 49. Gratia data naturam non immutat.

[2] Even the ancients justly observed the inner connection between the Christology and the anthropology of the Antiochian school, and the affinity grounded on this circumstance between Pelagianism and Nestorianism. Vid. Phot. cod. 54, which is an extract from an ancient writing against Pelagianism and Nestorianism, belonging to the early times of the sixth century, wherein it is said: Οἱ μὲν (the Pelagians) περὶ τῶν μέλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποθρασύνονται (they attribute too much to the man, to the free-will in believers), οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ σώματος κεφαλῆς, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τόλμαν ἔχουσι. On the other side, in the case of Augustin, for instance, his opposite views of anthropology stood in connection with his opposite Christological notions. Thus he adduced the mode of union between the divinity and humanity in Christ, in proof of the assertion, that the operations of divine grace could not be conditioned on the merit of the human will. Neque enim et ipse ita verbo Dei conjunctus, ut ipsa conjunctione unus filius Dei et idem ipse unus filius hominis fieret, præcedentibus suæ voluntatis meritis fecit. Augustin. de peccatorum meritis et remissione. L. II. § 27.

the cross, hungry and athirst; afraid, and of many things ignorant: for out of himself he brought with him the purpose of virtue.[1] Of this Isaiah testifies, when he says, 'Before the child understands and distinguishes good and evil, he resists the evil to choose the good,' Isaiah 7: 16.[2] That is, before he came to the age at which other men are usually able to distinguish what ought to be done, he knew how to distinguish good and evil, because he possessed somewhat beyond that which belongs to other men; for if, even among ourselves, we often meet with those who, though children in years, yet discover great wisdom, insomuch as to excite the wonder of those that behold them, much more must the man of whom we speak have surpassed all others at the same period of life." [3] He ascribed, therefore, to our Saviour, at every period of his earthly life, a knowledge transcending the limits of ordinary human knowledge, and, in general, a knowledge far exceeding the capabilities of human nature; but still no participation in the divine omniscience. His theory enabled him to take those passages in which Christ declares himself to be ignorant of the time of the last judgment, in their proper and natural sense, — a view afterwards condemned as heretical under the name of *Agnoëtism*.[4] The words of Luke, that Jesus "increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man," he explained as meaning that with the progress of time Jesus grew in wisdom, and in corresponding virtue; while both were increased by the favor which he had with God. "In all this, he increased both with God and with men: men saw, indeed, the progress; but God not only saw it, but approved it by his testimony, and coöperated with him in his actions. It is also manifest, that he practiced every virtue in a more perfect manner and with greater ease than other men; because, from his very conception, God had united him with himself; ever continued to bestow on him that larger measure of coöperating power which was requisite in order to the great work of salvation; guided all his efforts, exciting him to strive continually after higher perfec-

[1] He means, on this account Christ had to pass through these conflicts.

[2] Namely, according to the Alexandrian version. Theodore did not hesitate, therefore, to recognize this passage as one that relates to the Messiah. But, indeed, on account of the distinction made by him of a twofold meaning in prophetic passages, it cannot be certainly decided what he regarded as being the proper historic reference of this passage.

[3] Out of the seventh book of Theodore on the incarnation cited in Leontius of Byzantium. Contra Nestorium et Eutychem, l. III. f. 701, T. IX. bibl. patr. Lugd.

[4] Ante crucem (i. e. before he came to share, by his exaltation to glory, in the attribute of the divine omniscience) eum *ignorare* reperimus. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. 9, f. 701. At the same time, it may seem strange, that, in a fragment of his commentary on the gospel according to John, he should say, speaking of the inquiry which Christ made after the grave of Lazarus: "Our Saviour did not ask this question because he did not know; for how could it be thus when he had already announced the fact that Lazarus was dead?" Vid. Corderii Catena in Joannem, f. 288. Either this fragment did not come from Theodore (who in the Catena is sometimes confounded with other writers), or else we must presume it to have been his meaning, that in *this particular case* there was no sufficient reason for supposing Christ to have been really ignorant of the fact respecting which he inquired, inasmuch as the question might be very well explained as having been proposed simply with a view of leading to the further development of his intentions with regard to Lazarus.

tion, and in many cases relieving and lightening his labors, whether of the body or of the mind."[1]

Regarding the exaltation of Christ, considered as man, to the divine immutability by means of his resurrection and ascension to glory, as a reward of the holy life which he had maintained through every trial, Theodore inferred from the fact that this change preceded, that it was not in the power of Christ to send the Holy Spirit until after it had taken place. Hence he explained the symbolical act of our Saviour, and the accompanying words addressed to the disciples after his resurrection (John 20: 22), as being simply a prophetical allusion to the communication of the Holy Spirit, which was not to be actually realized until afterwards.[2] He supposed also, that, as the divine majesty of Christ was not revealed until after his exaltation to heaven, and the transfiguration of his human nature, so it was not known among men until after the effusion of the Holy Spirit. Here was another point in which he did not allow himself to be fettered by the common doctrinal and exegetical tradition.

"Neither Nathaniel, Peter, nor Martha, did, by their confessions of Christ, in which they called him the Son of the living God, intimate that they believed in his divinity: this would indeed have been very remote from that common notion of the Messiah entertained by the Jews, which was their point of departure.[3] It was enough for them at the outset, to recognize in *his* appearance something which vastly transcended what appeared in other men. But, after his resurrection, they were, by the enlightening influence of the Holy Spirit, guided to a perfect knowledge; so that they recognized what it was that distinguished him above all other men, — what belonged to him, not as in the case of others, by dignity conferred from without; but by a peculiar right, and by virtue of his union with the divine Logos, through which union he came to participate, after his ascension to heaven, in all equal honor with the latter."[4] Accordingly he explained the exclamation of Thomas, — "My Lord, and my God!" — as an utterance of surprise; since the resurrection of Christ could be no certain evidence of his divinity.[5]

The controversies with the Apollinarists, against whom this school in Syria had often to contend, led him to unfold this part of his theory still further. Apollinaris, starting with the position that Christ must be regarded as perfectly holy from the beginning, that it would be presumption to ascribe to him a progressive development by means of conflict and trial, inferred that, instead of the changeable human spirit, we must necessarily suppose him to have been possessed of

[1] L. c. c. 701.

[2] Concil. V. Collat. IV. c. 14.

[3] The testimony of Theodore is important here also, as coming from one who was at home in those countries: Judæi et Samaritæ talia sperantes plurimum, quantum Dei verbi a scientia longe erant.

[4] L. c. c. 25.

[5] C. 15, and the explanation of Matth. 8, touching the cure of the centurion's servant, which shows his exegetical freedom, where he says of him: Neque enim tanquam Dei filium, et ante omnem creaturam subsistentem, et omnium, quæ sunt, opificem, adierat centurio. Hæc enim neque discipulorum erat tunc scire ante crucem; sed tanquam hominem per virtutem adeptum majorem quam est hominis potestatem. See Facund. Hermian. l. III. c. 4.

only an unchangeable divine spirit. On the other hand, Theodore disputed the position itself, from which the conclusion of Apollinaris was drawn. He maintained that it was impossible not to recognize in Christ a progressive development by means of conflict and trial, without pronouncing the evangelical record a fable ; and that all this was moreover necessarily required, in order to complete the work of redemption. But all this seemed to him perfectly inconceivable without the supposition of a human soul in Christ. "How could Christ," says he, "have experienced fear in the passion, if Deity took the place in him of the sensitive human soul? What need had he, in the approaching anguish, of that fervent prayer which he addressed to God with a loud voice and many tears? How came he to be so overwhelmed with fear, that his sweat was as great drops falling down to the ground?" He referred to the appearance of the angel, whom Christ needed to strengthen and comfort him. The angel, he observes, admonished him to endure with constancy, to overcome the weakness of human nature, and pointed out to him the benefits to be gained by his sufferings, and the glory which was to follow.[1] He affirmed, in opposition to Apollinaris, that Christ, being free from sensual desires, had to maintain the conflict rather with emotions rising up in his soul, than with the desires and pains of the body,[2] — which, according to Theodore's views, did by no means necessarily imply the existence of a sinful (peccable) nature in Christ, but only the mutability and capability of being tempted inseparable from the essence of the human soul in its present condition. It was indeed particularly the soul which needed to be healed. Against the assertion of Apollinaris, that it was necessary for Christ, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to conquer the *sensuous desires*, Theodore said : "From the fact that Christ achieved and maintained the victory over avarice and ambition, the body as such gained absolutely nothing ; since by *such* desires in fact *the body* cannot be subdued. But if it were not the soul, but only the Deity, which gained this victory, no advantage could have accrued from all this to us, and the conflict of our Lord would have been a mere empty show."[3] The words of Christ to Peter, Matt. 16 : 23, seemed necessarily to presuppose it as possible, that those words of Peter could have produced some effect on his mind. It is, says he, as if Christ had said to Peter : I shall suffer death with better courage, for the sake of the many benefits to which I and, through me, all shall attain. Pain and disturb not my mind, by exhorting me to shun death as an ignominious thing.[4] "What need," says he, "had the divinity of the only-begotten Son of the anointing by the Holy Ghost, or the power of the Spirit, in order to work miracles? What need had it of the Spirit, in order to learn, in order to appear without spot or blemish?[5]

[1] Extracts from his work against the Apollinarists. Concil. V. Collat. IV. c. 4.

[2] Plus inquietabatur dominus et certamen habebat ad animæ passiones, quam corporis. L. c. c. 27.

[3] Et videntur domini certamina ostentationis cujusdam gratia fuisse. Concil. V. Collat. IV. c. 27.

[4] L. c. c. 5.

[5] Allusion to Hebrews 9 : 14. So too he explained 1 Timothy 3 : 16.

When it is said, that he was led of the Spirit into the wilderness, this surely presupposes in general, that he was guided, ruled, instructed, strengthened in his thoughts by the Spirit. But if, instead of the soul, the *Deity* only dwelt within him, the strength of that was sufficient for everything, and the aid of the Holy Spirit would have been superfluous." [1]

Apollinaris, again, went on the principle, that it was absolutely inadmissible to compare the essential indwelling of God in Christ with the mode of the relation in which God stood, in other cases, to enlightened and holy men. He called that peculiar mode of the being of God in Christ, a substantial, essential indwelling (κατ' οὐσίαν, οὐσιώδες). Theodore, on the contrary, endeavored to illustrate the peculiar mode in which Christ was united with God, by comparing it with the manner in which God, in general, was nearer to *certain* reasonable beings than to *other* creatures; and here he adopted the fundamental points of a theory already unfolded by Diodore of Tarsus.[2] In his work on the incarnation of God, which was directed, as it seems, particularly against the Apollinarian doctrines, he inquired as to what formulas were best suited to designate that which was of the like kind in this relation of God to certain rational beings, and at the same time to exclude in the most certain manner all false, anthropopathic notions. "Are we to speak of an indwelling of God in his essential nature? But, in his essential nature, God can nowhere be either included or excluded: as the omnipresent Being, he stands in the like relation to all. Or shall we suppose the indwelling presence of God to be a presence, not in his essence, but in his energy (not κατ' οὐσίαν, but κατ' ἐνέργειαν)? But in case we maintained that God dwells after a special manner in *certain beings* by his energy, we could not, at the same time, maintain that his providence and government, his preserving and directing agency, extends over all; which, however, we must necessarily affirm if we acknowledge God to be the Preserver and Governor of all. We must accordingly find some such formula as is suited, in general, to designate the peculiar relation of moral fellowship and communion in which God stands with those rational beings who are fitted for it by the temper of their minds, in contradistinction from others who by their sins exclude themselves from such communion. And that formula is as follows: God is peculiarly near to such by virtue of his complacency in them; by virtue of his disposition towards them; by virtue of the direction of his will; by his favor, inasmuch as he has adopted them as his children." [3] An essential union could, in the opinion of Theodore, truly take place only between natures of the same essence; not between those differing in essence. Of the latter, there could be only

[1] L. c. c. 6, 7, 13.

[2] See the fragments of Diodorus in the work of Leontius of Byzantium, in the Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. IX. f. 700.

[3] Κατ' εὐδοκίαν, in allusion to the divine voice at the baptism of Christ (Luke 3: 22), κατὰ διάθεσιν, κατὰ θέλησιν, κατὰ χάριν, καθ' υἱοθεσίαν (l. c. f. 700), which in the Latin is in general translated adoptio. Hence the controversy, at a later period, about adoptionism. He moreover referred to the mode in which elsewhere the names God and the Son of God are used metonymically: Adoptio in baptismo secundum comparationem judaicæ adoptionis, where he referred to Is. 1: 2; Ps. 82: 6.

a heterogeneous mixture.[1] He compared also Christ's *baptism* with the baptism of believers, as that which was prefigured by his own; affirming that, from this moment, the effects of that special union with God became manifest in him; but with this difference, that to him was imparted the entire fullness of the Divine Spirit, while believers received *through him* only partial influences of the same Spirit.[2] Here, as in many other places, Theodore seems to assert, that to the Saviour, something new, which had not been in him before, was imparted to him from without; a view, however, which is at variance with the opinion he elsewhere expressed respecting an original union of the divine Logos with the man Jesus; unless perhaps he meant to say, that this communication of the fullness of the divine Spirit, seeming to come to him from without, was but an effect resulting from his hidden union with the divine Logos.

Although Theodore after this manner compared the being of God in Christ with the being of God in sanctified and enlightened men, yet it was by no means his purpose to establish here a *perfect sameness of kind* in all respects, but only to place in a prominent light the sameness of kind in a certain respect; in so far as the relation of God to rational beings standing in spiritual communion with him must and should be distinguished from the relation of God to the rest of creation. He affirmed, at the same time, that along with this generic identity there still existed, in the same identical relation in this one respect, a great specific diversity. And here regard should be had to the *different modes and ways* in which God stands related to good men generally, to prophets, to apostles, and last of all to the Son.[3] These accessory distinctions served to designate the different ways in which God dwells within whatever is generically like him. "Never," says Theodore, "shall we have the folly to assert, that the mode in which God dwells in Christ is no other than that in which he dwells in prophets or apostles." After these distinctions, the expression Son of God, in the sense of Theodore, would denote "such a not merely partial but complete union between him who is, by his nature and essence, the Son of God (namely, the Logos), and a man, — as that, by virtue of this union, the latter would be admitted to share in all the glory, honor, and dominion belonging to the former."[4] The union of the natures, by the divine good pleasure, says Theodore, brings it about, that, to both, by homonymy, is given the same name; that they share of the same dominion, dignity, and power, without any manner of distinction; and by virtue of the same, one person is formed of the two natures, as it is also called one person."[5]

[1] Ὁ τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἑνώσεως ἐπὶ μόνων τῶν ὁμοουσίων ἠλήθευται λόγος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑτερουσίων διέψευσται, συγχύσεως εἶναι καθαρὸς οὐ δυνάμενος. Collectio Maji, T. VII. p. 69.

[2] See Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. IX. f. 701, col. 1.

[3] Where, namely, this expression, "Son of God," was taken in the highest sense; for Theodore in this respect also did admit that there might be a different application of the term, where nothing more was to be denoted by it than simply the union with God generally. See note 3, p. 499.

[4] See Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. IX. f. 700, col. 2.

[5] Ἡ κατ' εὐδοκίαν τῶν φύσεων ἕνωσις μίαν ἀμφοτέρων τῷ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας λόγῳ ἐργάζεται τὴν προσηγορίαν, τὴν αὐθεντίαν, τὴν δυνασ-τείαν, τὴν δεσποτείαν, τὴν ἀξίαν, τὴν ἐξουσίαν, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ διαιρουμένην, ἑνὸς ἀμφο-

Again, whilst Apollinaris affirmed that two beings, both abiding in their own complete and individual natures, could never be so united as to constitute one whole, one person, it was the great purpose of Theodore to show in what way we are to conceive that deity and humanity, while abiding each in its own peculiar essence in Christ, were still bound together by a certain relation in one personal fellowship and unity. Jesus, as the instrument employed by the deity, for the purpose of extending abroad his saving influences to all men who are fitted to receive them, was the temple in which God dwelt, and in so far a divinely human person. "If we look at the distinction of the deity and the humanity," said he, "*there* we must distinguish from each other two natures, abiding without disturbance, each in its own purity and completeness, — and accordingly, since both the conceptions are strictly connected, two persons (*ὑποστάσεις, πρόσωπα*). But if we look at their union in the above mentioned relation, we must speak of Christ as a person in whom, as one, the human nature has been taken up into fellowship with the divine.[1] This kind of union," he says, "preserved the two natures unmixed and unseparated; both became thereby one person. There was one will and one agency, and consequently one dominion."[2]

He illustrates this by comparing it with the case in which man and wife are, in a *certain* relation, called one body, Ephes. 5. Thus, Theodore contradicted what constituted the prevailing doctrine, not only in the Alexandrian church, but also in other churches.[3] It may be said, indeed, that the church phraseology relating to the distinction between the terms *ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον*, and *φύσις*, was not as yet duly settled; but the reason why Theodore deemed it necessary to suppose that, in a certain respect, two hypostases were united in Christ, lay still deeper than in this unsettled character of the church phraseology: it was connected with the whole peculiarity of his mode of apprehension.

As we already remarked in describing the doctrine of Apollinaris, the latter employed the interchangeableness of the predicates belonging to the two natures (the *ἀντιμεθίστασις τῶν ὀνομάτων*) as a character to define the unity of the God-man. But Theodore contended against this unconditional transfer itself, as bringing along with it a perfect entanglement and confusion of conceptions.[4] He was himself also for allowing, indeed, of a certain transfer of predicates, to mark the union of the deity and humanity in Christ; but this only when the different relation of the same predicate was expressly defined,

τέρων κατ' αὐτὴν προσώπου καὶ γενομένου καὶ λεγομένου. Maji. l. c. p. 69.

[1] Concil. V. Collat. IV. c. 29. Quando naturas discernimus, perfectam naturam Dei verbi dicimus et perfectam personam, nec enim sine persona est subsistantiam dicere perfectam, perfectam autem et hominis naturam et personam similiter.

[2] *Ὁ τῆς κατ' εὐδοκίαν ἑνώσεως τρόπος, ἀσυγχύτους φυλάσσων φύσεις καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους, ἐν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρόσωπον δείκνυσιν, καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν μετὰ τῆς ἑπομένης τούτοις μιᾶς αὐθεντίας καὶ δεσποτείας.* Maji, l. c. p. 69.

[3] As the Cappadocian church teachers had declared in the Apollinarian controversy, that, in respect to the difference of the deity and humanity in Christ, we may say indeed, *ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο*, but not *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*.

[4] Concil. V. collat. IV. c. 8.

according as it was employed to denote either the being who, in his essence, is the Son of God, or the man who, through the divine favor, was exalted to Sonship with God by being taken into union with the essential Son of God. Accordingly he said, the virgin Mary might, in different senses, be called θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος; the latter, in accordance with the nature of the fact; the former, in view of a certain relation, and in so far as God dwelt, after the manner described, in the man who was born of her.[1]

The opposite tendency as to the mode of apprehending and developing this doctrine, we find in the *Alexandrian church.* Owing to the mystical contemplative bent which predominated in that church, the chief endeavor there was, to set prominently forth the mystery, the incomprehensible, transcendent, and inexplicable fact of the union of the deity and humanity, by the very forms of phraseology chosen to express this doctrine; and to oppose every attempt at explanation. The ἕνωσις τῶν φύσεων ἄφραστος, ἀπερινόητος, ἄῤῥητος, and ὑπὲρ λόγον — "the ineffable, incomprehensible, transcendent union of natures," — such was the *watchword* of the Alexandrian church doctrine. Since the church teachers of this tendency, of whom we may regard the bishop *Cyrill* of Alexandria as the representative, sought by their doctrinal formulas to give particular prominence to the mystery of the appearance and existence of *one Christ* in the united deity and humanity, they were very ready to transfer the human predicates to the divine essence, and the divine to the human. They were fond of such paradoxical expressions as "God has suffered for us; Mary is the Mother of God (ἡ θεοτόκος); Mary bore in the body the Word which was made flesh." Because they used such expressions, however, they ought by no means to be charged with holding notions whereby the divine and human natures were confounded and transformed into each other. They guarded expressly against being so misunderstood, by always holding distinctly apart the divine and the human predicates (τὰ ἀνθρώπινα and τὰ θεοπρεπῆ); also by acknowledging the independence of both in their union, and by explaining, that the predicates of both kinds were to be attributed to the one Word who became man, but in different senses; the one, with reference to his deity, the other with reference to the humanity which he assumed. Only we ought no longer to distinguish, in the actual case, two natures, to which these different attributes belonged; but ascribe both classes of attributes alike, though not in the same sense, to one and the same Logos who became man. One and the same Son of God miraculously consists of two natures mysteriously united.[2] Since, moreover, the Egyptian theologians, strangers as they were to all intentional Docetism, received all the phenomena which they found presented in the gospel history into their conception of Christ; since, accordingly, they referred to him the expressions of anguish at the approach of death, and also his asseverations of ignorance with respect to many things, regarding these as the marks of humanity, they

[1] See Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. IX. f. 703, col. 1.

[2] Εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς υἱὸς ἐκ δυοῖν πραγμάτων εἰς ἓν τι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀποῤῥήτως ἐκπεφηνώς.

could agree, on this side, in individual results, with the other party; but the difference between the two dogmatic tendencies manifested itself in their peculiar way of explaining these facts.

The Egyptian scheme of doctrine placed in this the incomprehensible mystery, — that divine omniscience and human ignorance; human suffering, human sensibility, and divine exemption from suffering; and, in general, divine and human attributes, coëxisted in one and the same Christ. The suprarational, supernatural side (ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ φύσιν) was precisely the one which they were for chiefly insisting upon. The Antiochian theologians, on the other hand, presumed indeed in no wise to derive and explain the existence and appearance of Christ from the ordinary course of the development of human nature. They acknowledged here, in common with the Alexandrians, such a communication of God as could only be an object of faith; but yet they did not confine themselves within the same narrow limits which the latter had set up, in their endeavors to bring these phenomena under distinct and definite conceptions of the understanding. Comparing the life of Christ, as it appeared in its manifestation, with the course of development of human nature generally, and with the great end of Christ's appearance on earth, they sought to point out what was in harmony with nature in the revelation of the supernatural; to trace, in connection with the ὑπὲρ λόγον, also the κατὰ λόγον. Along with this difference went another; namely, that the Antiochian theologians endeavored to find something analogous to the union of God with man in Christ, in the relation of God to rational beings generally; to find a point of comparison between the being of God in Christ, and the being of God in believers; while, on the other hand, the Alexandrian theologians endeavored to give distinctness and prominence to those points alone in which the union of God and humanity in Christ differed entirely from every other kind of union into which God enters with man, and looked upon all those comparisons and analogies as tantamount to a denial of the divine dignity of the Redeemer; as tending to obscure, or even totally to subvert, the doctrine of the God-man. He who affirmed that God used the man Jesus as an instrument, that He dwelt in him as in a temple, seemed to them to acknowledge no other being of God in Christ, than might be affirmed in the case of all enlightened and sanctified men, — such, for example, as Moses and the prophets; and so also, he who spoke of a συνάφεια κατὰ χάριν, κατ' εὐδοκίαν, etc. They did not consider, that these several expressions might be used in a quite different sense from their own, and really were so used by the theologians of the other party. The Alexandrians, it is true, had in their favor, so far as it concerned the last-mentioned formula, the prevailing doctrinal terminology. The peculiar doctrinal terminology of the Antiochian school was in this case closely connected, however, with the whole of their system, — particularly with its peculiar doctrine of man; but for this very reason they could, in fairness and justice, be judged only by reference to their own connection of ideas, and the relation of their doctrinal language to their doctrinal conceptions. So, to that theory

of a συνάφεια κατὰ χάριν, or κατ' εὐδοκίαν, κατ' αὐθεντίαν, κατ' ἀξίαν, — all which expressions, taken in their own (the Alexandrians') sense, could denote nothing else than a certain spiritual, moral fellowship, at highest a deification of human nature, — to this theory the Alexandrians had nothing to oppose but the assertion of a ἕνωσις φυσικὴ, κατ' οὐσίαν, οὐσιώδης; as they would recognize in the *Christ* who appeared, only the one nature of the incarnate Word, or the one incarnate nature of the Word (μία φύσις τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένου, or μία φύσις — σεσαρκωμένη). But the Antiochians, who likewise proceeded only on the groundwork of *their own* connection of ideas and their own dogmatic terminology, could under these latter definitions conceive of nothing else than a confusion and transformation of the two natures, resulting in a third.

It is manifest, then, from what has been said, how easily the two positions might be held in direct opposition to each other, — how easily those at the one might see dangerous heresies in the assertions which proceeded from those at the other. Had men traced back to its deepest ground the difference at bottom, in the relation of the two dogmatic tendencies to each other, they would have come to perceive and to make themselves conscious, that there existed here a radical difference in the mode of apprehending the relation between the natural and the divine, — the relation between reason and revelation; as, in fact, appears evident in the relation of the ὑπὲρ λόγον to the κατὰ λόγον. But to such clearness of insight, the consciousness of dogmatic oppositions did not, in this period, easily unfold itself. Men were rather disposed to remain fast by the accidental expression or utterance of oppositions in their outward form of manifestation, just where they laid strongest hold on the church interest, without seeking to make themselves clearly conscious of the underlying root of the antagonism. Besides this, the contest here between the two opposite types of doctrine sprung out of the use of a single term, to which, just then, the church interest attached peculiar importance; and, owing to the manner in which the controversy arose, it so happened that the dogmatic development was from the outset disturbed by the intrusion of profane, personal feelings. And since men did not know how to separate the religious and the doctrinal interest, while various foreign influences soon entered from without, the development of the general principles which lay at bottom in the contest over particular points was necessarily more and more hindered.

The circumstances which led to the outbreak of the controversy were as follows: *Nestorius*, a presbyter of the church at Antioch, esteemed and celebrated on account of the rigid austerity of his life and the impressive fervor of his preaching, had, in the year 428, been made patriarch of Constantinople. Educated in the convent, he had brought with him the virtues and the faults usually connected with Monasticism. With an honest and pious zeal he failed to unite prudence and moderation: his zeal was readily alloyed with passion: he was apt to see dangerous heresies in anything remote from the dogmatic phraseology to which he was accustomed. He did not always know how to unite the spirit of love and forbearance with zeal for

the truth of which he was assured. As it was often the case with those who left the discipline of the cloister to act a part on the great stage of public life, that, by the constraint and awkwardness of their movements, they gave frequent occasion of offense; so it happened with Nestorius, when suddenly transferred from a quiet scene of activity into the most perplexing relations, at a corrupt court, where intrigue and the meanest passions had full sway, and amidst a clergy who, many of them, were governed much more by worldly than by spiritual motives. Here he was exposed to the jealous watch of many foreign ecclesiastics residing at the court, who had aspired to the patriarchal dignity; and also to that of the patriarch of Alexandria, who was seeking to be primate of the Oriental church. To sustain himself under such relations, and to have it in his power to exert a good and salutary influence, Nestorius should have united with great firmness of character, a sufficient degree of Christian prudence, moderation, and wisdom. But in just these qualities he was, in part, deficient.

He was inclined to make trial of his patriarchal power by attempting in the first place to suppress various descriptions of heretics, who, in spite of the several laws which had been passed against them, had continued to spread and multiply in the capital city of the East, and its subordinate dioceses.[1] Spiritual arrogance under the form of a blind, persecuting zeal, expressed itself in these words of his inaugural discourse, which were addressed to the emperor: "Give me a country purified of heretics, and for it I will give you heaven. Help me to subdue the heretics, and I will help you to subdue the Persians." Not a few, to be sure, were highly delighted with this zeal of their new patriarch for the purity of the faith; but others were not wanting, men of more prudence and foresight, who augured unfavorably of such a beginning. Correspondent with this beginning was the course which the new patriarch chose to pursue in his first active labors, when, without distinguishing between things essential and non-essential in doctrinal disputes, he proceeded to persecute, with like zeal, Arians, Novatians, and Quartodecimanians. He was thus the occasion of much violent excitement, which ended in the shedding of blood. But it was not long before his polemical zeal drew down the charge of heresy upon himself.

Nestorius, if not a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, belonged, as appears evident from his doctrine concerning Christ's person, to the disciples of the Antiochian school. He was accustomed to defend a ἕνωσις κατ' εὐδοκίαν, κατὰ θέλησιν, in opposition to the ἕνωσις κατ' οὐσίαν, κατὰ φύσιν. The latter appeared to him absurd, and not to be reconciled with the immutability of the divine essence.[2] Now from this dog-

[1] The church historian, Socrates, who must be our principal authority in depicting the character of Nestorius, and who is the least prejudiced of any who have described him, might indeed be led astray in his judgment of him, through partiality for the Novatians, whom Nestorius persecuted; but, on the other hand, he appears free, in his judgments, from the fanaticism of his times; as is evident in those remarks which tend to the disparagement of Nestorius.

[2] As he expresses himself in the following fragment: Τῷ κατ' οὐσίαν λόγῳ, φύσει φύσις οὐχ ἑνοῦται χωρὶς ἀφανισμοῦ. Οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐταῖς σώζεται ὁ τοῦ πῶς εἶναι λόγος· ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὴν θέλησιν ἕνωσις καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀτρέπτους αὐτὰς τηρεῖ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους, μίαν

matic point of view, which was peculiar to himself, he might, with that narrow spirit of the monk which ever clung to him, easily see important heresies in whatever was opposed to his own governing dogmatic notions. On this side he could not fail to meet with many things calculated to offend him under the new circumstances in which he was placed; for here he encountered many phrases in the prevailing language of the church which seemed altogether repugnant to the Antiochian system of doctrine. To this class belonged particularly the title Θεοτόκος as applied to the virgin Mary; a title to which the prevailing veneration of Mary attached peculiar importance; and this excessive veneration of Mary itself, which such a title served to encourage, might also contribute, with other causes, to make its use appear dangerous to Nestorius, who had received, in the Antiochian school, a purer direction of the Christian spirit.[1]

As it was not customary in those times to separate what belonged to scholastic divinity from the topics more appropriate to the sermon, it was natural that Nestorius, whose rhetorical manner, modeled after the Antiochian taste, was peculiarly grateful to the Constantinopolitans, and whose sermons were received with loud exclamations of applause and clapping of hands,[2] should soon feel impelled to introduce into them a doctrinal theme which appeared to him so important. It may perhaps, however, be ascribed to his prudence, that he did not at once enter the lists against a term which stood in such high veneration; but contented himself to teach in general the doctrine concerning the union of the two natures in Christ, according to the system of Theodore of Mopsuestia.[3] When Nestorius expounded the Anti-

αὐτῶν δεικνῦσα πεποιημένην τὴν θέλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. And in the second fragment, the *καθ' ὑπόστασιν καὶ φύσιν ἕνωσις* is rejected as untenable, and the *κατ' εὐδοκίαν ἕνωσις, μίαν τῶν ἡνωμένων ἀποσώζουσι θέλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν* maintained. Maji, T. VII. 1833, p. 69.

[1] Socrates is, in one respect, more just towards Nestorius than the great body of his contemporaries, and the dominant party in the church during several of the following centuries, in that he defends him against the charge of Photinianism and of Samosatenianism. But in another respect he does him injustice, adopting the false view of these controversies which came to be entertained at a later period, after Nestorius had been factiously stigmatized as a heretic; and charging him with having fostered the controversy about a mere word, from want of accurate knowledge of the language and literature of the ancient church, from obstinacy and from vanity. He was afraid of the word *θεοτόκος* as of a ghost (*ὡς τὰ μορμολύκια*). From the remarks already made respecting the general dogmatic antagonism out of which this controversy arose, it is evident, that although the dispute here was about a word, yet it was by no means a mere verbal dispute; but a far deeper and more general opposition of views was the real source of the controversy. If it had so happened, however, that this particular term had not been drawn into the dispute, the controversy doubtless would not have proved at once so violent and acrimonious.

[2] As appears evident from various allusions in his sermons. See e. g. Sermo II. in the works of Marius Mercator, T. II. near the beginning.

[3] That this preceded the public outbreak of the controversy, is apparent from what Nestorius himself says, in a sermon delivered after the controversy had begun: *Μέμνησθε δέ που πάντως καὶ τὰ πολλάκις μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρημένα, τὰς διπλᾶς πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν διακρίνοντι φύσεις.* L. c. p. 9, init. The Quartodecimanians in Asia Minor, who were induced, by his influence, to join themselves to the catholic church, were persuaded by him also to subscribe the creed which he had brought with him from the Antiochian church, which Theodore of Mopsuestia had drawn up for the use of catechumens and converted heretics, and in which his peculiar system of doctrines was clearly unfolded. See Concil. Ephes. act. VI. f. 1515, T. I. Harduin.

ochian system of doctrine in his discourses, others of less considerate zeal, who were attached to his person, might feel themselves called upon to commence the attack upon the name θεοτόκος now commonly applied to the virgin Mary. His presbyter Anastasius, who had come with him from Antioch, and enjoyed his particular confidence, was, on a certain occasion,[1] prompted to exclaim in one of his discourses: "Let no man call Mary the mother of God; for she was human, and God cannot be born of man."[2] This onset, though it sprang out of a well-meant pious zeal, was still extremely ill-timed and unwise. The term which he attacked had on its side the authority of ancient use, not only in the Egyptian church, but also in other respectable churches: many eminent church teachers had already employed it, without associating with its use the errors aimed at by Anastasius. But by the way in which he attacked it, he would necessarily expose himself, according to the then prevailing method of doctrinal strife, to the reproach of having denied the true deity of Christ, of having taught that Jesus was born of Mary as a mere man, and then, in some after period, visited — like other prophets and divine messengers, whom he differed from only in degree — with the influences of the Holy Spirit.

Furthermore, it is said, that a bishop of Marcianopolis in Mœsia,[3] who was just then on a visit to Constantinople, publicly exclaimed in the church, either while addressing an assembly of bishops in the sacrarium, or more probably in a sermon: "Let him be accursed who calls Mary the mother of God." But Cyrill wrongly infers, because Nestorius did not contradict this declaration, and because he afterwards admitted this bishop to the communion, that he approved of what he had said. Nestorius might certainly acknowledge the bishop as an orthodox man, and respect his zeal for pure doctrine, though he may not have approved the way in which he chose to express it.

After this public declaration, the question whether Mary ought to be called the mother of God was much agitated, not only among the clergy at Constantinople, but among the laity of higher rank, who

[1] Socrat. VII. 32.

[2] It is nothing strange, that the reports differ as to the immediate occasion of the disputes. Various circumstances, following one after the other, may have coöperated to kindle the flame; and then the question comes up, which was the first. The report of Socrates seems on the whole to present the order of events in their most natural connection. According to the account of Theophanes, in his Chronography, Nestorius himself first brought on the dispute, by a sermon composed by himself (the same which Socrates ascribes to Anastasius), which he placed in the hands of his *Syncel* (episcopal secretary), directing him to read it in the church. This secretary, according to Theophanes, was not Anastasius. Supposing the fact to have been so, we may conclude that this sermon was the first in the series of those which have been preserved by Marius Mercator; for in this discourse something resembling the expressions quoted in the text is unquestionably to be found. But still this amounts to no proof; for, in sermons which continually refer to this subject, many things would naturally be repeated. Socrates is here certainly a more important authority than Theophanes, who wrote four centuries later.

[3] Cyrill of Alexandria, the fierce antagonist of Nestorius, and whose testimony therefore cannot be wholly relied on, reports this in several public declarations; e. g. ep. 6. But the truth of this assertion is contradicted on no side; and what Cyrill relates may well be supposed to have taken place through the blind zeal of a bishop of this party.

were so addicted to doctrinal discussions;[1] and the disputes were carried on with heat and violence on both sides. Nestorius thought it his duty to take an active part in these disputes, and to defend the cause of his friend, who was stigmatized as a heretic. He often brought up this subject in his sermons. In the first of these, he began with setting forth the evidences of a providence consulting for the wants of mankind in the kingdom of nature, which evidences he drew from the marks of benevolent adaptation; but with a very superficial conception of the principle, the whole being referred merely to the gratification of sensuous wants. Then, by a quite disproportionate leap, he proceeded next to consider the greatest gift which God has bestowed on mankind, in the appearance of Christ, whose end was to restore the fallen image of God. The restoration of mankind was to be brought about by the instrumentality of a man, in proof of which he adduced 1 Corinth. 15 : 21. On this last proposition he evidently intended to lay great stress, with a view to the immediate application of it against those who were unwilling to call Mary the mother of a man, but who insisted that she was the mother of God. Unjustly charging such with his own inferences from their doctrine, he put them in the same class with Pagans, who gave mothers to their gods. Him who was born of Mary, he, on the other hand, calls the instrument of the Deity, the temple prepared through Mary by the Holy Spirit, in which the divine Logos dwelt. Everywhere in these discourses, he adheres strictly to the formulas of the Antiochian school. He teaches that there were two natures, deity and humanity, united together after the most intimate manner; but from the first, in connection with the continued duality of natures, there was but one dignity,[2] — the human nature being, in this respect, exalted, by virtue of that intimate union, to a participation in the dignity of the divine. Hence *one* Christ, one Son of God, inasmuch as the humanity had been taken up into union with the one eternal Son of God. He spoke, as we might anticipate from the above remarks, with great heat and injustice against the antagonists of the Antiochian scheme of doctrine, whom he called sophistical dogmatists of the new school.[3] He places the doctrine of a most intimate union between humanity and deity over against the doctrine of a deification of human nature, of which he accuses his opponents.[4]

This controversy excited so much interest even among the laity, that, on a certain occasion, when Nestorius was inveighing against the doctrine which represented Mary as the mother of God, and contrasting the eternal generation of the Logos with the temporal nativity of *the man* whom the Logos assumed as his instrument, an individual of rank, no longer able to restrain himself, cried out "No; the eternal Logos himself condescended also to the second birth."

[1] According to the narrative of Theophanes, it was an advocate (*σχολαστικὸς*) of Constantinople, who first came out publicly in the church, against a sermon in which the epithet *θεοτόκος* was attacked.

[2] *Ἀξία, αὐθεντία μοναδική.*

[3] *Τοὺς σοφοὺς τῶν δογματιστῶν τῶν νεωτέρων.*

[4] *Ἄκρα συνάφεια, οὐκ ἀποθέωσις.*

Immediately a violent commotion arose among the assembled multitude, — one party taking the side of the patriarch, the other that of his opponent.[1] Nestorius did not allow himself to be embarrassed by this incident. He once more resumed his discourse, praised the zeal of his friends, and, having attempted to refute the sudden opponent, whom he called a poor miserable trifler,[2] proceeded with the discussion after his usual manner.

Already had Nestorius incurred, in the opinion of many, the charge of Photinianism,[3] when a man who, on account of his personal relations, might well be suspected of being governed by unholy passions and motives, took advantage of the popular feeling now rising against the patriarch, and labored to excite it still more, — coming out publicly, though without naming him, as his opponent, and in a way which was well suited to produce in the minds of many an unfavorable impression against Nestorius. This person was *Proclus*, who had been offered as a bishop to the church at Cyzicus, but had not been received as such. He had ever since resided in the Eastern capital, and, at an earlier period, sought to obtain the vacant patriarchate at Constantinople, with some hopes of success. On the Christmas festival of the year 429, or on the festival of the Annunciation (ἡμέρα εὐαγγελισμοῦ) on the 25th of March,[4] he preached a discourse, full of rhetorical display and exaggeration, in which, extolling the virgin Mary as the mother of the incarnate Logos, he attacked those who refused to acknowledge her as such, without calling their names, and noticed in particular the objections which had been offered by Nestorius in the first sermon above mentioned. As, by hints and allusions, he gave it to be understood that his opponents believed only in a deified man, instead of believing in a humanized Logos; as he held them up to view as enemies to the honor of Mary; all this could not fail with many to operate very unfavorably for the party of Nestorius. The tinkling chime of high-wrought phrases, and the cause which he defended, the honor of Mary, procured for the sermon — though, from the peculiar character of the style, it must have been unintelligible to many — immense approbation, as was testified by the loud applause with which, according to the usual practice, it was received. All this having transpired in the presence of Nestorius, and himself understanding full well all the allusions in the discourse,

[1] Opp. Marii Mercator. T. II. f. 13.

[2] Τῆς τοῦ δειλαίου μιαρίας ὁ ἔλεγχος.

[3] He had heard of this accusation, but considered it unworthy of refutation, because they could not touch his doctrine in that way. Ego autem quibusdam mihi et illud renuntiantibus, cum lætitia sæpius risi, quoniam, inquiunt, episcopus, quæ Photini sunt, sapit.

[4] All that Proclus says, in this homily, is unquestionably suited to the second festival, concerning the celebration of which in this church during the present period, we have, however, no other account besides this. As elsewhere, in the homilies of the Greek fathers of this period, many things connected with the nativity and childhood of Christ are taken together, so this discourse might be understood also as having reference to the *Christmas* festival; and possibly Proclus, for the express purpose of doing honor to Mary, may have converted this festival itself into a παρθενικὴ πανήγυρις. What he says about the great multitude who had come by land and by water, to attend the celebration of this festival, would rather lead us to conclude that it was the great Christian festival of Christmas.

he felt himself called upon to defend his doctrine against these reproaches; and hence on the spot he addressed a short discourse to the church, such as the moment suggested to him, and in which therefore the good temper he showed, in refraining from any personal attack on his opponent, deserves to be more particularly remarked. He began with great prudence, declaring that it was perfectly natural that they should receive with so great approbation what had been said to the honor of Mary; "but," he added, "we must take heed, lest, in doing honor above measure to the virgin Mary, we run the hazard of detracting from the dignity of the divine Logos." With allusion to the swollen language of Proclus, so ill suited to the understanding of the people, he said he would endeavor to speak with plainness, so as to be understood by all. He concluded by exhorting them not to express their approbation at once by clapping, not to suffer themselves to be carried away by the charm of oratory, but to examine with care into the doctrine, and refrain from condemning what was true, merely because it was new to them. Immediately after this, he preached several discourses, in which he expounded the questions still further with reference to the objections of Proclus. He was aware how much foresight he needed to use, so as to give no offense where there was such an enthusiastic veneration of Mary. He was ready to respect this feeling, yet without yielding anything from the truth. He declared that, in case any of the simpler minded were disposed to call the virgin Mary the mother of God (θεοτόκος), he had no particular aversion to the term, provided they did not convert Mary into a goddess.[1] Adopting the middle course between the two extremes, instead of using the phrases Mary the mother of God, or the mother of the man (θεοτόκος or ἀνθρωποτόκος), he employed the term mother of Christ (χριστοτόκος), inasmuch as the name Christ belonged to the whole person uniting the divine and the human natures. His endeavor to keep close to the holy Scriptures appears worthy of all respect. He very justly offers it as an argument against the use of that term, that the holy Scriptures nowhere teach that God, but everywhere that *Jesus Christ*, the Son of God, the Lord, was born of Mary. "This we all acknowledge; for unhappy is his case who receives not what the Scriptures teach." His pains-taking conscientiousness in refusing to yield anything from the truth may be seen in the following example. He had said, "I do not grudge that epithet to the mother of *Christ*. I know that she is worthy of all honor who received God into herself, through whom the Lord of the universe passed, through whom the Sun of righteousness shone." These words, which favored the worship of the virgin, and seemed coincident with the prevailing notions, were received with claps of approbation. This made Nestorius fearful lest his language might have been so understood as to conflict with the scheme of doctrine which he had ever taught; and therefore he immediately added: "Your applause makes

[1] Ἐμοὶ πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν φθόνος οὐκ ἐστι, μόνον μὴ ποιείτω τὴν πάρθενον θεάν. S. V f. 30.

me suspicious.[1] How have you understood my declaration — through whom the Lord of the universe passed? In that I said not the same as if I had used the words, 'He was born of her.' For I do not so soon forget my own language," [2] etc.

Meanwhile everything at Constantinople was tending towards a schism of the church. One party of the clergy and monks, affecting to regard him as a heretic, a follower of the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, would no longer recognize him as their bishop, and renounced all church fellowship with him.[3] A card was publicly affixed to the walls of the principal church, containing a detailed comparison of the doctrines of Nestorius with those of Paul of Samosata.[4] Several presbyters preached, in one of the churches of Constantinople, against the doctrines of Nestorius. He forbade their preaching. Some of the clergy, who were hostile to him, were deposed from their places, as favorers of Manicheism, by a synod convened under his presidency at Constantinople.[5] On that principle of charging opponents with all imaginable consequences from their doctrines, in which both parties equally indulged, it had probably been inferred from the manner in which those clergy, in accordance with the Egyptian scheme, had expressed themselves in speaking of the human nature of Christ, that they denied the reality of Christ's humanity, and had therefore fallen into the Manichean Docetism. In view of the remarks already made respecting the character of Nestorius, we must admit there may have been some ground for the accusations of his opponents, inclined though they were to indulge everywhere in extravagant statements, that in the heat of controversy he sometimes forgot himself so far as to resort to violent measures. But we should remember also how sorely he was provoked by fanatical and arrogant opponents, who showed not the least respect for law or order. Once, when Nestorius was about to enter the church for the purpose of preaching a discourse from the Bema, a monk boldly placed himself in the way to stop him, because heretics should not be allowed to teach in public. His adversaries,[6] who relate this story themselves, call this disorderly behavior by no severer name, indeed, than the zeal of a pious simplicity; but they really had no reason to complain when such a disturber of the public peace was harshly dealt with, and banished from Constantinople. On another occasion, Nestorius displayed that spirit of moderation which seeks not to dispute about words, while pure doctrine is seen to be safe. As he had publicly declared in his sermons, that he had no objection to the term θεοτόκος, in itself considered; so, in opposition to several of the clergy and the monks who

[1] Nestorius, to his honor be it said, seems everywhere to have been averse to these loud theatrical demonstrations of applause. He says here: Πάλιν ὑποπτεύω τὸν κρότον; and on another occasion, where doubtless he had been received with loud exclamations of applause, he says, "I do not judge the love you bear me by your shouts," οὐ κραυγαῖς κρίνω τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ φιλοστοργίαν. S. II. fol. 8.

[2] S. V. f. 31.

[3] See the petition of the Diaconus Basilius, and the monks associated with him, in Harduin. Concil. T. I. f. 1335.

[4] L. c. f. 1271.

[5] As Nestorius says himself, in a letter to Cyrill of Alexandria, l. c. f. 1280.

[6] L. c. Harduin. f. 1338.

had stigmatized him as a heretic, he declared himself ready to concede, that the person who by his nature is the Son of God was born of the virgin Mary, the mother of God, since there is but one Son of God. The last addition shows in what sense he would concede this; namely, since the true and essential Son of God had appropriated to himself human nature, and taken it up into union with his own dignity, so that there is but one Son of God, the predicates of the human nature might therefore, in this point of view, be attributed to the one Son of God. Had these persons rightly understood the remark of Nestorius, in its connection with his own scheme of doctrine, they would not have accused him of deception.[1] The adversaries of Nestorius at Constantinople, at a time when he still possessed full influence at the imperial court and stood united with the ruling power, would hardly have ventured to come out so boldly against him, unless they had been sure of another powerful support, by virtue of their connection with *Cyrill*, the patriarch of Alexandria, through whose sympathy and participation it was that consequences of a still more extensive and general nature flowed from this controversy.

To form a correct judgment of the several steps from the beginning, which Cyrill took in this matter, it will be necessary first to glance at the disposition and character of the man, and at the course of conduct he had exhibited since his entrance on the episcopal office. A violent persecuting spirit against Pagans, Jews, and heretics, an unbounded ambition, which did not scruple to resort to force and to political means for the sake of securing its ends,[2] were the traits of character which Cyrill had thus far unfolded.[3] A man of his stamp must have been attracted by an opportunity so inviting, of extending the dominion which he exercised in the Egyptian church, over a still wider field. In contemplating by themselves the first steps taken by Cyrill in this contest, we might be led to conclude that he was actuated by a zeal for pure doctrine, which, though it grew out of an exclusive, dogmatical spirit, and was exceedingly narrow, was yet untainted by personal passions; that in the outset he did really seek, by gently pointing out where Nestorius was wrong, to convince and change the mind of his fellow bishop, who, in his opinion, had given just cause of offense to many; and, in so concluding, we should not attach overmuch importance to his abusive interpretation of his opponent's principles, — a practice which we find to have been no less common with the other party. But when we compare these steps of Cyrill with his character as previously exhibited; when we follow them in their measured and gradual progress to the final results, — it becomes quite probable that he commenced so gently only because

[1] The language of Nestorius, as quoted by his accusers (Harduin. Act. Concil. T. I. f. 1337), was: Περὶ τοῦ φύσει υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐτέχθη ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς θεοτόκου, ἐπεὶ [οὐκ] ἕνι ἄλλος υἱός. It is plain that, with Tillemont, we must here supply the οὐκ inserted within the brackets; since for the very reason that Nestorius acknowledged but one Son of God in the united deity and humanity, he was willing also in this regard to admit the term θεοτόκος, rightly understood.

[2] Vid. Socrat. VII. 7.

[3] It was also rumored of Cyrill, that bishoprics could be obtained of him for money, by persons wholly unworthy of the office. See Isidor. Pelusiot. l. II. ep. 127.

the reigning influence of the patriarch of Constantinople was at first too strong for him; and that he meant to prepare with cunning policy the more decided steps which were to follow in due time.

Soon after the breaking out of the disputes at Constantinople, Cyrill took part in them by publishing two works of his own, in which, however, he refrained wholly from alluding to the name or the person of Nestorius. One of these was a programme referring to the approaching Easter festival,[1] which, conformably to the usage of the Alexandrian bishops, he issued just before the commencement of the fasts. It being customary on such occasions to treat such topics of faith or morals as were adapted to the season, Cyrill chose for his topic on this occasion the peculiar character of Christ, the God-man, as compared with all other divine messengers and prophets, — the doctrine of the union of the deity and humanity in Christ.[2] Next, he took up the same doctrinal subject in a long admonitory letter, addressed, after the Easter festival, to the Egyptian monks. In both these writings, he carried out the distinction between an essential and natural union, and a barely relative, moral communion of God with humanity. He represented the transfer of predicates, and hence also the designation of Mary with the title θεοτόκος, to be a necessary consequence of the former: he labored to show that, unless the former were adopted with all the consequences which flowed from it, Christ would be represented as a mere man, whom God employed, like other men, as an instrument; and that, accordingly, Christ could not be the Redeemer of mankind. In his second work, Cyrill expressly states the reason why he deemed it necessary to address this letter to the monks. Evil reports — he said — had got among them;[3] and people were abroad, who sought to disturb their simple faith, by starting such questions as whether Mary ought to be called θεοτόκος or not. He observed, in the first place, very justly, that it were better, if these persons (who had no call whatever to teach, and who for the most part were wholly destitute of any regular education) would abstain altogether from such questions, and not agitate anew those matters which even the best cultivated minds could scarcely contemplate as seen through a glass darkly. This reason surely ought to have prevented Cyrill himself from writing his letter; but he supposed that, inasmuch as such questions had already begun to be agitated among them, it was necessary to furnish them with the means of refuting the sophisms of their opponents, and of securing their own faith against these assaults. But among the Egyptian monks, who were wholly dependent on the authority of the Alexandrian patriarchs, and by their peculiar mode of training were least of all prepared or inclined to receive the Antiochian scheme of doctrine, the danger of being infected by errors which emanated from Constantinople was hardly so great as to call for any extraordinary precautions.

[1] Libellus paschalis, γράμματα πασχάλια. Among the works of Cyrill, these letters appear under the name of homilies (ὁμιλίαι), perhaps because they answered the twofold purpose of being read before the Alexandrian church, and of being sent to other Egyptian churches.

[2] The 17th among his homiliæ paschales.

[3] Θρύλλοι τινες χαλεποι.

Hence it would seem to be evident that Cyrill was not altogether in earnest in what he here said: it may rather have been his express design, instead of suppressing, to foment the dispute, and add to its importance. The Egyptian monks were, in truth, the willing and ready tools of the Alexandrian bishops in their controversies; and Cyrill must undoubtedly have been aware how easily the passions of these people could be excited on matters of this sort.

It would seem, moreover, that, from various quarters, Cyrill was reproached [1] for having made such an attack on Nestorius on the ground of mere reports, as he himself had avowed; an attack which, owing to the position maintained by the patriarch of Alexandria in the church, must necessarily create a great sensation. Cyrill now declared that he felt himself called upon to open and expound the pure doctrine, in order to set at rest the minds of those who had taken offense at the reported explanations of Nestorius.[2] He defended himself against the charge of uncharitableness and love of dispute,— as men have often done who were inspired by hypocritical zeal for a formal orthodoxy, — by abusing the sacred name of love. He declared that he was ready to sacrifice everything to charity, but could yield nothing in matters of faith; that he could not remain silent when scandal had been given to all the churches of the Roman empire; that, by remaining silent under such circumstances, he would incur the charge of a serious dereliction from duty in the sight of God. He also hints at the reasons which induced him, in that address to the monks, to abstain as yet from all personal attacks, and to use language which was still so far from being vehement. He says [3] that he might justly have pronounced the anathema on every person who refused to call Mary the mother of God; but he had as yet forborne from so doing,[4] for the sake of Nestorius, lest many might say that the *bishop of Alexandria* or the *Egyptian synod* had condemned him. It is easy to see, that Cyrill was anxious to avoid the reproach of hunting up heresies under the influence of passion, — a reproach to which events still fresh in the memories of all [5] easily exposed him.

But no one acquainted with the state of things at Constantinople, least of all Nestorius, could mistake the references of this letter, soon dispersed abroad, by which new weapons against him were placed in the hands of his violent opponents. He must have been so much the more excited by it, that he here saw that first discourse preached at Constantinople made the object of attack; as Cyrill himself did not

[1] See ep. 6 and 7, among his letters. The venerable abbot Isidore of Pelusium, who might properly address Cyrill in a certain tone of authority, wrote to him thus: "Put an end to the dispute, lest you bring down upon yourself the judgment of God. Let not the punishment which you deem it necessary to inflict on mortal men on account of personal grievances fall upon the living church. Prepare not the way for perpetual divisions in the church under the pretense of piety." L. I. ep. 370.

[2] Ep. 6. Σκανδαλισθεῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων αὐτοῦ,— in the II. ep. ad Nestor.: Χαρτίων ἤγουν ἐξηγήσεων περιφερομένων.

[3] Ep. 6.

[4] Οὐ πεποίηκα τοῦτο δι' αὐτὸν τέως.

[5] In the case of Chrysostom, of which we shall speak hereafter.

afterwards deny that the letter had been directed against the reported scriptural expositions of Nestorius.

When Cyrill learned how much Nestorius had been annoyed by his letter to the monks, he wrote to him personally in justification of himself. It was not *his* letter assuredly, he thought, which had given rise to disturbances on account of the faith; but it was what Nestorius was supposed to have said, whether he had said it or not. There were many, he affirmed, who were ready to deny that they could any longer call Christ God, or anything more than an instrument of the Deity. How could he (Cyrill) remain silent, when injury was done to the faith, and so many were disturbed?[1] Would he not have made himself answerable for his untimely silence before the judgment-seat of Christ? Indeed, what was he to do now? Cyrill hypocritically represented the matter, as if he were desirous of consulting with Nestorius himself as to how he should act, since he had been inquired of by the Roman bishop Cœlestin and by a Roman synod, whether the writing dispersed abroad under the name of Nestorius, which had created everywhere great offense, should be considered as his or not. Cyrill says he did not himself know how that writing had been conveyed to Rome; although doubtless he knew all about it. He affected to doubt whether that discourse had really proceeded from Nestorius, although his animadversions on Nestorius in this letter showed clearly enough that he had no doubts on the subject; and although, in case he entertained any, his conduct would only have been the more censurable. Thus then Cyrill concludes that Nestorius was bound rather to find fault with himself, than with him. It would be his better course to correct what he had said, so as to put an end to the scandal which the whole world had taken. If anything had escaped him, even in oral discourse, which he had occasion to regret, he ought, after mature reflection, to rectify the mistake, and no longer hesitate to call Mary the mother of God.

This letter of Cyrill was, of course, not calculated to mend or to mitigate the injury he had done to Nestorius; for this very letter, notwithstanding all its assurances of love, contained, in fact, the severest charges which could be alleged against a preacher of the gospel as such. Although Nestorius signified as much in his reply to Cyrill, yet he answered him in a calm and dignified tone. Into the specific matter of Cyrill's letter he forbore to enter at large, but sought only to refute the charges brought against his doctrine in Cyrill's address to the monks, and to retort the same accusations, under another form, upon Cyrill himself. In so doing, he indulged himself, it must be allowed, though in a different way, in the same unwarrantable license which his opponent had taken, of misrepresentation and false charges. Instead of entering into Cyrill's train of thought, he dwelt only upon the expressions, "God was born," "God suffered," and the like, which might flow out of the theory of the transfer of

[1] It is hardly to be conceived, however, that one sermon of Nestorius should have produced such important effects among Egyptian monks, who were so little capable of being affected by a tendency of this sort.

predicates. He accused him, without looking at the sense in which such predicates might be employed, of falling into pagan, Apollinarian, and Arian errors, and of representing God as capable of passion. But he was surely right when he said that the sacred Scriptures uniformly gave such predicates, not to the Godhead, but to Christ, which name designates the union of the two natures. Hence, moreover, it was his opinion, that Mary should be called rather the mother of Christ (*χριστοτόκος*), than the mother of God. After having called upon Cyrill to examine more closely into the doctrine of Scripture, so as to perceive this, he ironically thanked him for sympathizing so deeply with those whose peace had been disturbed, and for extending his anxieties even to the affairs in Constantinople. He might rest assured, however, that he had been wrongly informed, perhaps by clergymen of Constantinople like minded with himself; for everything there was in the most favorable condition; the Christian knowledge of his flock daily improving, and the emperor rejoicing in the prosperity of the church. Nestorius could not therefore, at this time, have been aware of any threatening danger. Cyrill did not leave this letter unanswered: he complained, in his reply, of the calumnies of worthless men, who dared to criminate him, especially in the councils of the higher officers of state.[1] He next repeats the admonitions of his first letter, unfolds anew his doctrine concerning the union of natures, and defends it against the consequences which Nestorius had drawn from it in his letter.[2]

For a moment it seemed as if the way was opened for a reconciliation between the two patriarchs, which, could it possibly have been brought about, would have facilitated the suppression, at least for a time, of the controversies now in the bud. A presbyter of the Alexandrian church, by the name of Lampon, came to Constantinople, as a mediator of peace; an office which he had probably undertaken of his own accord. Although Nestorius had already determined to break off the correspondence entirely, yet the spirit of Christian love by which Lampon seemed to be actuated exerted an influence over him which nothing else could have done. Nestorius was persuaded to write one more short letter to Cyrill;[3] a letter which everywhere breathes sincerity, and in its few words presents a fair image of the writer's heart. "Nothing is of more power," he writes, "than Christian gentleness. By this man's might I have been conquered; for I confess that I am seized with great fear, when I perceive in any man the spirit of Christian gentleness; it is as if God dwelt in him."[4] It may perhaps have been a consequence of this peaceful disposition, then cherished by Nestorius, that the Presbyter Anastasius himself, who was the original author of the dispute, made an attempt towards

[1] *Τὰς τῶν ἐν τέλει συνόδους καιροφυλακοῦντες μάλιστα.* These persons would naturally be averse to a bishop who was so fond of intermeddling with political affairs. This passage serves to show, moreover, that in the outset Nestorius seemed to have those who were in authority rather in his favor than opposed to him.

[2] Ep. 4.

[3] Ep. 3.

[4] *Φόβον ὁμολογῶ κεκτῆσθαι πολὺν περὶ πᾶσαν παντὸς ἀνδρὸς χριστιανικὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ὡς ἐγκαθήμενον αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν κεκτημένην.*

reconciling those members of the clergy at Constantinople who had broken off from fellowship with their patriarch.[1] But the opposition of the two parties to each other had already gone too far to allow this disposition of Nestorius to be of any long continuance, or such a negotiation to come to any favorable issue.

Cyrill constantly kept up the connection with the party opposed to Nestorius amongst the clergy, monks, and laity at Constantinople. He covertly directed their steps, which could easily be done, since doubtless the Alexandrian patriarchs were always accustomed to maintain their agents (ἀποκρισιάριοι) near the imperial residence. But, at the same time, so ambitious and violent a man as Cyrill would necessarily have many enemies among his own clergy; and these now sought protection and support from Nestorius. They placed in his hands many charges against their bishop; charges for which the latter, by his arbitrary and violent proceedings, had doubtless given just occasion; and it would seem that these complaints were at first received and entertained at the imperial court. In this way the whole thing was only made worse, for, from this time, disappointed vanity and revenge, in the patriarch of Alexandria, made the *person* of *Nestorius* the chief object of his attack. But fears for the disposition of the court at Constantinople, which still seemed favorably inclined to Nestorius, would counsel him to prudence. Particularly deserving of notice in this regard, is Cyrill's answer to a memorial of the events which had there transpired, sent to him by the clergy who had espoused his cause in Constantinople.[2] Laying it to the charge of Nestorius that he had instigated worthless men to appear as Cyrill's accusers, he says, "Let him know that I have no fear of the journey (to Constantinople), nor of my being able to answer those persons, when it *is the proper time*. For in due course the providence of our Saviour makes use of slight and unimportant things as occasions for assembling a synod, and through its means his church is purified, so that it preserves the noble faith untarnished. But let not the *wretched man* suppose, that, even though the persons who by his instigation would accuse us were more in number and more important than they are, he *is to be judge over us;* for when I come to Constantinople, I shall protest against this, and he himself will have to answer for the bad reports which are abroad concerning him." We see from this, that the *thought* of Nestorius presiding over a synod, as his judge, was a thing peculiarly intolerable to Cyrill's vanity.

[1] See Cyrill. ep. 8.

[2] Ep. 5. This remarkable document has come down to us in two different forms, — in the Greek, and in a Latin translation by Marius Mercator, — which last contains a good deal more than the Greek, and sometimes helps to correct the latter, though it must itself also sometimes be corrected by the Greek. According to the superscription as given by Marius Mercator, this letter of Cyrill was directed to his agents (Apocrisiarii) at Constantinople. On the other hand, according to the Greek document, it was directed to the schismatic clergy at Constantinople. At all events, the advice with regard to the petition to the emperor which had been submitted to Cyrill's inspection is closely connected with this letter; and this advice assuredly seems much more like that which would be addressed to the clergy of another diocese, who had entered into combination with Cyrill, than to agents taken from his own clerus. It is probable, therefore, that the Greek title is the right one.

Nestorius had been the first to propose a synod, to assemble at Constantinople for the purpose of considering these and other matters; but although this proposition had come from his adversaries, yet Cyrill was satisfied with it; for, as it here appears evident, he conceived the hope that, by adroit management, he should succeed in converting this synod into an instrument for the overthrow of Nestorius and his system. He wrote, therefore, to the above-mentioned ecclesiastics, that everything from the sermons of Nestorius which could be used to his disadvantage, must be carefully preserved *until the proper time*,[1] unless a change took place in him. These ecclesiastics had transmitted to him a complaint drawn up in very severe language against Nestorius, and designed for the emperor, in making use of which they wished to follow the judgment of Cyrill. The latter, however, chose to withhold the document, *because he feared an unfavorable impression would be created by its severity*.[2] His crafty spirit led him to prepare another memorial, in which they came forth against Nestorius, not at first in an offensive, but in a defensive attitude. In this instrument, they protested against his judicial authority; and, to justify the step, they endeavored to point out the cause from which the hostility of Nestorius proceeded, which gave them a convenient opportunity for bringing out on this occasion the complaint against his orthodoxy. In case their adversaries persisted in their accusations, they appealed to another tribunal. This memorial, Cyrill wrote to them, was to be delivered only when it should be found necessary. He would himself take the first opportunity to choose certain bishops and monks, wise and pious men, and send them on to Constantinople; for he should not rest easy, until, as he cantingly expressed it, he had fought out the battle for the salvation of all to the end. Moreover, he was already preparing to write such letters, and *to such persons, as the case demanded*.[3]

To create an influence against Nestorius at the court, Cyrill, in the year 429, had written two works, in which he expounded his own views, as above described, and controverted the opinions attributed to Nestorius; but without engaging in any personal attack on Nestorius, or even mentioning his name. One of these works he addressed to the emperor Theodosius II. himself, and to the empress Eudocia; the other to that all-powerful woman, the Augusta Pulcheria, and to the rest of the emperor's sisters. A passage in the letter, hereafter to be noticed, which the emperor sent to Cyrill at a later period, might lead us to conjecture, that Cyrill had very good and *special* reasons for addressing himself to Pulcheria; that he had been informed, by means of his secret spies at Constantinople, of a misunderstanding, of which

[1] Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπισύρονται ἐγκλήματα ἐκ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων αὐτοῦ, φυλαχθήσονται ἕως καιροῦ.

[2] Ἵνα μὴ ἐπέρχοιτο ἡμῖν λέγων: κατηγορήσατέ μου ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς αἱρετικοῦ.

[3] Undoubtedly Cyrill understood very well what persons at Constantinople he should address, and how he could best work upon them so as to accomplish his designs at the court. The most instructive explanation of all these points is contained in a letter of his archdeacon and syncell, which we shall have occasion to quote when we come to speak of somewhat later events.

perhaps Nestorius himself had been the occasion, between the emperor and his sister, who otherwise possessed so much influence with him; and that he hoped to turn this connection with Pulcheria to the purpose of weakening the court party which favored Nestorius: for he is afterwards accused by the emperor of having taken this step, either because he had contrived, in a way unbefitting his station, to get knowledge of the breach between the emperor and his sister, or because he had sought to sow discord between them. And this accusation brought against Cyrill harmonizes with an ancient story, which intimates that Nestorius had incurred the displeasure of Pulcheria, by leading her brother to suspect her of having entered into some illicit connection with one of the nobles of the court.[1] This supposition is rendered probable likewise by similar examples in the history of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs.[2]

It had often been the case before, that the bishops of the contending church parties in the East endeavored to secure the victory on their side by forming a connection with the bishops of Rome. To this means Cyrill now resorted. He sent to Cœlestin, bishop of Rome, a report of the erroneous doctrines taught by Nestorius. It is plain that, in so doing, he took the liberty of making many untrue statements, so as to make it appear to the Orientals that the step had been taken, not of his own free will, but as a matter of necessity. Earlier than this he had complained to Nestorius, that his sermons had given great offense at Rome (see p. 515); and he had pretended to ask him what was to be done. But it is evident from the letter of Cyrill, of which we are now speaking, that *he* was the *first* to write on this occasion, without being asked, to the Roman bishop; for his letter is not a reply to one which he had received. Moreover, it seems to have been Cyrill himself who caused the sermons of Nestorius to be translated, and immediately sent to Rome, where he was the first to make them known. Next, in his letter to John, patriarch of Antioch, he represents the matter as though he had been led first by the report of Nestorius to the Roman bishop, to write to the latter in his own defense; but this statement is utterly at variance with the

[1] The obscure passage in Suidas, under the word *Pulcheria*. Ἡ Πουλχέρια τοσοῦτον ἐμίσει τὸν Νεστόριον, ὡς τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἐκεῖνον διαθρύλλειν, ὅτι πορνείαν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Θεοδόσιον τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλε Πουλχερίας ὁ Νεστόριος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐμισεῖτο· ἐλοιδόρει γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν τότε μαγίστρον Παυλῖνον λεγόμενον. The sense of this passage might perhaps also be construed thus, that Nestorius had accused her before the Paulinus there mentioned, of forbidden intercourse with her brother; but this rendering is not so well suited to the collocation of the words as that followed in the text. And had this been the accusation, Theodosius would have been as much excited against Nestorius as Pulcheria was.

[2] Afterwards, too, it is always to Pulcheria that the merit is ascribed of having especially contributed, by her zeal for the orthodox faith, to bring about the suppression of the Nestorian heresy. The language of the syncell already mentioned, to a bishop of Constantinople, during the later transactions, may serve as an example: Festina supplicari dominæ ancillæ Dei Pulcheriæ Augustæ, ut *iterum ponat animam suam* pro Domino Christo; that is, in behalf of the cause of Cyrill. When Pulcheria reigned with Marcian, the Egyptian bishops, during the first session of the council of Chalcedon, shouted: Ἡ Αὐγούστα Νεστόριον ἐξέβαλε. See Harduin. Concil. T. II. f. 74, B.

contents and tone of this letter to the bishop Cœlestin; for Cyrill surely would not have omitted to mention in his own letter that of Nestorius, if his own had been occasioned by it. This epistle was composed in a style well fitted to win the favorable verdict of a Roman bishop, anxious to establish his authority as judge over the whole church; for he wrote to him, that he left it to his decision whether he (Cyrill) ought or ought not to announce to Nestorius the withdrawal from him of the fellowship of the church. He requested him to make known his decision by letters to all the bishops of the East; for this would have for its effect to unite them all together in the defense of the pure doctrine. To the bearer of this letter, a certain deacon Posidonius, Cyrill at the same time intrusted, for the use of the Roman bishop, a brief statement of the main points in which the erroneous doctrines of Nestorius consisted, and a skillful exposition of all that was peculiar and characteristic in the Antiochian system of doctrine; represented, however, only in that particular light in which it must appear to him from his own point of view, and with some unfair conclusions.

As to Nestorius, he too had occasion to write to the Roman bishop, but on another subject, and one indeed, which was not exactly suited to procure for him a favorable hearing. Four bishops from Italy, deposed in the Pelagian controversies, had some time before taken up their residence in Constantinople. They had complained of the injustice done them, and sought help from the patriarch of Constantinople, as well as from the emperor. Nestorius was too much a friend to justice, and of too independent a spirit, to condemn these men at once, without inquiring into the matter. He wished to hear both sides, and therefore reported the affair to the Roman bishop, requesting from him a more exact statement of the facts. He wrote several letters to Rome on this subject, but received no answer; partly perhaps because the Roman bishop, being ignorant of the Greek language, was obliged to wait till the letters could be translated, and partly because the style of the letters may not have been altogether flattering to the Roman pride. In two other letters, which he despatched after these, Nestorius drew up a report of the controversy which had now begun. He spoke here with the same vehemence and injustice of the positions of his opponent, as the latter had done with respect to his own doctrines. Yet here too he declared himself ready, though preferring himself to give Mary the title of χριστοτόκος, to allow that she might be called θεοτόκος, provided this title was understood to refer, not to the deity, but to the humanity united with the deity. Very striking, however, is the difference of tone between the letters of Nestorius, and those of Cyrill, to the Roman bishop. Cyrill addresses him in language which was at least capable of being so understood as if he did concede to him a certain supreme judicial authority over the church. Nestorius speaks to him as one colleague to another, and as a person standing on the same level with himself. This of itself would be sufficient to interest Cœlestin, the *Roman*

bishop, in favor of Cyrill rather than of Nestorius, and to enlist his prejudices against the latter. In addition to this, he had first become acquainted with the doctrines of Nestorius from the representations of Cyrill, the latter having more craftily accompanied his letters with a Latin translation; and it is easy to see that the scheme which had *thus* been explained to him would, from the first, appear to him to detract from the dignity of the God-man.[1]

Cœlestin decided at a Roman synod, that the clergy excommunicated by Nestorius should be received back to the fellowship of the church; and in case Nestorius himself did not present, within ten days after the reception of the sentence pronounced at Rome, a *written recantation*, and testify his agreement with the Roman and Alexandrian church doctrine respecting the birth of Christ, who is our God, he should be excommunicated, and no longer recognized as patriarch. In a letter to Cyrill, full of extravagant praises, he gave to that bishop, by the sovereign authority of the apostolic see, the power of carrying this sentence into execution; and, in case Nestorius refused to furnish the required recantation, of providing at once for the appointment of a new patriarch. This sentence he communicated also to the clergy at Constantinople who had seceded from Nestorius, and to the latter himself with the most vehement reproaches. The Roman bishop here claimed for himself a supreme judicatory authority, which, according to the then constitution of the church, in nowise belonged to him; and which Cyrill, unless he had seen that it might be turned to his own advantage, and could not possibly prove injurious to it, would assuredly never have conceded. But, under the present circumstances, this declaration of the Roman bishop was extremely agreeable to Cyrill, as an important means for the attainment of his objects; for he could make use of this declaration to intimidate the Oriental bishops by the fear of a rupture with the whole Western church; with which church, peace had, but a short time before, been once more restored. This is made manifest in his letter to John, patriarch of Antioch.[2]

The most eminent and influential bishops of the Eastern provinces of Roman Asia,[3] who were attached partly to the unaltered system of Theodore, and in part to a very temperate and mild interpretation of the same, looked with alarm at the outbreak of a new schism, which threatened once more to sever from one another the Christian East and West, after the peace of the church had, but a very short time before, by the unwearied pains of the centenarian bishop Acacius of Berœa in Syria, been again restored. Among the bishops of

[1] The doctrine of Nestorius appeared to him to be such, that its author could sometimes consider Christ to be a mere man, and sometimes, whenever he thought fit, ascribe to him unity with God. See the letter of Cœlestin to the clergy at Constantinople. The Roman narrowness betrays itself in his letter to Cyrill, where he charges it upon Nestorius as a crime: ὅτι Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐπάγεται ζήτησις περὶ τῆς ἰδίας γεννήσεως.

[2] In this letter he says, for example, with regard to the determinations of the Roman synod: Οἷς ἀνάγκη πείθεσθαι τοὺς ἀντεχομένους τῆς πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν ὄυσιν κοινωνίας.

[3] The so-called ἀνατολικοί.

Syria, several men were at that time to be found who were distinguished for profound knowledge, genuine and ardent piety, and freedom from that worldly spirit by which so many of their colleagues were governed. By the relations of former friendship, they were, for the most part, well disposed to Nestorius, as they were, by their moderrate way of thinking, inclined to take the part of mediators of peace between the two parties. In this feeling, the person who in rank stood first among these bishops, John, patriarch of Antioch, wrote to Nestorius with the common understanding of six other bishops of this district, who happened just then to be assembled with him. He transmitted to him the letters which he had received from Alexandria and Rome, accompanied by remarks of his own, distinguished for Christian wisdom and moderation. He begged of him so to read the letters which he sent, as not to allow himself to be hurried away by those impulses of passion, out of which the hurtful spirit of dispute and self-will were wont to spring; nor yet to despise this matter, which might lead to an irremediable evil; but with friends of the same mind with himself, to whom he must allow the liberty of impartially telling him the truth, to inquire with calmness what ought to be done. He presented before him the danger of the new rupture which threatened to take place. What insolence would not opponents who had already arrogated so much to themselves assume after reading these letters![1] He regretted that the whole dispute had arisen about a bare word, which in fact, even according to the opinion of Nestorius himself, might be used in a right sense, and had already been used in this sense by many church teachers. The Roman bishop had, indeed, allowed him but a short respite of only ten days; but he needed not even so short a space as this for reflection. He could in a few hours decide as to the explanation which should be given; for he needed not hesitate to approve a term whose fundamental sense, according to the right understanding of it, he certainly did not reject. He called upon him to offer this sacrifice for the sake of preserving the peace of the church. What the patriarch John here advised his friend, agreed, in fact, with the sentiments which he himself had already expressed, of his own accord, on a previous occasion; and accordingly Nestorius in his reply, after having explained the origin of the whole dispute, said that he had nothing to object to the term θεοτόκος, provided only it was guarded against misrepresentation, and understood in a right sense, as designating the union[2] of the two natures. But with regard to the habitual arrogance of the Egyptian, — he wrote to the patriarch John, — there was no reason why he, in particular, should be surprised at it; for he had before him many old

[1] A remarkable expression in the letter of the patriarch: Ἐννόησον γὰρ, ὡς εἰ πρὸ τῶν νῦν ἀποσταλέντων γραμμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ ἄσχετοι ἦσαν καθ' ἡμῶν, νῦν δραξάμενοι, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων παῤῥησίας τίνες οὐκ ἔσονται, καὶ ποίᾳ οὐ χρήσονται καθ' ἡμῶν παῤῥησίᾳ. Unless we suppose that the patriarch is speaking here simply *per anakoinosin*, — which however, is not probable, — we find here a hint of many attacks which the bishops of Eastern Asia had already had to endure.

[2] Propter unitionis rationem.

examples of the same thing.[1] Nestorius was then hoping for a general ecclesiastical assembly, at which this controversy could easily be disposed of by a general agreement. He had therefore no presentiment at that time of the preponderance of the opposite party at court.

Had this plan of Nestorius been adopted, the dispute might still have been for the present suppressed, although indeed only for the moment; since the opposition of the two doctrinal tendencies lying at the root of this controversy about the term *θεοτόκος* would most assuredly, sooner or later, openly manifest itself.

But by the arrogant conduct of Cyrill, the dispute about a word with which the Syrian church also was satisfied, was converted into a contest between the doctrinal systems of the two churches. Cyrill determined to act as the executor of the sentence passed by the Roman synod. In this year, 430, he sent a letter, in the name of a synod held at Alexandria, to Nestorius, in which, conformably to the sentence pronounced at Rome, he was for summoning him, the third and last time, to recant. He laid before him the system of doctrines which he must confess as the true system, and unfolded in twelve formulas of condemnation (*ἀναθεματισμοῖς*) what he had to recant. These explanations, however, contained nothing else than the Egyptian creed carried out in opposition to the rigidly Antiochian system, as it had been expressed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, — a *ἕνωσις φυσική* (natural union), as opposed to the *ἕνωσις κατ' ἀξίαν, εὐδοκίαν* (union by worth, favor), — a *ἕνωσις*, and not a *συναφεία* (union, and not conjunction), — which last formula expressed too little. One Son of God, one Christ *out of two natures;* or, as he preferred to say, formed of two different things into an indissoluble unity.[2] In the one Logos who had become man, the different divine and human predicates were, indeed, still to be distinguished; but not so the two natures. Both kinds of predicates were to be referred to one and the same Logos, who became man. One Logos with his own proper body.[3] Hence the unconditional transfer of predicates; as, for example, that Mary had corporeally borne the Logos who became flesh from God;[4] that the Logos from God had suffered and been crucified according to the flesh,[5] etc.

This step of the bishop Cyrill gave the whole matter a different turn; for it was thereby necessarily converted from a personal attack on Nestorius into an attack on the form of doctrine taught in the Syrico-Asiatic church. So it was considered by the most authoritative teachers of that church. John, patriarch of Antioch, who stood at their head, deemed it necessary to enter into a public refutation of these anathemas, and selected *Theodoret, bishop of Cyros*,[6] a town

[1] De consueta vero Ægyptii præsumtione maxime tua religiositas non debet admirari, dum habes antiqua hujus exempla perplurima. Here too, we have a noticeable indication of the contests which had before existed between the Egyptian and Syrian churches.

[2] *Ἐκ δύο καὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων εἰς ἑνότητα τὴν ἀμέριστον συνηνεγμένος.*

[3] *Εἷς λόγος μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός.*

[4] *Γεγέννηκε σαρκικῶς σάρκα γεγονότα τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον.*

[5] *Τὸν θεοῦ λόγον παθόντα σαρκὶ καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον σαρκί.*

[6] Ep. 150, among the letters of Theodoret.

on the Euphrates, for this purpose. This man, otherwise distinguished for his Christian moderation and gentleness, allowed himself, however, in this instance, to be misled by his dogmatic zeal, though springing no doubt out of a purely Christian interest, into an unfair judgment. With right he might complain that Cyrill's formulas of condemnation failed in accuracy of doctrinal expression, and that from this defect a dangerous reaction was to be apprehended on Christian knowledge. With good right he supposed, that the extravagances of expression, which might perhaps be tolerated in the composition of Christian hymns, and in the more rhetorical language of the homilies, would be followed with dangerous consequences in doctrinal language, and could not be so mildly judged.[1] Very justly he felt himself bound to enter the strongest protest against *this* thing in particular, that Cyrill was bent on making a form of doctrinal expression which was so inexact, and so liable to misconstruction, the prevailing formula in the Oriental church; and for stigmatizing as heresy, everything that did not accord with it. But still he ought to have distinguished the doctrine lying at bottom from the form of the expression, and not to have attributed to Cyrill, doctrines which he could derive from his assertions only by inferences, against which Cyrill had expressly enough guarded; as he did, in fact, contrive to find, in the condemnatory sentences of Cyrill, Apollinarian, Gnostic, and Manichean errors. Now as Cyrill, in defending his anathemas, proceeded in the same way against Theodoret's system of faith, it was a matter of course that although the *more temperate* form of the Syrian creed approximated very nearly to that of Cyrill, yet the opposition between the two systems became more and more apparent; and the difficulty of coming to a calm, mutual understanding with regard to differences, every day increased. A difference between the two systems existed, it is true, all along; and this had its ground in the fact, that Theodoret was seeking to unfold the truth under the forms of the *understanding;* while Cyrill, avoiding everything of that sort, was for holding fast only to the transcendent fact, so that those nicer distinctions of the understanding appeared to him a belittling or a denial of the mystery. But, notwithstanding all this, the dispute on many of the formulas was made of so much weight, because the

[1] In his circulatory letter addressed to the Syrian monks, in opposition to the anathemas of Cyrill, ep. 151, ed. Hal. T. IV. p. 1304, where he speaks of the expression used concerning Mary: Εἰ δὲ παν-ηγυρικῶς τις λέγειν ἐθέλοι καὶ ὕμνους ὑφαίνειν καὶ ἐπαίνους διεξιέναι καὶ βούλεται τοῖς σεμνοτέροις ὀνόμασιν ἀναγκαίως κεχρῆσθαι, οὐ δογματίζων, ἀλλὰ πανεγυρίζων καὶ θαυμάζων ὡς οἱόντε τοῦ μυστηρίου τὸ μέγεθος, ἀπολανέτω τοῦ πόθου καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀνόμασι κεχρήσθω. This more closely drawn distinction betwixt liturgical, ascetic, and properly dogmatic language, was, as a general thing, characteristic of the Syrian church. Alexander, bishop of Hierapolis, traces the whole corruption of dogmatic terminology to the confounding of the two distinct forms of language. Et quidem ut in festivitatibus sive præconiis atque doctrinis incircumspecte *Dei genitrix* sive *Deum enixa* ab orthodoxis tantummodo sine adjectione diceretur, vel *Deicidæ* Judæi (θεόκτονοι) vel quia *verbum incarnatum* est cæt., sane nulla accusatione sunt digna, eo quod non dogmatice sunt posita ista. Epistola Alexandri Hierapolitani ad Theodoretum in Tragœdia Irenæi ed. Lupus. Opp. Tom. VII. c. 94, f 247; also in opp. Theodoreti, ed. Halens T. V. ep. 78, p. 746.

parties did not mutually understand each other as to their meaning. Theodoret vehemently controverted the doctrine of a ἕνωσις φυσική, of a ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν, because he maintained that God was thereby subjected to a natural necessity, and the distinction of the conceptions of deity and humanity which had become united in Christ, was impossible; but Cyrill understood those expressions in another sense, and guarded himself sufficiently against all those interpretations. He opposed that ἕνωσις φυσική and καθ' ὑπόστασιν to a barely moral union, consisting in the will or in the mode of conduct. He accused his opponents of holding to the latter only; but Theodoret in fact taught expressly, that deity and humanity were united in one person.[1]

Out of these different doctrinal tendencies, however, arose also a different mode of apprehending several particulars in the life of Christ. Theodoret did not hesitate, in following the gospel history, to ascribe to our Saviour, during his life on earth, in reference to his humanity, a limited knowledge, and to say, "that this humanity, in that point of time, knew only so much as the indwelling deity revealed to it."[2] But to Cyrill this assertion appeared scandalous: he affirmed, on the other hand, that whoever said a revelation, and that a graduated one, was made by the indwelling God to the servant form, made of Christ a mere prophet. As he was not disposed, however, directly to deny the ignorance predicated of the human nature of Christ, since he recognized the attributes of the latter in their individuality, he expressed himself, with a view to mark strongly the incomprehensibleness of the mystery, after a form to which he could hardly attach any definite meaning: "When Christ subjected himself to the measure of human nature, which is limited in its knowledge, he appropriated *this* also with the rest by a special economy,[3] although still he had no bounds to his knowledge, but was, with the Father, omniscient."[4]

Thus, then, this arbitrary, illegal conduct of Cyrill tended at first to injure rather than to benefit his cause. In the consciousness of his right, and of his independent dignity, Nestorius received the episcopal deputies who brought to him the requisitions of Cyrill and Cœlestin, with merited contempt: he did not allow himself to be interrupted thereby in the preaching of his doctrine, and he opposed to the anathemas of Cyrill, twelve others.

In the emperor's court at Constantinople also, the conduct of Cyrill created an impression very unfavorable to the latter. The complaints of his arrogance and love of power, which had been already received there before, seemed thereby to be confirmed. All the previous steps of Cyrill in this affair, being placed along with the last, seemed to indicate one deeply laid scheme for the arbitrary supplanting of Nestorius; but men were determined not to tolerate this despotism which individ-

[1] Ἓν πρόσωπον. He would not say μία ὑπόστασις, because he took this term in another sense.

[2] Τῆς τοσαῦτα κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ καίρου γινωσκούσης, ὅσα ἡ ἐνοικοῦσα θεότης ἀπεκάλυψε.

[3] Οἰκονομικῶς οἰκειοῦται καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

[4] He says also: Αὐτοῦ πάντως ἔσται καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι δοκεῖν.

ual bishops wished to exercise over the whole church, and not to sacrifice Nestorius to any such arbitrary caprice of an individual. According to that system of church constitution which alone was recognized at Constantinople, Cyrill's arbitrary will could gain no legal authority from the dictatorial conduct of a Roman bishop. Since, then, it had already been determined upon before, to assemble a general council to attend to other ecclesiastical matters and also to these controversies, according to the wish of Nestorius himself, and according to the proposal of his opponents, — so, by these new events, the prosecution of this purpose was hastened to a completion; for the investigation of the matters in dispute by a general council must be set over against the arbitrary decision of individual bishops and synods. The emperor was resolved to approve nothing but the decisions of such a council. But as Constantinople had before (see above) been fixed upon as the place for the meeting of the council, so now the city of Ephesus was appointed instead of it. This change of the place was occasioned, beyond all doubt, by some special cause. Probably fears were entertained of the combination of Cyrill with a certain party of the Byzantine court, and with influential monks. So, on the 19th of November, 430, the emperor Theodosius II. issued a proclamation to all the metropolitans of his empire, summoning them to meet in a council to be holden at Ephesus, about Pentecost, in the following year. But along with the general proclamation, addressed to Cyrill as it was to all the metropolitan bishops, the emperor sent to the former a special one, in which he severely reprimanded him for his conduct thus far, and declared to him that he would suffer it no longer. This letter is drawn up with more good sense than we should expect from a Theodosius, and we can scarcely be mistaken in supposing that it was dictated by a wiser head.

It called upon Cyrill to recollect, that pure doctrine was found by investigation, rather than by the assumption of authority; for from the first[1] it had been established, not by the threat of any potentate whatever, but by the deliberations of the fathers. Let Cyrill declare then, — it proceeded, — why, neglecting the emperor, of whom he knew that the cause of piety lay near his heart, and neglecting all the priests in all the churches, who ought rather to have been assembled for the purpose of settling the matters in dispute, he has chosen, as much as in him lay, to excite disorders and divisions in the church? And no wonder he had here overstepped the bounds of propriety, as he had not even spared the imperial family itself; for why had he written twice: once to the emperor and to the empress, and a second time to his sister Pulcheria? Doubtless for no other reason than because he either believed that they were at difference with each other, or else hoped to set them at difference by his letters. But were the first the case, it betrayed a censurable curiosity (a prying interference in the concerns of the court) for a bishop who lived so remote from the court, to know anything about such matters; and,

[1] At all events, it *should* have been so.

if it was not the case, the wish to excite such discord was nowhere less befitting than in a bishop. But it betrayed the same disposition to be stirring up discord in the imperial family, and to be exciting it among the churches; as if one had no other means of making one's self famous.

The emperor, at the appointed time, sent to Ephesus the Comes Candidianus, as his plenipotentiary before the synod, with the express command that he should not interfere with the doctrinal proceedings of the council, but only use his authority for the preservation of order.[1] Doubtless there were reasons for the anxiety which led to such a precautionary measure; and many other things, indeed, contained in the letter which the emperor addressed to the synod, confirm this conjecture. For he directed, at the same time, that all persons belonging to the secular order, and all monks who had assembled at Ephesus, or who should afterwards assemble there, should without exception leave the place; in order that the peaceful and calm investigation of doctrine might not be disturbed by them, and that no passionate feelings, or discord, might be excited. There may, then, have already existed reasons for apprehending, — an apprehension which indeed afterwards proved to be but too well founded, — that the Cyrillian party would have at their service many instruments quite alien from the spiritual investigation. Furthermore, the bishops were forbidden, during the proceedings, to leave the synod, and especially to visit the court at Constantinople; an order which indicates, again, that there were many grounds for fearing the intrigues of the Cyrillian party with the court. It is clear, moreover, from all the facts, how far the emperor then was from tolerating the forcible supplantation of Nestorius. His favorable disposition towards the patriarch was shown by his allowing him, alone, to take with him, as his companion to Ephesus, a friend of noble rank, the Comes Irenæus.

Cyrill and Nestorius arrived at Ephesus at the appointed time. Cyrill brought with him a great number of Egyptian bishops, whose interests were identical with his own, and who were his devoted tools. The bishop Memnon of Ephesus was his friend, and perhaps, as the opponent of the Constantinopolitan patriarch, whose ecclesiastical supremacy these consequential metropolitans reluctantly acknowledged, bound to Cyrill by a common interest. This alliance secured to him a dominant influence over the bishops of Asia Minor; and as Memnon, being of like disposition with Cyrill, doubtless exercised a like authority at Ephesus to that which the latter exercised at Alexandria, it moreover gave him a great power in the city where the council was assembled. It was probably on account of his fear of this power, that Nestorius requested and obtained of the imperial commissioner a guard, who surrounded his dwelling, and allowed no one to enter without being announced. This, it is true, may be reckoned along with the many other adventitious circumstances of state which

[1] In the imperial letter directed to the synod, Harduin. Concil. T. I. 1346: *τῇ συνόδῳ πανταχόθεν περιφυλαχθῆναι τὸ Ὥστε ἀτάραχον.*

surrounded the great bishops of the Roman empire, as indeed his opponents taunted him on this military attendance; but a bishop of the party hostilely disposed to him, Acacius of Melitene, hints perhaps at the true motive, when he says[1] that Nestorius was induced to this step *by fear*. It is true, he explains the fact according to his own views, attributing this fear to the bad conscience with which the heretic must have been troubled. But when we consider what a fanatical spirit had been breathed into the Cyrillian party, what an influence this spirit might exert on the rude popular masses which were devoted to this party, especially if the charges laid against Cyrill in several public declarations — and which appear by no means so improbable, to judge from the dominion which he exercised at Alexandria — if these charges are true, namely, that he had engaged the peasants of Asia Minor and the Egyptian sailors to execute his tyrannical behests,[2] we may easily find a cause for the apprehensions of Nestorius, lying, not within, but without himself. The party of Cyrill affirmed, it is true, in their report to the emperor, that no disturbances had taken place at Ephesus which could have given Nestorius any occasion for such precaution;[3] but the proverb might here be applied, that he who excuses himself is his own accuser.

After the bishops, assembled at Ephesus, had already waited several weeks beyond the term fixed upon by the emperor, there were many who should have assisted at the synod, that were still detained by various circumstances from being present. The absence of the deputies from the Roman bishop, who had been detained by unfavorable winds, would give Cyrill neither concern nor satisfaction; for he could reckon upon their approbation of whatever he and his party might carry through at the council, whether they were present at the proceedings or not. But he must have *rejoiced* to find it in his power to open the council without the assistance of the patriarch John of Antioch and the other Syrian bishops; for it was from these alone, who were for the most part friendly to Nestorius, or, at least, all of them thoroughly opposed to the Egyptian doctrines, and altogether independent of the Egyptian influence, that he had to expect the most decided opposition. The patriarch John had, in the first place, been obliged to put off his journey on account of a famine which was then prevailing at Antioch, — a circumstance not unusual in that populous capital of Roman Asia in the East, — and on account of the popular tumults which had thence arisen.[4] Besides, the violent rains in many of the districts through which the long land-route from Antioch to Ephesus led had occasioned inundations, by which the

[1] Concil. Ephes. act. I. Harduin. T. I. f. 1390.

[2] In a letter of the patriarch John of Antioch and the bishops connected with him, Harduin. l. c. 1459: *Ναύταις τε Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ ἀγροίκοις Ἀσιανοῖς ὑπουργοῖς τῆς τυραννίδος χρησάμενοι.* L. c. 1453: *Πλῆθος τὸ ἀγροικικὸν συναγαγὼν διετάραξε τὴν πόλιν.* Nestorius says, in his report to the emperor, that Cyrill placed soldiers, probably procured through the influence of Memnon of Ephesus, around the marketplace, and set the whole city in an uproar. L. c. 1438.

[3] L. c. 1442.

[4] The letter of John to the emperor Harduin. T. I. 1459.

journey was rendered more difficult and slow. Sixteen days had already elapsed beyond the term appointed by the emperor for the opening of the synod. The Syrian bishops, after having been thirty days on the road, were still from five to six days' journey from Ephesus. The patriarch John informed Cyrill of this in a respectful letter, which he sent to excuse their delay.[1] After having delayed for *so long* a time the opening of the council, the deputies certainly might have waited for these few days longer. But though forty-one bishops insisted that the arrival of their colleagues, who were now distant but a few days' journey, ought to be waited for; and though they declared that they were resolved not to take part in any earlier assembling of the council; though Nestorius would receive no message from a party assembly; though the imperial commissioner issued several protests against the regularity of such an assembly, which was counter to the emperor's summons, — yet Cyrill, having secured the support of Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, and Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, and relying upon the vast number of Egyptian bishops and bishops of Asia Minor, was not to be deterred by any of these things; and on the 22d of June, A. D. 431, he opened the synod with about two hundred bishops. He endeavored afterwards, it is true, to justify this proceeding on the pretense that the patriarch John had purposely delayed; that he was unwilling to take any part in the sentence of deposition to be pronounced on Nestorius, which he doubtless foresaw would be the result of the synod, and was heartily ashamed of the affair; while many of the bishops coming from Eastern Asia had mentioned, in the commission of their patriarch, that the council might do what they pleased, without waiting for his arrival.[2] But the above-mentioned letter of the patriarch John seems more deserving of credit than this assertion of Cyrill, as the latter would naturally seek after everything in the shape of an excuse for a mode of procedure so manifestly illegal; and it is moreover difficult to conceive that the patriarch John, who then assuredly entertained the purpose of sustaining his friend Nestorius, would have designedly sacrificed him to the Cyrillian party, whom he then had no occasion whatever to fear.

This assembly was partly a blind instrument in the hands of Cyrill, who by various artifices had contrived to gain the entire influence over it,[3] and partly it was governed by the wildest fanaticism. Of course a regular and orderly investigation was not to be thought of; the result to be arrived at had already been settled and deter-

[1] Concil. Ephes. P. I. c. 21. Harduin. T. I. 1348.

[2] Cyrill in his letter to the clergy of Constantinople. Harduin. l. c. f. 1435.

[3] Cyrill is said to have made use, in this case also, of bribery; a favorite means of his for accomplishing his ends. This is intimated by the bishop Ibas of Edessa, in his letter to the Persian church teacher, Mares: Προλαβὼν ὁ Κύριλλος τὰς ἀκοὰς τῷ φαρμάκῳ, τῷ πηροῦντι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν προκατέσχεν. S. Concil. Chalc. act. 10, Harduin. T. II. f. 530. Ibas was one of the Orientals who came to Ephesus in company with the patriarch John. In the above letter, he shows, indeed, that he belonged to a party, but still manifests no excitement.

mined; and hence all the proceedings which were to lead to it could easily be dispatched in a single day. Cyrill, as the champion of the pure doctrine, was loaded with flattering encomiums; his letters to Nestorius, which were read, and his anathemas, were applauded as expressing the pure doctrine. Nestorius having declined two invitations of the council to be present at their deliberations, and having declared that he should appear only when all the bishops were assembled, a third summons, in the customary form, which was usually observed even when men were acting in the very face of the laws, was now sent to him by four bishops, accompanied by a notary and a church prelector.[1] Nestorius, who, according to the original purpose of the assembly, was to appear as an assistant in the investigations, not as a defendant on trial, was called upon by the most holy synod, as they styled themselves, to vindicate himself; and was threatened, in case he did not appear and answer to the written and oral charges laid against him, that the synod would find it necessary to proceed against him according to the ecclesiastical rules. The guard, who were stationed in the front court of the house, refused, according to their orders, to admit the bishops to Nestorius, and moreover informed them that, if they waited till night, they would receive no other answer from Nestorius than the one already given.[2]

Although Nestorius had every lawful reason to protest against this tribunal, yet the council proceeded to consider itself as the regular body to judge and decide upon his case; and his refusal to appear before them was construed as an admission on his own part of his guilt. His letters to Cyrill were read, and received with marks of disapprobation as universal as the applauses bestowed on the letters of Cyrill. One proof of the unchristian, fanatical passion which animated this synod was given in the following sally of the bishop Euoptios of Ptolemais[3] at the reading of these letters: "As those," said he, "who counterfeit the imperial coin deserve the extremest punishment, so Nestorius, who has presumed to falsify the doctrines of orthodoxy, deserves every punishment both from God and man."[4] Even familiar remarks of Nestorius and his friends, dropped in their conversations with other bishops during their residence at Ephesus, were brought up against him and perverted. In the vehemence into which a man of his temperament might easily be hurried in dispute, he had remarked, when reprobating the crass-sounding expressions of the other party, that it surely could not be affirmed God had been two or three months old. This was so construed as if he meant to deny the deity of Christ. One of Nestorius' friends had said, that the Jews could bring suffering on the man indeed, but not on the deity itself. This was regarded as an unheard-of blasphemy, as an attempt to justify the Jews, and to extenuate their sin.[5] The

[1] For the purpose of reading before Nestorius the letter of the synod, and taking a note of his answer.

[2] S. Harduin. Concil. T. I. f. 1362.

[3] Who must have been a very different man from his brother and predecessor, the gentle and free-minded Synesius.

[4] L. c. 1391.

[5] L. c. f. 1398 and 1399.

synod accordingly, as they declared with pharisaical hypocrisy, *after many tears*, constrained by the laws of the church, and by the letter of the Roman bishop Cœlestin, pronounced the sentence, which they dared to express in the following form: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, by Nestorius blasphemed, has ordained by this most holy synod, that the Nestorius above named should be excluded from the episcopal dignity and from the whole college of priests." [1] After the synod had passed this sentence, the bishop Rheginus of Constantia, on the island of Cyprus, preached a discourse, which, short as it is, presents a most singular exhibition of extravagant fanatical zeal in behalf of doctrinal formulas, denying for the sake of these both the Spirit of Christ and reason. This fanaticism characterized him whose sin consisted merely in the fact that he did homage to the common Christ under another notional conception, as one who was worse than Cain and the Sodomites. The earth ought, of good rights, to open and swallow him up; fire ought to rain down on him from heaven, that the simple might see his transgression punished! The God Logos, whom he had ventured to sever, who had come forth in the flesh from Mary the mother of God, would appoint for him the punishment of eternal torments in the day of judgment. The bishop concluded his discourse with an invitation opposed to the Antiochian creed, and consonant with the whole tenor of his remarks, as follows: "But let us worship and adore the God Logos, who has condescended to walk among us in the flesh, without separating himself from the essence of the Father!" [2]

Cyrill caused the above sentence of deposition pronounced upon Nestorius to be publicly affixed at Ephesus, and indeed to be proclaimed by heralds through the whole city.[3] The bishops who had constituted that assembly, or who formed the Cyrillian party, dispatched, moreover, a letter worthy of the spirit of this party to the emperor, in which they informed him of the sentence passed by the synod, which they affirmed themselves to be. They offered various excuses, the emptiness of which could easily be exposed, for opening the proceedings before the arrival of the patriarch John and his associates. They resorted to the most abominable perversions of those familiar remarks of Nestorius already mentioned, in order to present him in the light of a blasphemer of the holiest things. They affirmed he had not ceased to maintain that He who had for our sakes become man, ought not to be called God; that he made the human nature which the deity had assumed from love to man, an objection to that deity; that he ridiculed the mystery of the divine incarnation. They prayed the emperor to command that the entire doctrine of Nestorius should be expunged from the churches, and that his books, by which he sought to deny the grace of God, should be committed to the flames wherever they might be found.[4]

[1] L. c. f. 1422.
[2] L. c. f. 1444.
[3] According to the declaration of the Comes Candidianus. Harduin. l. c. 1452.
[4] Harduin. l. c. 1441.

Nestorius, and ten bishops united with him, thereupon sent another letter to the emperor, in which they described, according to the truth, the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of Cyrill and Memnon. They submitted to the emperor the just petition, that he would either secure for them a residence at Ephesus safe from injury, and order the constitution of a regular assembly; so that none of the clergy or monks, whether belonging to themselves or to the Egyptians, and none of the bishops who had not been called, might be present to disturb the synod (only two bishops from each metropolitan diocese, men competent to enter into such investigations, were to attend the assembly with their metropolitans),[1] or that the emperor would enable them to return back free from peril to their churches. This demand clearly places the party of Nestorius in an advantageous light. It is evident that they wished to obtain the victory, not by superiority of numbers, not by violence and clamor, but by calm and rational investigation; whereas, on the other hand, a suspicion of the opposite kind is thereby cast on the party of Cyrill.

The imperial commissioner was of the same mind with Nestorius; as indeed he had at the very outset declared the assembly of Cyrill's party to be illegal, and contrary to the emperor's letters warrant. He therefore insisted that their decrees could have no legal validity; and, in conformity with these views, he drew up on his part also a report to the emperor, and advised those bishops who had not been present at the Cyrillian assemblies, not to allow themselves to be forced to subscribe the decrees of that body, but to wait till the arrival of the Syrian patriarch. Candidian, on account of his intimate connection with the Syrian church party, might be accused of a partiality unbefitting his position: but it appears evident that he did not espouse the party of any doctrinal system; but, conformably to his office, took part, of course, with those who most rigidly observed the forms of law. Where the matter related to a conflict between arbitrary will and legal order, it was the duty of his office not to remain neutral.

But his neutrality, alone, would appear a crime in the eyes of the ambitious or fanatical bishops of the Cyrillian party. Still less could they pardon it in him, that he should adopt in earnest the cause of right, and send to Constantinople a report of their tyranny which was according to the truth. Since, then, these people looked upon everything with the eye of passion, and indulged themselves in the most abominable perversions of words and actions, in every sort of exaggeration, and even falsehood; we can give no confidence to what they report concerning the violent conduct of the man whom credible testimony represents to us as acting uniformly on the side of order and within the bounds of his commission.[2]

The bishop John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus with his companions, as he had promised, a few days after the organization of the assembly which had been formed by Cyrill. Although it may have been true,

[1] L. c. 1440.

[2] As is evident particularly from what the bishop Memnon of Ephesus reports in his manifestly lying letter to the clergy at Constantinople. Harduin. Concil. l. c. f. 1596.

as was reported by Memnon bishop of Ephesus, that the Cyrillian council had sent deputies to meet him, to bid him welcome, and to inform him of what had been done, yet these assuredly did not conduct themselves in any way suited to make a favorable impression on him; and an arbitrary act like that which had just been consummated, admitted, in truth, of no palliation. John could not be otherwise than highly offended at it; and he was compelled, by the laws of the church and by the *doctrinal* principles which he advocated, to consider the proceedings of that council as without force, and to declare them so. It is true that he himself did not conduct, in this case, in the true spirit of prudence and moderation. He, with his bishops, — of whom there were but thirty, — and a few more, proceeded to form a new council, which considered itself to be the only regular one. The Cyrillian party found something particularly exceptionable and contrary to order in the fact, that so inconsiderable a minority should set themselves up as judges over so overwhelming a majority; but the patriarch John maintained that that majority could have no weight, since it was composed, for the most part, of bishops from Egypt and from Asia Minor, wholly dependent on Cyrill and Memnon. Candidian considered it his duty to present himself also before this party convention, as he had done before the previous one. He here made report of the conduct he had there observed: he read before them the imperial ordinance, which was addressed to the whole council, and then immediately withdrew. The council now passed sentence of deposition upon Cyrill and Memnon, and excommunicated the other members who took any part in the proceedings of that party assembly, until they should manifest penitence and condemn the anathemas of Cyrill. This sentence pronounced upon the two bishops they made known by posting it up publicly; and they drew up a report of it, which was sent to the emperor. In accordance therewith, they called upon the other bishops to separate themselves from Cyrill and Memnon, and to unite with them in forming a general council according to the imperial letters patent.

But Cyrill governed the collective body of the bishops with whom he had held the first council. Meantime the deputies of the Roman bishop arrived, who had received instructions to proceed in all respects according to the advice and will of Cyrill, yet at the same time to insist on the supreme judicial authority of the Roman church. If the synod fell into disputes, they should be mindful that it did not become them to take any share as a party in the controversy, but to pass judgment on the opinions expressed by the others.[1] These deputies, therefore, stuck closely throughout to the council of Cyrill: they requested the earlier proceedings to be read to them at one of its sessions, and signified their approbation of the whole. So this council

[1] The words of the *commonitorium*, which Cœlestin gave to his legates, were as follows: Ad fratrem et coëpiscopum nostrum Cyrillum consilium vestrum omne convertite, et quicquid in ejus videritis arbitrio, facietis. Et auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ custodiri debere mandamus. Ad disceptationem si fuerit ventum, vos de eorum sententiis judicare debetis, non subire certamen Harduin. l. c. f. 1347.

now considered itself warranted to claim for itself the authority of the Roman bishop. On the presentation of a complaint to this party-council by Cyrill and Memnon, the patriarch John was in the customary form thrice summoned to appear before it, and defend his conduct; the penalties of the church being threatened in case of disobedience. But as John declined entering into any negotiations with this council, — which he did not recognize as a regular one, but declared that, after he had made out his report in full to Constantinople, he should await the decision from that quarter, — the council passed sentence on him and his associates, that they should in the first place be suspended from their episcopal and priestly functions, reserving the whole severity of the ecclesiastical laws to be employed against them, in case they did not alter their conduct.

Meanwhile the report of Candidian was producing the effect at Constantinople, which, if the fanaticism and intrigue of a court party had not stood in the way, must necessarily have resulted from it. On the 29th of June, the emperor sent a letter to the synod, drawn up with impartiality and moderation, of which an imperial officer, the magistrianus Palladius, was made the bearer. The emperor censured in it the illegal conduct of the bishops, which had manifestly proceeded from passion, yet without designating any persons by name against whom this censure was particularly directed. He declared that he would approve only of the result of a deliberation on the disputed doctrine, instituted by the whole council in common. Another imperial commissioner of rank was to observe the course of proceedings in company with Candidian, and prevent any further steps contrary to law. Until then, no one of the bishops could be permitted to return home to his diocese, or to *visit the court*.[1] The emperor avowed that it was not so much the person of Nestorius or of any other individual, as the cause of truth, which lay near his heart.[2] The imperial messenger above mentioned must doubtless have been charged by the emperor — so important seemed to him this occasion — to hasten in every way his journey to Ephesus and his return to Constantinople; for the answer of the Cyrillian synod which he brought back, was dated the first of July. These bishops defended themselves therein against the reproach of passionate conduct; they persisted in maintaining, that Nestorius had been rightfully deposed on account of his erroneous doctrines; and they accused the count Candidian of having, out of partiality to Nestorius, given a false representation of the whole matter. A letter of this sort, however, would produce but little effect. Candidian's report to the emperor, which bore on its very face the impress of truth, furnished a ready key to explain the whole state of the case. Besides, the count Irenæus, who accompanied Nestorius to Ephesus, and had shown himself there to be a true friend, and many other persons of consideration at Constantinople, who were also his friends, warmly supported his cause. Cyrill was therefore obliged to resort to other means, to turn

[1] It is easy to see, that there were reasons for apprehending the last particularly from the members of the Cyrillian party. [2] L. c. Harduin. f. 1540.

the balance in his favor. He could reckon upon the ignorant, fanatical zealots among the monks of that city. Among these was an Archimandrite by the name of Dalmatius, who stood in the highest consideration. For eight and forty years he had never left the cell in which he had immured himself! The emperor himself was accustomed to visit him there, to ask for his intercessions. But he had sometimes besought him in vain — on the occurrence of earthquakes, which frequently filled Constantinople with alarm — to leave his solitude, and take part in the public penitential processions.[1] We may presume that the new patriarch from the Antiochian school had already from the first been represented to this monk, by Alexandrian influence, as a dangerous teacher of error; for, after the arrival of Nestorius, he was wont to say to those who visited him in his cell: "Take heed to yourselves, my brethren; for an evil beast has come into this city, and he may injure many by his doctrines.[2]" This person, then, Cyrill contrived to rouse to action in favor of his own party and aims, by giving him an account of the sentence of deposition passed upon Nestorius, and of the sufferings of the defenders of the true faith on that account. This story Dalmatius received through a letter addressed to the bishops and monks residing at Constantinople, which a beggar brought to that city, concealed in a hollow reed; — whether the truth was that Cyrill, as he pretended, was obliged to resort to this shift, in order to have the letter safely reach its destination, because the men who sought to frustrate Cyrill's plots took pains to intercept his communications to the clergy and monks at Constantinople; — or whether it was that the necessity of employing such means was a mere pretence, contrived for the purpose of heating the minds of his partisans by such evidence of the oppression to which he was subjected. Might we suppose that the bearer of the letter was no beggar, but a bishop in the disguise of one, we should then see another motive for resorting to this species of secret communication; — the bearer who was to visit Constantinople unperceived, under this disguise, would doubtless be entrusted with the execution of other oral commissions.

This message, then, set the whole party of zealous monks in commotion. Dalmatius imagined himself summoned by a voice from heaven to come forth from his solitude of eight and forty years, in order to save the churches from the great threatening danger. All the monks and abbots forsook their cloisters, and, chanting psalms with alternate choirs, marched in procession with burning torches, Dalmatius at their head, to the palace of the emperor. A procession of this sort could not

[1] Harduin. l. c. f. 1588.

[2] L. c. 1447. This Dalmatius was a writer at one of the imperial bureaus, σχολάριος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ σχολῇ, and had a wife and children, — when, through the influence of a venerated monk, Isacios, he was induced to become a monk. He obtained great influence, was frequently called upon to settle quarrels among citizens, as is told in the Greek history of his life, published by Banduri, in the second volume of his imperium orientale. When the new patriarchs entered upon their office, it was the custom for them first to visit and pay their respects to Dalmatius, in his cell. But Nestorius, according to this account, had not been admitted to him. It is easy to see what advantage Cyrill might gain by securing such an instrument.

fail to set the people all in a ferment, and to spread the alarm far and wide, that the true faith was in imminent jeopardy; and hence vast multitudes of the people joined the procession. The abbots were summoned to an audience in the palace, while the crowds of monks and of the people remained standing before it, chanting in their choirs. Dalmatius addressed the emperor before a crowded court, in the same bold and confident tone in which he was wont to converse with him. He handed over to him the letter of the synod; and the weak emperor said, if the case stood thus, the bishops might have leave to come from Ephesus. But Dalmatius complained, that of the other party, as many as pleased were permitted to come to Constantinople: on the other hand, whoever of the Cyrillian synod wished to come were detained in custody.[1] He asked the emperor, in his usual style, to whom he would give ear, — the six thousand bishops, or *one* godless man; and got him to promise that the Cyrillian party should be permitted to send deputies to Constantinople. When Dalmatius announced to the assembled crowd that a favorable answer had been received from the emperor, the whole procession, singing songs of praise from the 150th Psalm, moved forward to a church, where Dalmatius was to read the letter of the synod, and give an account of his audience. After the letter had been read, the assembled people shouted with one voice, "Anathema to Nestorius." Also the address of Dalmatius to them was followed by an equally loud anathema.[2]

Upon this, the Cyrillian party sent three bishops to Constantinople; and it soon became evident what an ascendant influence the artifices of these men had succeeded in acquiring. One of those who had been till now the favorers of Nestorius, the imperial chamberlain Scholasticus, was so wrought upon as to join the party against him; it being represented, by the willful perversion of some of his familiar remarks in conversation, that he was no longer willing to tolerate the application of the term θεοτόκος to Mary. Nestorius deemed it necessary, therefore, to clear himself from these aspersions. He assured Scholasticus, that his views on that point continued to be precisely the same as those he had constantly professed at Constantinople; that he considered the union of the two designations of Mary, θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος, in their different references, to be the mark and badge of perfect orthodoxy. He commended to him the care of maintaining the true faith. Were this — he added — but secured, he would joyfully resign the episcopal dignity. In any such case, his friend might regard the present letter as one in which he took leave of him; for glad would he be to return back to his old cloister-life, since he knew of nothing higher or more blessed than such tranquillity. And well might it be that Nestorius, after so much sorrowful experience of a turbulent, distracted, and care-worn life, sincerely longed after his former silent and tranquil retirement.

[1] The question arises, how much truth lay at the bottom of this story; — whether it was only a contrivance to inflame the zeal of Dalmatius, or whether it was the fact that several bishops, who had come to Constantinople for the purpose of exciting disturbances, had been justly arrested.

[2] L. c. f. 1588.

The Asiatic bishops who were still assembled at Ephesus had meanwhile, with a view to counteract the influence of the Cyrillian party, prevailed on the comes Irenæus, the old friend of Nestorius, to repair to Constantinople with a letter with which they furnished him. He arrived there three days after the arrival of the Cyrillian bishops; and must soon perceive, that the latter had been well received by the nobles and higher officers of state, and had been successful in their efforts to weaken the effect of Candidian's report. He labored earnestly to counteract their influence at court; he prevailed upon the emperor, with his chief ministers of state, to grant a common audience to him and the Egyptian deputies, and listen to the representations of both parties. He succeeded in convincing the emperor, as he writes in the journal of his commission, that the party of Cyrill had proceeded in a way directly contrary to law; so that the emperor was already on the very point of confirming the judgment of the second assembly held under the auspices of the patriarch John, and of threatening additional punishments to the bishops deposed by that body. But the feeble sovereign was the mere tool of court-parties, who were themselves in turn exposed to manifold influences from without. Soon after, the physician John, secretary [1] of the patriarch Cyrill, came on a visit to Constantinople; and this person soon found means of giving the whole business an entirely different turn. Now, the different opinions prevailing at court became manifest. Some, whose hearts were solely bent on the restoration of quiet, desired, in order that this might be obtained in the simplest way, that no inquiry should be made as to the right or wrong of either party; but that, to satisfy all parties, all three of the bishops should be deposed. Others proposed that the sentences of both sides should be annulled, and that deputies should be sent for from Ephesus for the purpose of discovering through them the real course which matters had taken, and of learning to which side the charge of illegal conduct ought to be laid. Many who favored Cyrill's party endeavored to procure, that *they themselves* might be sent to Ephesus, with full powers to inquire into the whole matter on the spot.[2]

The party of Cyrill, however, could not as yet obtain the victory: the influence of the moderate class at court was still, as it would seem, too powerful for them. For the present, the plan first mentioned was adopted; and an individual who would have been by no means the choice of the Cyrillian party, since he had no disposition to serve as the tool of a church or theological sect, John, the ministerial secretary of state (comes sacrarum), was sent to Ephesus. He arrived in that city with an imperial letter of commission (sacra), in which it was commanded, that all the three bishops deposed by the synods should remain deposed; and in which the members of the council were exhorted to lay by their mutual strifes, that they might be prepared to return in peace and concord to their several dioceses.

The count John faithfully maintained at Ephesus the position which he was bound to maintain as a minister of the state, acting on the same

[1] Σύγκελλος. Without doubt an ecclesiastic, as in this period physicians are not rarely to be met with among the clergy. [2] The letter of Irenæus. L. c. 1548.

principles as Candidian, — without whose concurrence, moreover, he took no step whatever. He first invited all the bishops to a meeting in his own apartments, where he wished to read over to them the imperial commission. But here he became witness of a most vehement contest between the two parties.[1] When the greatest part of the day had already been spent in these disputes, he unceremoniously interfered with the authority of force. Nestorius and Cyrill he removed at once. To the rest he read the imperial letter; and, for the purpose of carrying it into effect, and preventing disturbances, he committed the three deposed bishops to a respectable and safe custody. After this, he labored in every way to restore peace between the two parties. John of Antioch and his associates manifested at once a ready and willing disposition for this. They were prepared to submit to the emperor's decision, which approved the decrees of both the synods; and they were inclined to come to an agreement with the other party, provided the latter would but agree to condemn the anathemas of Cyrill. But the party of Cyrill was by no means so compliant. The person of their leader was to them of much more importance than the person of Nestorius to their opponents. They would listen to no terms of agreement, unless the other party retracted every thing, manifested their repentance to the synod, which they considered themselves alone to be, and condemned, in writing, Nestorius and his doctrines. These things the other party of course could not consent to do. As the count was extremely anxious to convey the news to Constantinople, that he had succeeded in getting the victory over the passions of the bishops, and of uniting them on terms of peace, he sought now to enter at least into negotiations for the drawing up of a common confession of faith. But neither would the Egyptian party be persuaded to engage in anything of this kind.[2] The Orientals had been accused, in the rumors industriously circulated against them by their opponents at Constantinople, of wishing to deprive Mary of the honor of being called θεοτόκος. The emperor had expressly charged the count John to get them to declare themselves on this point. Thus they were led to draw up a confession of faith, in which, after distinguishing with precision the two natures in Christ, they declared that, as confession was made of one Son of God, one Lord, and one Christ, in the sense of a union without confusion of the two natures; so too, in the same sense,[3] Mary was called the mother of God, because Christ, from the time of the conception, united with himself the temple he had assumed.[4] This confession of faith was

[1] He says himself, in his letter to the emperor: Magna facta est seditio, immo prœlium et pugna.

[2] See their own declaration, l. c. 1593.

[3] Secundum hunc inconfusæ unionis intellectum. See epistola Johannis, in the Synodicon published by Lupus, (see above,) c. 17; Lupus opera, T. VII. f. 56.

[4] There may, indeed, have been some grounds for the assertion of the Cyrillian synod, in their report to their partisans at Constantinople, that, in drawing up this confession of faith, there was schism among the Orientals themselves, as all were not satisfied with this retention of the word θεοτόκος. That this was a correct assertion, is evident from a letter addressed to Theodoret by Alexander, bishop of Hierapolis, who was present at Ephesus during these proceedings, in Lupus, l. c. 94. Also to be found in operib. Theodoreti ed. Halens. T. V. p. 745. This zealous advocate of the Syrian church doctrines sees, in the compliant disposition which was then so

laid before the emperor in a letter which the patriarch John wrote him in the name of the synod.

But as the count John now saw that all his pains to effect the restoration of peace were defeated by the pride and passion of the Cyrillian party; as he was accused by them of party proceedings, and of dispatching false reports to Constantinople, he finally called upon the emperor himself to send for deputies from both parties, and enter personally into an investigation of the whole matter.

This proposal was adopted, and eight bishops from each of the two parties were summoned as deputies to Constantinople. Soon after their departure from Ephesus, Nestorius received there a letter from the pretorian prefect, by which he was informed, in answer to his own previous letter (see above, p. 477), that the emperor had given all the orders necessary for his returning back, in the most convenient and desirable manner, to his cloister. In this letter there appears no trace of an unfriendly feeling towards Nestorius. The prefect concluded by saying, that with his wisdom, and treasure of inward goods, he stood in no need of condolence. But it is plainly to be seen, that it was believed impossible to retain him any longer in the patriarchate in opposition to the hatred and the power of that party, which, by Cyrill's intrigues at court, had been formed against Nestorius among the nobles and among the monks at Constantinople.[1] Nestorius, weary of these harassing cares, gladly availed himself of the conceded permission, and, in his answer to the prefect, only commended to him the care of maintaining pure doctrine. But the contest, which was no longer connected barely with the person of Nestorius, could not be hushed by his removal. On the contrary, the rupture became now more decidedly expressed, when, on the removal of Nestorius, Memnon and Cyrill were again restored to their offices.

It soon became manifest, that the feeble emperor meant to act impartially, but was ever hurried along from one step to another by the Cyrillian party, which exerted its influence through the monks, the clergy, and the courtiers. When the deputies of the two parties arrived at Chalcedon, they were directed to remain there, and not come to Constantinople, because apprehensions were entertained of a movement among the monks. At a later period, however, the deputies of the other party obtained leave to visit Constantinople; while, on the other hand, this liberty was withheld from the Oriental delegates. The bishop of Chalcedon stood in alliance with the Cyrillian party; and to its deputies he gave up all the churches which they desired for the purpose of holding worship in them. But the Orientals were excluded

generally manifested, the incipient intrigues of a party who were ready to give up the truth; and he reminds his friend Theodoret, how strenuously he then resisted these measures. Memor est sanctitas tua, quod nec ullo pertulerim eis communicare consilio, de epistola, quæ apud Ephesum facta est . . . . vox hæc (theotocos) ad proditionem et calumniam illius, qui rectam fidem docebat (*Nestorii*) inserta est.

[1] The well-informed bishop, Ibas of Edessa, writes on this subject in his letter to Maris: Νεστόριος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐμισεῖτο παρὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν μεγάλων τῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐκεῖ ὑποστρέψαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη. It is certain, however, that Nestorius still had a large party in his favor in the church, as appears from the later events.

from the churches; yet they managed to procure a suitable room, where Theodoret preached before a large audience.[1] The favorable reception they met with from the people excited to a still higher degree the jealousy of the ferocious monks, by whom the Orientals and their attendants were attacked with stones, several of them not escaping without wounds.[2] The emperor, at an audience which he gave them at the villa of Rufianus, reproached them with having excited these disturbances by their church assemblies. They now petitioned the emperor to allow them the same justice which the count John had shown at Ephesus, and to forbid the bishops of both parties from holding divine worship, until they could come to some mutual agreement. To this the weak emperor replied: "I cannot command *the bishops*." "Well, then," rejoined the bishops, "pray do not command us."

They found, as they declared in their letter written from Chalcedon, the higher magistrates all committed in favor of the creed of Cyrill, having been corrupted either by his gold or by his flatteries. Pulcheria also may have succeeded by this time in rendering her brother thoroughly hostile to the man towards whom he had before been so favorably disposed; so that, when the subject of his restoration was pressed at the emperor's privy council, the very suggestion of such a measure appeared like high treason.[3] The emperor himself said: "Let no one speak to me *of him:* I have had enough of him already."[4] But the Oriental synod at Ephesus had the courage to write to the emperor, that, although Nestorius might a thousand times flee from the turmoils of strife, and prefer the life of a private man; yet, in order that the faith might receive no detriment, it was no whit the less necessary that the illegal sentence of deposition passed upon him by the party who would introduce Cyrill's heretical anathemas, should be annulled. As the Oriental deputies, after five pretended audiences, saw doubtless that their longer residence near the court would be to no purpose, they petitioned the emperor, that at least, if an impartial investigation was not to be had, they might themselves be suffered to depart from Chalcedon, and the other bishops from Ephesus. This the emperor granted, but by a decision which, to the Orientals, could not appear otherwise than as an act of unjust and arbitrary will. The sentence of deposition pronounced on Nestorius was suffered to remain valid; but Cyrill — who in the mean time had been allowed to visit Constantinople, where his influence was unbounded — and Memnon, were permitted to return to their dioceses. "Thus the Egyptian," said the Orientals, writing from Chalcedon, "has it in his power to corrupt every one with his gifts, so as to return, after having done numberless wrongs, to his episcopal seat, while that innocent man can scarcely make good his escape to his cloister." Yet the hatred to Nestorius, and the power of Cyrill's party, to which the emperor himself succumbed, seems

[1] See the letter of Theodoret to Alexander, bishop of Hierapolis. Theodoret. T. IV. 1346, ed. Halens.

[2] In the second report to the emperor, they name as their assailants, servos monachorum habitu indutos; i. e. perhaps, not slaves disguised as monks, but such as had once been slaves, but had become monks.

[3] Defectionis notabamur.

[4] De hoc mihi nullus loquatur, specimen enim semel dedit. L. c. p. 1346, ed. Halens.

to have had far more influence upon him than any preference for the Egyptian system of doctrines. It continued still to be his wish that the two parties might be brought to an agreement on the disputed points of doctrine, and that in this way peace might once more be restored to the church. In announcing to the Cyrillian party at Ephesus that they were discharged from the council, he gave them to understand that if peace had not been restored, it was no fault of his; but God would know who were to blame. He would never be induced to condemn the Orientals, for they had been convicted in his hearing of no guilt; as none had been willing to enter with them into any theological investigation, — a reproach which must have been meant for the Cyrillian party, who had avoided all discussion with the others.

The negotiations set on foot by the tribune and notary Aristolaos, one of the great officers of state, seemed at first to be beset with many difficulties, as the demands of the two parties were so directly opposed to each other. The Orientals required from Cyrill a condemnation of his anathemas; but Cyrill refused to give them up. On the other hand, he persisted in requiring that the Orientals should approve the condemnatory sentence pronounced on the person and on the doctrines of Nestorius, and should consent to the ordination of the new patriarch at Constantinople.

But much as Nestorius was disliked at the imperial court, and firmly as all were resolved that he should not again be allowed to be patriarch, yet there was little disposition to support Cyrill in his quarrel with the Syrian doctrines. On the contrary, the dogmatic stiffness of Cyrill was regarded as the cause of the continued divisions in the church, and men were well inclined to demand that he should sacrifice his anathemas in order to preserve the peace of the church. Cyrill was obliged to resort to many of his wonted arts, — to summon to his aid all the influence of Pulcheria, of the chamberlains and court ladies in his alliance, as well as of the abbots at Constantinople; he was obliged to cause large sums of money to be distributed at court, — funds which he found it impossible to collect without burdening his churches with debt, — in order to gain over the hostilely disposed nobles, and to reanimate the zeal of others for his party;[1] and yet, with all these

[1] Cyrill's method of proceeding in such cases is, for the most part, disclosed by the letter of his archdeacon and syncell, Epiphanius, of which letter we have spoken before, and for the preservation of which we are indebted to the Synodicon, so often mentioned, c. 203. Theodoret. T. V. ep. 173, ed. Hal. This letter is addressed to the patriarch Maximianus, of Constantinople. It is here said, Cyrill had written to Pulcheria, to several cubicularios and cubicularias. Et directæ sunt benedictiones (*εὐλογία*, presents) dignæ eis. An attempt was made to gain over one of the chief chamberlains, Chrysoretes, who was hostilely disposed, by sending him magnificent presents, such as were worthy of him, ut tandem desisteret ab oppugnatione ecclesiæ. The patriarch of Constantinople was requested to entreat Pulcheria, ut iterum ponat animam suam pro Domino Christo, puto enim, quod nunc non satis curet pro Cyrillo, ut et omnes, qui sunt in palatio regis. The patriarch was to give them whatever their avarice demanded (so I would restore the sense according to a probably necessary emendation of the Latin text), although they had already received presents enough (et quidquid avaritiæ eorum deest, præsta iis, quanquam non desint et ipsis diversæ benedictiones), *that Pulcheria* might be induced to write emphatically to the patriarch John, that no further mention must be made of that godless man (Nestorius). Various influential court ladies were to be called upon to coöperate towards the same end. The abbot

intrigues, he could not succeed in inducing an individual to lend him any hand in pressing his anathemas upon the other party. On the contrary, he felt himself obliged to adopt towards them a milder language, which could not be honorably meant on his part.[1]

On the other hand, the patriarch John of Antioch was not disposed to defend any longer the cause of Nestorius against the hatred which ever continued to be more strongly expressed against him at the court at Constantinople. To maintain the more moderate Antiochian system of faith, i.e. the doctrine of the real distinction of the two natures in opposition to the Egyptian Monophysitism, was the point of greatest interest with him. Cyrill now doubtless understood that it would be necessary for him to purchase the acquiescence of the Orientals in the condemnation of Nestorius, and their consent to the ordination of the new patriarch Maximianus at Constantinople, by yielding something on his own side in articles of doctrine. If the Orientals could once be brought practically to recognize as valid the judgment pronounced by the council of Cyrill, the approbation of the doctrinal principles on which this judgment was based would easily follow, and by degrees everything at variance with the Egyptian system of doctrine might be declared to be a Nestorian heresy. The negotiations of a certain bishop Paul of Emesa, who came to Alexandria as a deputy of the Orientals, contributed in a special manner to bring about an agreement which had been prepared in this way; for he himself took particular pains to further the matter, as he was very solicitous for the honor of being the author of peace, and for this reason promised more than he was warranted to do by his instructors. Thus Cyrill was exempted from the necessity of expressly recalling his anathemas; and, on the other hand, he was induced to subscribe a confession of faith laid before him by the bishop Paulus, which was in no respect different from that which had been set forth by the patriarch John at the council of Ephesus in the name of the Orientals to vindicate their orthodoxy, (see above,[2]) by which the title "mother of God" was applied to Mary in

Dalmatius (see above) must protest earnestly before the emperor and the chamberlains, in the name of religion, so as to alarm their consciences. Sanctissimum Dalmatium abbatem roga, ut et imperatori mandet, terribili eum conjuratione constringens, et ut cubicularios omnes constringat, ne illius memoria ulterius fiat. It is worthy of notice, that even the abbot Eutyches, whose name afterwards became so famous, and who, it would appear therefore, was one of the tools of the Cyrillian party, was here called upon to act. Appended to the letter there was a list of persons to whom presents had been sent from Alexandria, that the patriarch of Constantinople might see how much the Alexandrian church had interested itself in his cause (for it was only in case the sentence of deposition against Nestorius continued valid, that he could retain his office), in so much that the clergy at Alexandria mourned over the poverty brought by these troubles upon the Alexandrian church. Neither should he, on his own part, be sparing of the property of his church, to satisfy the avarice of those who troubled the church at Alexandria. The patriarch should without delay beseech Pulcheria, that Lausius might be made lord chamberlain, so that the power of Chrysoretes might be destroyed, et sic dogma nostrum roboretur. Such were the artifices of episcopal intrigue.

[1] L. c. Quicquid videtur reprehensibile esse, zelo et calore circa Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui abnegatus sit a Nestorio, dictum esse.—Or that the anathemas contained a doctrine which could not be comprehended by every one, but only by the more practised. See ep. 98, T. V. Theodoret.

[2] See p. 538. Theodoret has been named, without any sufficient reasons, as the author of this confession.

the sense that two natures were united in Christ, while each still remained pure and unmixed in its individuality. On the other hand, the patriarch John acquiesced in the condemnation of Nestorius, and recognized the ordinations which had been consummated by the Cyrillian party as good and valid.

This compact, struck in the year 432, which was a mere work of policy, and not the result of any reconciliation of doctrinal antagonisms in a natural and harmonious manner, experienced the usual fate of such outward and artificial combinations. *In concealing the schism which still continued to exist within, it merely served to call forth new divisions.* The men of both parties who regarded the dogmatic interest as of greater importance than the political were dissatisfied with it. Cyrill was accused by the zealots of his own party of betraying those doctrines which he had, till now, opposed to Nestorianism. And not without reason; for Nestorius himself would doubtless have been induced to recognize the predicate θεοτόκος applied to Mary, in the sense of such a union of the two natures as was denoted in the confession which lay at the basis of the agreement. Cyrill was able to defend himself against this accusation, only by severing on the one hand, as he had already done before, the single positions of Nestorius from their connection with his whole system, and so making an entirely different thing of Nestorianism from what it actually was; on the other, by artfully contriving to introduce into the distinction-theory of the creed which he had subscribed, a sense remote from that which was intended by its authors. What was said, for example, concerning the distinction of the two natures, he explained as follows: that it held good only of the distinction of the divine and human predicates; both of which, however, were to be referred to the one incarnate nature of the Logos; so that, in abstracto, two natures would be, indeed, distinguished from each other; but, in concreto, only one nature was to be recognized.[1] He attributed to the Antiochians, that he might be able to explain himself in agreement with them, a doctrine directly at variance with their entire system; that the *one* Christ consisted of two natures distinguishable *in conception*, but not of two natures distinguishable *in reality*.[2] Cyrill again, in order to defend himself with those who missed here the exactness of doctrinal expression, alluded to the great difficulty in general of finding suitable expressions for such matters in human language.[3] But this observation must have prevented him, if other motives and interests had not been at work at that time, from passing so severe a judgment on the expressions of Nestorius.

[1] Cyrill, ep. ad Acacium. Ὡς ἐν ἐννοίαις δεχόμενοι, δύο μὲν φύσεις ἡνῶσθαί φαμεν, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἕνωσιν, ὡς ἀνῃρημένης ἤδη τῆς εἰς δύο διατομῆς, μίαν πιστεύομεν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ φύσιν.

[2] Οἱ δὲ γε κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀδελφοὶ τὰ μὲν ἐξ ὧν νοεῖται ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς ἐν ψιλαῖς καὶ μόναις ἐννοίαις δεχόμενοι, φύσεων μὲν εἰρήκασι διαφοράν.

[3] Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τισι δοκεῖ τῶν λέξεων ἡ συνθήκη καὶ τῶν νοημάτων ἡ προφορὰ τῆς ἰσχνῆς ἄγαν ἀκριβείας ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· δυσεκφώνητα γὰρ τὰ τοιάδε λίαν. When he adduces, in proof of this, the words of the prayer, Ephes. 6: 19, he shows again his habit of confounding what properly belongs to the simple preaching of the gospel, with what belongs to the development of doctrinal conceptions.

The same Cyrill had, at an earlier period, during the negotiations with Aristolaus for a settlement of the differences, offered in excuse of his anathemas, which were assailed on many sides, that he had written what appeared so censurable, only from a glowing zeal for the Christ denied by Nestorius (see above.) If this were honestly said, if it was not a mere subterfuge of theological chicanery, yet the same could also have been alleged in this reference as an excuse for Nestorius. What to Cyrill appeared a denial of Christ, proceeded on the part of Nestorius, and on the principles which he maintained, only from a well-meant zeal for the honor of Christ, believing as he did that the Cyrillian mode of expression involved a denial of the divine immutability.

A still greater dissatisfaction than this which existed among the advocates of the Egyptian system of faith, was excited by the above-mentioned agreement, among the zealous adherents of the Antiochian scheme of doctrine. A doctrinal interest which overvalued the importance of precise dogmatic conceptions was not less predominant among the latter than among the Alexandrians ; and the interest in behalf of the dogmatic notions had vastly more influence with many of them than any sympathy which they felt in the case of their friend Nestorius suffering under the oppression of despotic will. As the Alexandrians saw everywhere the spectre of Photinianism, so, on the other hand, the Antiochian dogmatists saw everywhere the spectre of Apollinarism, which seemed to them to rise up again in the system of Cyrill. To receive back Cyrill to the fellowship of the church appeared to them as frightful an enormity, as if they should receive into the same fellowship Apollinaris himself.[1] Alexander of Hierapolis thought it intolerable, that a monk, whose life he himself must confess was in accordance with the gospel, should be named in the prayer at the altar as one remaining in the communion of the church ; and he gave himself no rest, as he informs us, until this practice was abolished.[2]

Among those who in the Syrian church disapproved of this coalition, there was still manifested, however, a difference of judgment, according as they were disposed generally by natural temperament either to moderation or to extravagant zeal ; and according as they had seized the

[1] We have a graphic illustration of this in a dream, which the bishop Andreas of Samosata, who also was, in the outset, a zealous opponent of the Cyrillian treaty of agreement, relates concerning himself. He dreamed that, in an assembly of other bishops, his friend, the bishop Alexander of Hierapolis, told him that the heretic Apollinaris was still living. Andreas, in astonishment, asked him several times whether this was really so, and Alexander assured him that it was. All at once they entered a house, where Apollinaris, now extremely aged, lay upon a bed. And as they were about taking their seats by the bedside, he arose and distributed the elements of the supper. The patriarch John lay in the bed, and received the elements from his hand, and then next Alexander himself. But Andreas of Samosata said indignantly to himself: "What accommodation to circumstances is this? It is a sin against the Holy Ghost. It is trifling with the incarnation of our Lord." With these words he awoke, and gave earnest expression to the wish that this dream might not after all prove true,— in other words, that Apollinaris of Laodicea, who had reappeared, so to speak, in Cyrill, might not bring over all to his own views. Ep. 48, Theodoret. T. V. p. 706, ed. Hal.

[2] L. c. ep. 145, p. 823.

system of doctrine taught by Theodore of Mopsuestia in a more stern and exclusive, or in a more mild and tolerant manner. The former, such as Theodoret and Andreas of Samosata, were, it is true, satisfied, on the whole, with the doctrinal explanations of Cyrill. They doubtless rejoiced, too, and saw in it the governing hand of divine grace, that Cyrill had been constrained to distinguish two natures in Christ, and to acknowledge that his sufferings belonged to the flesh, and that the deity was exalted above suffering.[1] Although it may unquestionably be gathered from the whole process of the matter, as we have described it, that in this case, where everything proceeded solely on grounds of impure worldly policy, there was no occasion for such joy, and for such praise of the divine providence; since the supposition last named, that the deity was capable of suffering, had indeed never once entered Cyrill's thoughts, and the former distinction was, in fact, merely an outward accommodation in terms, which Cyrill employed in a different sense from that which was intended by his opponents.

But neither in the sentence of deposition passed on Nestorius, nor in the condemnation of his doctrines, did they believe they could acquiesce with a good conscience. "So vaguely to condemn the doctrine of Nestorius," said Theodoret, "was nothing more nor less than to condemn the doctrine of piety."[2] The patriarch John had, it is true, in his letter to the emperor, in which he declared his consent to the agreement, no doubt purposely expressed himself in such a way as that he could refer the condemnation, not to the *whole doctrine* of Nestorius, but only to that which he had taught *foreign from the apostolic doctrine;*[3] — in which sense, one might, indeed, unhesitatingly subscribe the condemnation of every human doctrine. But this very indefiniteness in a dogmatic explanation appeared to the more rigid among the Orientals as a dishonorable subterfuge;[4] and they could the less be satisfied with it, because they were well aware in what sense Cyrill interpreted what had been left undetermined. On the other hand, Theodoret offered to subscribe any form of condemnation by which men might be distinctly placed on their guard against the charges commonly brought against the Antiochian system of doctrine,— a sentence of condemnation against those who divided the one Lord Jesus Christ into two Sons, and those who denied his divinity.[5]

But the acquiescence in the sentence of deposition on Nestorius appeared to them to be an unjustifiable wrong. It seemed to them a contradiction to pardon the man who had been constantly sowing dis-

[2] Theodoret. ep. 73, T. V. Naturarum differentiam clara prædicant voce, et passiones carni coaptantes, impassibilem divinam confirmant esse naturam.

[2] Ep. 50. Quod indeterminate anathematizare Nestorii doctrinam, idem sit, quod anathematizare pietatem.

[3] Quæcunque ab eo aliene ac peregrine dicta sunt contra apostolicam doctrinam,— his words in the letter to the emperor; and the commentary of Theodoret, ep. 128: Anathematismus non indefinite, sed cum quadam determinatione positus, modicam quandam præbet consolationem.

[4] See the letter of the Orientals to the Roman bishop Sixtus, in the Synodicon, published by Lupus, c. 117. They say of the patriarch John: Sic et accusatione ac demonstratione defecit, ut nec diceret, illam sive illam anathematizo sententiam, sed ait: quidquid ab eo impie dictum est. Dum certe aperte dicere debuisset, ut ab eo sensu quisque cautior redderetur.

[5] Ep. 50, p. 708.

cord, and who had at last with difficulty been brought to assent to the orthodox confession, but to sacrifice him who from his youth up had taught the same right doctrine. They declared that they could consent to the unjust and wicked sentence upon the holy bishop, neither with hand, tongue, nor heart.[1] These declarations of Theodoret had, however, been so construed, as if he had proved unfaithful to the conviction earlier expressed by him; as though he had yielded through the fear of man, and to preserve his bishopric, and for this reason had acknowledged the formula subscribed by Cyrill to be satisfactory. This suspicion against Theodoret having been excited by some persons in the mind of Nestorius himself, the former wrote him a letter in defence of his conduct.[2] "Very gladly," he said, "would he lay down an office which he found burdened with so many cares, and make his retreat to the cloister. Nestorius, therefore, ought not to allow himself to be persuaded, that, from love to his bishopric, he had received with his eye shut the letter of Cyrill as in correspondence with the true faith. He could not say otherwise, consistently with the truth, than that he had not found anything in it which was heretical; although he, no less than others, detested, in the author of that letter, the disturber of the general peace. And he hoped and trusted, that on this score no punishment awaited him at the day of judgment, since the just Judge looked upon the heart. "But to the measures," he added, "which unrighteously and wickedly have been set on foot against you, I will not be induced to give my consent, even though they should cut off both my hands; for I hope that the divine grace will aid me, and strengthen the weakness of my soul."

But the zealots of this party, such as Alexander of Hierapolis, and Meletius of Mopsuestia, were not satisfied that even so much should be yielded as had already been done. They still persisted in demanding of Cyrill an express revocation of his anathemas. They could see nothing in Cyrill's letter but his old erroneous doctrine artfully concealed. And when the above-cited letter, in which he had vindicated himself to his friends against the reproach of denying his previous convictions, came to their knowledge, sufficient proof was unquestionably furnished them, to turn to shame the triumph of the patriarch John over the conversion of Cyrill.[3] As they had already, at the council of Ephesus, declared against the unconditional application of the predicate θεοτόκος to Mary, so, too, they were dissatisfied with the new application of the term according to the articles of agreement there drawn up. The bishop Alexander, in declaring his dissent,[4] proceeded on the ground of a distinction between the *homiletic* and the strictly dogmatical use of language, which we have already noticed as constituting a distinguishing characteristic of the Syrian church teachers. "We cannot complain," he writes, "of those preachers who in their festival discourses may have imprudently called Mary the mother of God, or the Jews, God's murderers, and the like; which may have been said by orthodox men in an unsuspicious manner; for the very reason that it

[1] Ep. 59. [2] Ep. 102. [3] See the letters of Meletius, ep. 76 and ep. 121. [4] Ep. 78.

was in nowise their intention thereby to define doctrines. But it was quite otherwise with a strict form of dogmatic expression, and especially after Cyrill, in his anathemas, had expressed the erroneous doctrine to which this predicate served to give currency, and by the same document had spread it far and wide." These bishops, for the reasons just stated, not only rejected the agreement concluded upon, and not only continued therefore to consider Cyrill as excluded from the communion of the church, but they also excommunicated those who had received that agreement. A whole synod, in Cilicia Secunda, passed a decree of this sort; the members declaring they were ready to suffer anything, rather than enter into fellowship with error or with the teachers of error. The patriarch John might doubtless have been able, by moderate conduct, to gain over the more mildly disposed among the Orientals, if he had refrained from urging upon them an acquiescence in the sentence which deposed Nestorius, — the course actually pursued afterwards; but, by the vehemence with which he conducted towards all opponents of the agreement, he alienated from him even this more moderate class.

He took occasion, from these disputes, to indulge himself in many encroachments on the administration of affairs in foreign dioceses; he furthered the promotion of unworthy men, disposed to serve him as his instruments, to episcopal stations which he had no authority to fill. Thus he made himself hated, and thus it was his own fault that the party of his opponents augmented, and the worthiest bishops of Syria withdrew from all fellowship with him. A schism followed not only in the Antiochian church diocese, but also in other parts of the Eastern church, which were subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. The discontented from all quarters attached themselves to the opposition party of Eastern Asia; and thus was formed an association of bishops who stood opposed to the three patriarchs of the East. To the same circle belonged the bishops of that portion of Syria which touches on the Euphrates, of the two provinces of Cilicia, of Cappadocia Secunda, of Bithynia, Thessaly, and Mœsia.[1]

Meanwhile, notwithstanding all the pains of the Cyrillian party, the memory of Nestorius had not been wholly effaced from the minds of his devoted community at Constantinople. This became evident after the death of the patriarch Maximianus in 433. In many parts of the city, vast multitudes assembled, and with loud shouts demanded Nestorius again for their bishop; threatening, unless he were restored to them, to set fire to the patriarchal church.[2] Yet such movements in favor of a man once hated by the dominant court party could do him no service, but, on the contrary, only tend to excite still more the rage of his enemies, who grudged him such love of the people. In the manner in which the vacant patriarchate was once more filled, appeared the influence of the party opposed to Nestorius; for that very Proclus who had first stood forth as his opponent (see above)[3] was

[1] See the letter written in the name of these schismatic bishops to the Roman bishop, Sixtus II., in Lupus, l. c. c. 117. [2] Procli Synodica, l. c. f. 805. [3] P. 509

named patriarch; and this man leagued himself with Cyrill and John of Antioch, to enforce everywhere the recognition of the agreement struck between the church of Eastern Asia and that of Egypt, which had been made the basis of the peace of the church. The patriarch John, who by this alliance obtained great power, resorted at first to means of benevolence, to presents and pecuniary aid, for the purpose of gaining over the poor churches of Syria, which were burdened with debts;[1] and next, where he could not accomplish his ends in *this* way, he tried to intimidate by threats. All being to no purpose, he exerted himself to procure an imperial edict against the obstinate bishops. Already he had contrived, by bribing the quæstor Domitian, to obtain such a decree; but those bishops whom it was wished to expel stood so high in the esteem of their communities, that the execution of such measures against them might draw after it very disastrous consequences. The pretorian prefect Taurus represented to the emperor, that the cities would be ruined, and that the empire, otherwise (by the bad management of its resources) growing impoverished every day, would here also lose one source of its revenues;[2] and the execution of the imperial ordinance was therefore put off for the present. The quæstor who had obtained this ordinance for the patriarchs, in the mean time resorted to a trick, in order to induce the Syrian bishops to yield. He informed them that this ordinance was signed by the emperor, and was to be published, but that *he* had for awhile withheld its publication, in order to see whether they might nôt be induced to compliance by arguments, before it should be necessary to resort to extreme measures.[3] At length the imperial decree against the disturbers of the peace and the corrupters of the doctrines of faith, who employed religion as a pretext, — by whom, however, could be meant no others than those Syrian bishops who were opposed to the articles of agreement, — was actually published; and men who for a long series of years, without mingling like others in the impure worldly business of those times, had consecrated all their labors, without earthly splendor and enjoyment, solely to their spiritual office, were now to be forcibly separated from the communities in which they were cordially loved and respected, because the arbitrary will of a few individuals found it possible through the court to rule over the church.[4]

When these threatening commands were made known to the bishop Theodoret, he was at first resolved to forsake all, and retire to the

[1] As may be gathered from the words of the bishop Alexander of Hierapolis, ep. 143: Non habemus pecunias et munera et naves plenas oneribus, quæ mittamus. . . Illis armatur multitudo contra veritatem.

[2] Futuras ex hoc eversiones urbium, — quod qualis est Thracia, talis et Cilicia erit, quæ pæne sola remansit ad tributa solvenda, ep. 105, l. c.

[3] See the letter to the bishop Helladius of Tarsus, ep. 106.

[4] In the letter which the magister militum orientis sent to all the bishops concerned, in order to the carrying into execution of the emperor's command, it was said: Necesse est, ut aut communices Joanni episcopo catholicæ ecclesiæ, ut ablatis contentionibus sancta ecclesia quiete fruatur ac pace, quam peperit (which John introduced by means of his articles of agreement), aut contendens, formam divinitus datam (the penalty defined in the imperial *sacra*) subire cogaris. Privaberis enim urbe, privaberis et ecclesia, si meliori sorte obedire et assentiri nolueris.

cloister in which he had received his spiritual education; but the pious monks of his community urged him to enter into new negotiations with the patriarch John, so as to preserve his church, without detriment to his conscience. Theodoret foresaw that, if he declined to obey the emperor's decree, he would be forced away from the community, where his labors were blessed, and some unworthy person would be substituted in his place. He considered it therefore to be his duty, so far as he could so do without denying his own convictions and without detriment to his conscience, to yield, in order to subserve a higher interest of the church; and as the patriarch John released him from giving in his acquiescence in the judgment pronounced on Nestorius, and as he himself had already testified his satisfaction with the doctrinal part of the articles of agreement, he could at present with a good conscience comply with the prescribed conditions.[1] The patriarch John now endeavored, through Theodoret's mediation,[2] to gain over also the other Syrian bishops; and Theodoret himself was moved, by his zeal for the best good of the church, and his friendship for his old colleagues involved in this controversy, to exert himself to the utmost to bring about a general reconciliation and union. He urged his old friends with the most pressing arguments, and among others wrote thus to the bishop Helladius of Tarsus:[3] "He assuredly ought not without good cause to expose the flock intrusted to him to destruction: the purity of doctrine had certainly been secured: to participate in wrong-doing was a thing to which they were forced by no one. The righteous Judge would not punish them for the injustice of others. It was high time to put an end to disputes, and to unite the churches once more together." But in vain were all these representations and entreaties to the three men, distinguished for their firmness of character, Meletius of Mopsuestia, Alexander of Hierapolis, and Helladius of Tarsus,—men whose souls, strong in faith, and superior to all human fear in resisting the despotic caprice which would subject everything to itself, deserve respect, notwithstanding their narrow dogmatic zeal. They were firmly resolved not to grant Cyrill the fellowship of the church, under any other condition than that he should revoke the system of doctrine expressed in his anathemas, and acknowledge Nestorius as a catholic bishop. All other yielding was the same in their eyes as to purchase the peace of the church with the denial of the truth and the approbation of injustice. They held it to be their duty to remain faithful, under all trials, to the pastoral calling which had been intrusted to them; but they believed themselves justified also in giving up their authority to govern, in order to remain true to their convictions. They were men who had for a long series of years administered their office in so disinterested a spirit, that, when obliged to relinquish their posts, and to leave their flocks, they could take nothing with them for their journey and for the means of subsistence, but had to depend entirely on the charity of their friends.[4] The bishop Alexander answered his

[1] See ep. 126, Theodoret. l. c., together with other letters of his in that collection.

[2] See ep. 103.

[3] Ep. 138.

[4] As the bishop Alexander writes, ep. 147: Ex his quæ mihi direxerunt amici habeo ad animalium conductionem.

friend Theodoret after his repeated remonstrances: "I solemnly adjure you by the most Holy Trinity to press me no longer; for my hope is in the Crucified. I am already waiting for those who are to drive me from my place, with so great joy, that, had I any other gold besides the utensils of the church, I would give them for that a larger present than for any joyful tidings they could bring me. Give yourself no further trouble therefore, but only pray for me."

As Theodoret could effect nothing in this way, he at length betook himself to a man, in defense of whose innocence those common friends were in truth particularly zealous, the injured Nestorius; and besought him, that he would himself represent to the bishop Alexander how sorely he failed against the law of love, in having respect solely to what concerned himself, not to what was for the advantage of many others; that he ought not to hesitate, if it were necessary, even to commit a trifling sin, in order to save many from sin, and lead them to salvation.[1] On the one side, we see here, in the man of moderation, the subjective caprice of his system of morals, justifying the means by the end, — a thing which we frequently remark among the Orientals; on the other, we see in the zealot the ethical severity which would not acknowledge the principle that the end sanctifies the means. When Theodoret failed in this way to accomplish his purpose, he begged the patriarch John, in the most touching appeal, that he would not allow force to be employed against the venerable man. "Time," he said, "would soon make him more pliant; and even if this should not be the case, yet it could do no harm; for his doctrine accorded with the faith of the church, and he would move on quietly in his own field of labor, without seeking to make any disturbance. The patriarch John would make himself extremely unpopular, if he undertook to do anything against the venerable old man, of whom he himself had once said, that all must bear him; while, on the contrary, by pardoning him, he would secure the esteem and love of all."[2] But these representations made no impression whatever on the patriarch, who was determined at all hazards to enforce ecclesiastical obedience, and to restore unity to the church. The pious old man was torn from his devoted flock. This occasioned a universal lamentation throughout the city; the churches were closed, and it was necessary to open them by force. Loud complaints and reproaches were heard from all quarters against those who had determined to deprive his flock of their old spiritual father. Young and old, women and men, united in petitioning the imperial governor of the province of Eastern Asia, the Comes Orientis, and the patriarch John, to allow their old bishop to end his few remaining days quietly in the midst of them: without him they could not live.[3] The patriarch John, however, was not to be softened by *such* representations. He answered the church at Hierapolis in a cold and haughty official tone, assuring them that their bishop must attribute all that he suffered only to his own stubborn self-will; and he represented

[1] Ep. 148. Pusillum delinquat, ut a multo delicto cæteros liberet.

[2] Ep. 150.

[3] See the report of the judge of the secunda Euphratesia, ep. 163.

it as a great crime in him, that he refused to enter into any negotiations with those men (the bishops) by whose prayers the world is saved.[1] Yet he added, that, if Alexander would desist from his wonted pride, and reform, he would joyfully send him back to them again.

A similar fate befell the bishop Meletius of Mopsuestia. The Comes Titus had urged him likewise voluntarily to submit to the imperial ordinance; he opposed to him the common agreement of the entire Christian world, — the usual argument of the party in power. As it was God's will that all men should be saved, it was not to be thought of that the judgment of an individual should stand against the common consent of all. To this Meletius gave him a becoming reply: "He was right," he wrote to him, "in what he said concerning the divine will; but it was evident that human will did not always accord with the divine: for God had allowed men, endowed with a rational soul, to be masters of their own will. And hence it had often happened, as the history of the Old and New Testament showed, that a few men, inspired with the right disposition towards God, had defended the truth against the multitude. So now, too, God would not reject the few, who cleaved to him with all their love, and on this account had to endure from a multitude sworn against them, disgrace, persecution, and exile. And pardon me," he continued, "I entreat you, if I do not find it in my power to deceive my own conscience. As soon as I see the command signed by the emperor's own hand, I shall leave the church at once, just as I am, still praising God as before. I am ready, through God's grace, not only to give up the church, but even to die a thousand deaths, rather than to sin against my conscience, in respect of our Lord Christ." When now the emperor's command was put in execution, and another bishop, whom the patriarch John had resolved to thrust on the church, was installed in the place of Meletius, the whole community testified their grief and sympathy. All were for having Meletius alone for their bishop, and would recognize no other. These commotions gave the patriarch John occasion to accuse Meletius at Constantinople as a violater of the imperial laws and a disturber of the peace, and to propose that he should be expelled from the whole province of Cilicia. He was banished to Melitene in Armenia, and quietly resigned himself to his lot, which he accepted as one ordained by a higher wisdom, and inflicted by the hand of God, for whose cause he believed he was contending.

We will now for a moment turn aside from contemplating the further development of these events, in order to cast a glance at the final lot of that pious man, Nestorius himself, who undeservedly became an object of abhorrence to many of his contemporaries and to posterity. As may be gathered from what has already been narrated, even the old friends of Nestorius, though they belonged to the same doctrinal school with him, had gone over to the side of those who pronounced upon him the sentence of condemnation; and in the end they must persuade themselves, in order to justify this step to their conscience, that Nes-

[1] Quorum precibus mundus ipse salvatur.

torius had preached dangerous errors. But the zeal in behalf of such a conviction, which had proceeded merely out of self-persuasion, is for the most part wont to incline but so much the more strongly to heat and violence. No voice of commanding influence spoke openly and loudly in behalf of that Nestorius who became every day more hated at the imperial court, — the man whom the emperor Theodosius, in his edicts, had compared with an Arius, a Porphyry, a Simon Magus. Theodoret, and those of like mind with him, must be contented, indeed, that they had merely been spared the necessity of signing the condemning sentence pronounced against Nestorius. But his enemies did not cease persecuting him; for they grudged the honorable ease which he enjoyed in the cloister, and the sympathy which, from time to time, he still met with; and they dreaded the influence which he might exert in his narrow circle, and from thence extend over a still wider compass. The Roman bishop Cœlestinus had already, by a letter to the emperor Theodosius, A.D. 432, called upon him to remove the man who had been condemned by the judicial sentence of all the priests, and who still persisted in his blasphemous errors,[1] from all intercourse with society, that it might be put out of his power to lead others astray.[2] This demand, however, did not as yet produce the intended effect. Nestorius continued, for four years, to enjoy undisturbed repose and esteem in the cloister of Euprepius, which lay before the gates of Antioch, only two stadia from the city. But when John and Cyrill of Alexandria had now made it their aim to cause the sentence pronounced against him to be universally recognized, it could not but be extremely vexatious to them to be aware of his residence on such a spot, which was so convenient for maintaining a correspondence with the whole Syrian church. By their influence, therefore, Nestorius, in the year 435, was torn from the repose of his cloister, and condemned to exile. By the first edict, the town of Petra in Arabia was fixed upon as the place of his banishment.[3] But this edict was not so executed. Perhaps it was a mitigation of the punishment, that he was, instead of this, exiled to one of the Oases, probably the great Oasis of Egypt.[4] Hordes of Libyan barbarians, known under the name of Blemmyans, falling upon this district and laying everything waste with fire and sword, made Nestorius a prisoner. They had compassion on him, set him at liberty with several others, and warned him themselves to leave that place of residence, because other hordes would soon follow in their train. Nestorius now betook himself to the town of Panapolis in Egypt, and from thence he wrote to the prefect of Thebais. He informed him that it was not his intention to escape, that he might furnish no occasion for calumny: he awaited what might be determined concerning him according to the laws. But he begged him, at the same time, not to leave him a prey to the machinations of wicked men, lest it might be

[1] In prædicatione sacrilega perdurantem.
[2] Ut facultatem aliquos perdendi non habeat.
[3] The imperial edict in Harduin. Concil. T. I. f. 1, 1669.
[4] When Socrates wrote the seventh book of his church history, he was still in that place. Vid. Socrat. hist. eccles. VII. 34.

lamented in all future times, that it was better to be a prisoner to barbarians than to take refuge at the throne of the Roman emperor.[1] But these representations availed him nothing. Perhaps the prefect was the mere tool of Egyptian fanaticism and blind heresy-hatred. The old man, whose physical powers were already enfeebled by age and by his many misfortunes, was, at the command of the governor, without the least show of compassion, dragged about from one place to another, by a guard of soldiers composed of barbarian allies, to the borders of Egypt. He therefore wrote to the governor a second letter, which, to judge from a fragment preserved to us by the church historian Evagrius, was composed, like the first, with dignity and composure, although the heart of an Evagrius was so steeled by the power of dogmatic fanaticism, that he had no sense to perceive this, but saw in the expressions of a dignified spirit, which had not been bowed to servility by all its misfortunes, nothing but expressions of pride and obstinacy.[2] Having demanded of the governor, that after being so dragged about he might at length be allowed some repose, and that his case might be reported to the emperor, he concluded in the following words: "Thus I counsel you, as a father would his son. But if you receive *these* words, as you did my first, with displeasure; then act according to your own good pleasure, if so be that your good pleasure has more weight with you than arguments of reason." Amidst the sufferings of his exile, Nestorius enjoyed sufficient composure of mind to write a history of his controversy, and of his fortunes resulting therefrom, especially designed to vindicate himself against the reproaches made against him by friends and enemies; which work he seems to have entitled, the representation of his *Trayedy*.[3] In this work, it would appear, he exposed, with a vehemence of indignation which might easily be excused, the intrigues of Cyrill; while he expressed himself with more mildness concerning others, who, according to his own opinion, had only been deceived by Cyrill.[4]

[1] The words of Nestorius in the fragment of his letter preserved by Evagrius in his church history, I. 7, are: *Ἵνα μὴ πάσαις ἐκ τούτου γενεαῖς τραγῳδῆται κρεῖττον εἶναι βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτων ἢ πρόσφυγα βασιλείας ῥωμαϊκῆς.*

[2] *Ὁ μηδὲ ἐξ ὧν πέπονθε σωφρονήσας.*

[3] See the citations from it in Evagrius, l. I. c. 7, and in the so called Synodicon, published by Lupus, c. VI. Lupi opera, T. VII. f. 26. That the work bore the title of "Tragedy" is reported by Ebedjesu, a Nestorian metropolitan of the fourteenth century, in his list of Syrian ecclesiastical writers in Assemani bibliotheca orientalis, T. III. P. I. f. 36. This work of Nestorius has unfortunately not come down to us, unless perhaps it may be somewhere found in a Syrian translation. But Irenæus, the friend of Nestorius already mentioned, — who accompanied him as a count of the empire to Ephesus, fell into disgrace with the emperor on account of his friendship for Nestorius, lived for some time in exile, and then, after having been ordained by his friends bishop of Tyre, was deposed again by command of the emperor; — this Irenæus composed a work, full of zeal for the cause of Nestorius, treating of the persecutions which he suffered, and of the history of the church in his times, which likewise bore the title of "Tragedy." In this work he made use of the history compiled by his friend Nestorius, from which he often quoted. But we have to regret, that this tragedy of Irenæus has also failed to come down to us. But an unknown author, probably a North African, in the times of the emperor Justinian, or soon after, in writing on the controversies respecting the three articles, of which we shall speak hereafter, has brought together copious extracts from this work, with other important records which he hunted up at Constantinople, all relating to these disputes. These are contained in the Synodicon, first published by Lupus, from a manuscript in the abbey of Monte Cassino. There is another printed copy of the manuscript in Mansi Concil. T. V.

[4] Cœlestin, being an unlearned Roman

As to the manner, however, in which Nestorius ended his life, no certain and definite accounts have come down to us. The church historians of this period, who represent all the misfortunes which befell the persecuted man as being a divine judgment on the blasphemer, here give us rhetorical fustian in place of simple and credible history.[1]

We now return from the personal history of Nestorius, to trace the consequences which resulted from the Nestorian disputes.

Theodoret and his friends had, it is true, as we have already remarked, adopted the Alexandrian articles of agreement, only with such restrictions as to secure themselves against any violation of conscience: but it was easy to foresee, that they would not be suffered long to enjoy that immunity; that it would soon be declared to be a mere subterfuge, which they had left open to themselves, so as not to be under the necessity of renouncing Nestorianism. The new severer measures against all the adherents of Nestorius and all so-called Nestorians might easily pave the way for this.

In the year 435, appeared new laws, by which it was ordained that the Nestorians should for the future be called Simonians; that all the writings of Nestorius should be burnt; that those who should copy, preserve, or read them, should be punished in the severest manner; and that all bishops who ventured to defend the doctrines of Nestorius should be deposed. All meetings of Nestorians for divine worship were strictly forbidden. The tribune Aristolaus was a second time sent to the Antiochian church diocese, for the purpose of seeing these laws carried into execution, and of enforcing everywhere the condemnation of Nestorius and of his doctrines.[2] Many bishops, who until now had acceded to the articles of agreement only under the abovementioned limitation, submitted to these new ordinances. Others, as Theodoret, remained firm by their former declarations; and Cyrill therefore accused them before the patriarch John and the tribune Aristolaus, as men who had adopted the articles of peace only in a deceitful manner, and as being secret Nestorians.[3] In general, Cyrill was already making preparations, by degrees, to condemn, under the name of Nestorianism, everything which was opposed to his own system of doctrine; although he did not as yet come out openly with this

bishop, he excused on the grounds that he could not possess any exact insight into doctrines, (simpliciorem, quam qui posset vim dogmatum subtilius penetrare,) and that he had suffered himself to be deceived by the garbled quotations of Cyrill. Nestorius moreover acknowledged here, that it was himself who first proposed the assembling of a synod at Ephesus; a step, however. for which he was reproached by his friends. In answer to the charge that he made Christ a mere man, he appeals to the fact, that, immediately after his ordination, he got a new law to be passed against those who maintained this, as well as against other heretics. Nestorius, then, here avows himself as the author of the severe law against the heretics, which appeared in the very year in which he entered upon the patriarchal dignity, in the year 428, and is to be found in the Codex. Theodosian. l. 16, Tit. V. l. 65.

[1] Evagrius cites words of a church-historian, who says that Nestorius, after his tongue — no doubt in punishment for his blasphemies — had been gnawed away by worms, went to the greater eternal punishment of another world.

[2] Cyrill. ep. 166 to Aristolaus: Decretum, per quod præcipitur, ut universi episcopi orientis anathematizarent impium Nestorium et omnes ejus contra Christum blasphemias dicere Simonianam seu Nestorianam hæresin; — and ep. 179 to the same.

[3] Cyrill. ep. 180.

project. Already he denounced those who condemned the doctrines of Nestorius only in appearance, without actually renouncing them. Nestorianism, he asserted, did not consist alone, as some pretended, in refusing to call Mary the mother of God.[1]

In the next place, what men called Nestorianism was, in fact, substantially nothing else than the doctrines of Diodorus of Tarsus and of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The defenders of Nestorius and of his doctrines boasted, not without good reason, of being disciples of the great Theodore.[2] When therefore the Cyrillian party aimed at the total supplanting of Nestorianism, they believed their object would be completely accomplished only when the doctrines of Diodorus and Theodore should be condemned at the same time, as the proper fountain of Nestorianism. To Cyrill it very rightly appeared like a contradiction to condemn the doctrines of Nestorius, and to defend those of Theodore, who set forth the same, often in far harsher terms. In the veneration paid to those two Syrian fathers, he saw only a pretext under which Nestorianism, while it was nominally condemned, might still continue to be defended.[3] But it was a most difficult undertaking to induce the Syrian clergy, who had been accustomed, from their youth, to name those men with the greatest reverence as the fathers and teachers of their church, to approve a decree by which they were publicly condemned. True, the partisans of Cyrill among the Syrian monks and clergy, and a certain bishop, Rabulas of Edessa, who had joined him, made trial of carrying through such a sentence of condemnation: but the general and determined resistance which they experienced, proved how impracticable any project of this kind still was in the Syrian church at large; and the opposition called forth thereby contributed to the formation, from the Syrian church, of an independent Nestorian church party in Persia, concerning the rise of which we shall speak more particularly in a separate section.

A certain abbot, Maximus, who was one of the most violent opponents of Nestorianism, excited in the Syrian church, by a project of this sort, the greatest indignation even among the laity, among whom the character of those men stood in the highest veneration. In the midst of the assembled communities, the cry was heard, "Long live the faith of Theodore! We believe as Theodore believed;"—and in the Antiochian church, stones were thrown at that abbot.[4] The Cyrillian party made one more attempt to enforce, by means of the emperor and the patriarch Proclus, the condemnation of those Syrian church teachers; as indeed Cyrill himself, when he sent to the emperor his explanation of the Nicene creed in opposition to Nestorianism, had invited him to attempt this, at least in an indirect manner, having in his accompanying letter described Diodorus and Theodore, in the harshest expressions,

[1] See ep. 179 to Aristolaus, and ep. 167 to John.

[2] See, for example, the language of the bishop Meletius, ep. 152, opp. Theodoret. (ed. Hal.) T. V. p. 832. Fidem apostolicam et a patribus traditam, quam a magno Theodoro accepimus.

[3] See the letter of Cyrill to the bishop Acacius of Melitene, opp. T. V. P. II. f. 197, where he says of the Orientals: Ὑποπλαττόμενοι γὰρ τὰ Νεστορίου μισεῖν, ἑτέρῳ πάλιν αὐτὰ συγκροτοῦσι τρόπῳ, τὰ Θεοδώρου θαυμάζοντες, καίτοι τὴν ἴσην, μᾶλλον δὲ χείρονα νοσοῦντα δυσσέβειαν.

[4] L. c.

as being the fathers of those blasphemies, and declared that under their name Nestorianism was revived.[1] But the patriarch Proclus was nevertheless too prudent, and too decidedly the friend of peace,[2] to be willing, for the sake of gratifying the passions of zealots and the ambition of Cyrill, to cast the church into new turmoils, the consequences of which could not be estimated, and which could be more easily excited than quelled. He endeavored, while it was yet time, to check the violent commotions which were already on the point of breaking out.

The Armenian church having requested him, on occasion of these disputes, to give his own judgment, he addressed to them a dogmatic exposition, which acquired great authority in the Greek church.[3] With this, he united certain anathemas on several propositions akin to Nestorianism, which were supposed to have been drawn from the writings of Theodore, but in which he had wisely omitted to mention the author by name. Yet the deputies who were the bearers of this letter of the patriarch to the Syrian church, one of whom was the above-mentioned zealot Maximus, did not exercise the same prudence. On the contrary, the opportunity was welcome to them by which they were enabled, under the authority of the patriarch of the imperial residence, to demand the condemnation of the propositions of Theodore; and they took the liberty, therefore, of affixing his name to them. As the propositions now appeared under the name of Theodore, the proposal to subscribe these articles of condemnation was received, in the Syrian church diocese, with the most violent indignation. The patriarch John of Antioch wrote to Cyrill, that the bishops of this district would prefer to be burned, rather than to approve the condemnation of Theodore.[4] The bishops of the Antiochian patriarchate, assembled at Antioch, sent the most emphatic letters as well to the emperor as to the patriarchs Proclus and Cyrill. They declared that they could not possibly consent, for the sake of such isolated propositions, torn out of their proper connection, — just as, by a like proceeding, propositions which seemed not a whit less revolting might be extracted from the writings of the most venerated fathers, — to condemn after his death so great a church teacher, who had so manfully contended for the defence of pure doctrine against so many errors. But even were it possible for them to be induced to such a step, yet they would meet the most determined resistance from their communities, who even now were ready to revolt at these proposals.[5] In their letter to the emperor, they express themselves with just indignation against the idea of condemning, after their death, men who to the close of their lives had served the church in the best possible manner. By such a course, no church teacher could be safe; for, as all were men, it was impossible that they should

[1] See this letter of Cyrill, opp. Theodoret. (ed. Hal.) T. V. p 854.

[2] See Socrat. hist. eccles. VII. c. 41.

[3] Procli Tomus ad Armenos.

[4] See the letter of Cyrill to the patriarch Proclus, opp. l. c. f. 200.

[5] See the fragment of this document addressed to the patriarch Proclus, in Facund. Hermianens. defensio trium capitulorum, l. VIII. at the beginning, opp. Sirmond. T. II. ed. Venet. f. 460, and all that remains to us of the transactions of this Antiochian council, in Mansi. concil. T. V. f. 1182.

escape the censure of those who took pains to hunt up whatever was bad in them: indeed the declarations of the holy scriptures themselves were in various ways perverted by teachers of error.[1] Proclus wrote hereupon to the patriarch John, that it had never entered his thoughts to condemn any man who had died in the communion of the church. He severely upbraided his deputies for overstepping the powers which had been entrusted to them; and he commanded them to take no step without the knowledge and approbation of the patriarch John, and to do all in their power to appease those commotions. The emperor himself issued an ordinance, (sacra,) addressed to the synod assembled at Antioch, in which he forbade everything which had been undertaken to disturb the peace of the church in those districts.[2] Even Cyrill thought it best at length to yield to the storm. In a letter to the patriarch Proclus, he declared that, to avoid disturbances, it was perhaps best to proceed no further, as the object to be accomplished was, after all, not so important; for, by condemning the blasphemies of Nestorius, the kindred blasphemies of Theodore were in like manner also condemned. If Theodore were now living, and should persist in defending the blasphemies of Nestorius, or the things which he himself had written, the condemnation would reach also to himself personally. But as he had already gone to God,[3] it was sufficient, if nothing further was done than to condemn the false doctrines which were to be found in his writings, without mentioning his name.[4]

Yet although Cyrill must have been sensible, that a public condemnation of the writings and doctrines of Theodore could, under these circumstances, in no wise be enforced, yet his polemical zeal was not suffered to grow cool. He composed a work under the title, "There is but *one* Christ," against the doctrine of Theodore, in which work he accused him of having written a great deal which savored of the most extreme impiety, — of having denied the true deity of Christ, and of having made Christians the worshippers of a man.[5] After such attacks upon the venerated teacher of the Syrian church, the Syrian church teachers could not, of course, remain silent. Theodoret felt himself constrained to defend the memory of his instructor against these attacks; and, as we may gather from the fragments of this work,[6] he indulged himself here in the same violence, and the same unwarrantable imputation of consequences, as his opponent had done.

Thus this new contention served but to excite afresh the rupture between the Alexandrian and the Syrian church. If we may trust to an ancient account, Cyrill was already laying the foundation of new plots against the Syrian church-party, which he so much hated, and was laboring to carry through his designs at the court,[7] when by his death, in the year 444, the church was delivered from this threatening danger.

[1] Fac. Herm. l. c. l. VIII. c. 3.

[2] The sacra in Facundus, l. c. l. VIII. c. 3.

[3] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεδήμησε πρὸς Θεόν. A remarkable expression in the mouth of Cyrill, who made no scruple of condemning Nestorius to hell.

[4] See opp. Cyrill. T. V. P. II. f. 200.

[5] See the extracts from that work in the 5th act of the second ecumenical council of Constantinople. Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 108.

[6] Which are preserved to us in the Latin translation, in the Collat. V. of the II. œcum. Concil. Constantinop. Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 108.

[7] This may be gathered from the words

The death of Cyrill, however, served only for the first moments to promote the restoration of tranquillity in the Oriental church. What had been done during the episcopal administration of Cyrill, the man-

of Theodoret, in his well-known letter to the patriarch of Antioch, on Cyrill's death; ep. 180, in opp. Theodoret. T. V. Somniavit enim, sicut dicunt, et regiam urbem perturbare, et piis iterum dogmatibus repugnare et tuam sanctitatem accusare, utpote ea colentem. Yet this letter is by many, according to Tillemont (note 80 to his life of Cyrill, Memoires T. 14), considered spurious, but for reasons which to us do not carry the force of conviction, and of which many derive their weight merely from the Catholic point of view at which Tillemont stands. That Theodoret should speak after this manner of Cyrill's character and of his death, cannot appear so surprising to those who without prejudice contemplate Cyrill and his relations to Theodoret. The sportive description of Cyrill's voyage to the world below is not to be reckoned a very strange thing, even in Theodoret; when, for instance, in allusion to Lucian's dialogues of the dead, he says: Lætificavit quidem superstites illius discessio, contristavit vero forsitan mortuos: et timor est, ne prægravati ejus conversatione, iterum ad nos remittant, vel illos effugiat, qui eum abducunt. For this reason, he says, it might be, that the patriarch had ordered a huge stone to be placed on his grave. In the world below, there was no further occasion to fear danger from Cyrill's doctrines: not only those who were well informed in such matters, but even Nimrod and Pharaoh, would be disgusted with them, and stone him.

Any person who attempted to fabricate a letter under the name of Theodoret, would hardly have represented him as discoursing in so sportive and heathenish a style. He would rather have put into his mouth earnest denunciations in the language of the Old Testament. An allusion of this kind to Lucian's dialogues of the dead is much rather in the character of Theodoret, who was doubtless well versed in the study of the ancients. But as in this sportive style there is to be detected no mark of bitterness or of revenge, so in the conclusion of the letter we find expressed the spirit of Christian charity, by which Theodoret was actuated, and which any person who, from motives of doctrinal interest, had interpolated a letter of this sort, would have found it difficult to imitate. For instance, after remarking how troubled his friends were with the thought that Cyrill was still to the last plotting evil, he adds: "May it be so ordered, by your prayers, that he may obtain mercy and forgiveness, and that the unmeasured grace of God may prevail over his wickedness." Tillemont supposes that the objections which Theodoret makes in this letter to Cyrill's system of faith are inconsistent with his mode of expressing himself with regard to Cyrill's doctrinal explanations in those articles of agreement. But these observations of Theodoret refer simply to the manner in which Cyrill had expressed himself in that confession of faith. From the later declarations of Cyrill, in his work against Theodore, Theodoret must doubtless have known, that no change had really taken place in the views of Cyrill; and in his "Refutation" he had in fact repeated the charge of Apollinarianism and similar complaints against Cyrill. Neither does the manner in which Theodoret declares himself, in his eighty-third letter to Dioscurus respecting his relation to Cyrill, and especially respecting those writings of his which do not relate to the above-mentioned doctrinal differences, stand so directly at variance with the remarks in this letter. It is only necessary to pay some regard to the difference of circumstances, and to remember that the above letter was written in confidence to a friend, while this was intended for publication, and expressly pointed against the hostilely disposed official adherents of Cyrill; to which we must add, that the Orientals, according to their theory of the οἰκονομία, allowed themselves in many liberties, not to be reconciled with the strict laws of veracity.

But, if Theodoret really speaks of Cyrill in this letter as having died prematurely, it certainly could not have come from the hand of a contemporary, who must have known that Cyrill reached a good old age. But the reading by which he is made to say this cannot be correct, if for no other reason, because what is so expressed stands in manifest contradiction with the substance of the commencing words of the letter. The correct reading is evidently that of the Codex Paris: Illum vero miserum *et* ad; for this sense is required by the commencing words, while, in what follows, *et* may also be substituted instead of *sed;* or *sed*, which fitly marks the antithesis, may even be retained.

Finally, it would indeed be an anachronism, if this letter were addressed to the patriarch John of Antioch; but the entire contents of the letter are best suited to his successor Domnus, and we have only to suppose that the two names were confounded in the Latin translation, the only form in which this document has been preserved. Concil. œcumen. V. Collat. V.

The fragment of a sermon which Theodoret is said to have preached after the death of Cyrill at Antioch, l. c. Harduin. T. III. p. 139, has external evidence for its gen-

ner in which the disputes had been composed, contained in itself the seeds of new disorders; and to bring these to a violent outbreak, the footsteps of Cyrill were followed by his successor Dioscurus, a man of unbounded ambition, and of an irascible, boisterous temperament, who was ready to adopt any means to accomplish his purposes; bribery, court intrigue, and deeds of violence of every sort.[1] This person once more resumed the plan which Cyrill, who had only yielded to circumstances, never lost out of view, to make the system of doctrine involved in the anathemas, with regard to the one nature of the God-man, dominant in the whole Eastern church; and, like Cyrill, he would very gladly have procured for the Alexandrian church, as a truly apostolical one, founded by Mark, the highest authority in the East, and particularly have elevated it above the patriarchate of Constantinople, which was represented to have grown up merely out of secular privileges.[2] Wanting the cunning of Cyrill, which paid more regard to circumstances, he was the more inclined, where he stood in alliance with the dominant power, to resort to violent and unceremonious modes of proceeding, in which all forms and legal order were utterly disregarded. He needed here, then, for the present, only to go on, according to the system of his predecessor, and to stigmatize all that answered to the more moderate Antiochian system of faith, all that went on the distinction of the two natures in concreto, or which pointed in this direction, as Nestorian heresy. Hence the Syrian churches, in which Theodoret stood particularly prominent on account of his learning, and his zeal for the defense of this doctrinal system, would be the first

uineness still more decided; being cited already by Marius Mercator. But the internal evidence would seem to be more strong against its authenticity than in the case of the letter we have just considered; for it exhibits rather the older and sterner form of the Antiochian scheme of doctrine, as it had been first taught by Theodore, than the more moderate shaping of it by Theodoret, especially as it was held by him after the Nestorian controversy. And the exclamations of triumph at the final victory of the pure doctrine, the expressions of joy at the consequent union of the Syrian and Egyptian churches,—Oriens et Ægyptus sub uno jugo est,—these expressions do not seem in accordance with the prospects which would be anticipated by Theodoret after Cyrill's death, or with the solicitude which he himself evinces in the letter above mentioned. But, on the other hand, it is certainly not at all probable, that one who had before him the history of the next succeeding years would attribute to Theodoret such language as he is here made to use. And the exaggeration of rhetorical polemics requires many grains of allowance.

[1] By the complaints of several of his clergy, whom he had persecuted, at the council of Chalcedon (see Concil. Chalc. act. III. Harduin. T. II. f. 322), a very unfavorable light is thrown on the character of Dioscurus, in relation to his avarice, his embezzlement of moneys designed for the churches and for the poor, the persecutions which he practised with the assistance of the most powerful men of the court, as well as in relation to other immoralities. Thus, for example, he is said to have collected together the grain which the emperor was in the habit of sending to the communities of the unfruitful districts of Libya, in times of barrenness, sold the same at a high price, and appropriated the money to his own use. True, we ought not to give too much weight to such accusations against eminent bishops, who had made themselves hateful to a party in these times of violent passions; but, compared with what we otherwise know for certainty respecting the behavior of Dioscurus, many of these charges would seem more worthy of credit.

[2] Theodoret says of him ep. 86, T. IV.: Ἄνω καὶ κάτω τοῦ μακαρίου Μάρκου τὸν θρόνον προβάλλεται. Dioscurus therefore objects to Theodoret, that taking part with a synodal letter sent by the patriarch Proclus from Constantinople, he recognized the primacy of the Constantinopolitan church in the East, and had thus betrayed the privileges as well of the Antiochian as of the Alexandrian church. L. c.

object of his attack. And here he found a foothold in a party of clergy, and particularly of monks, who constituted a formidable opposition to the prevailing system in the Syrian doctrine of faith, and who had already stood in intimate connection with Cyrill, and had been used by him as spies and creators of disturbance in the Syrian church. A certain abbot Barsumas stood at the head of this faction.

Next, he had an influential party at Constantinople, composed of those abbots and monks who had already served as the instruments of Cyrill in paving the way for the downfall of Nestorius. They were for the most part men destitute of scientific culture, who, for that very reason, would be most likely to fall in with the formulas of the Alexandrian system, as they proceeded rather from the language of feeling than from that of the understanding; whereas the Antiochian theory of distinction, on the contrary, presupposed an understanding versed in the discrimination of conceptions, and sensible of the need of it; and nothing of that kind was to be found among them. Many of these people perhaps had not even sufficient theological education to be able duly to apprehend the Alexandrian system in its whole coherence and its whole logical evolution: but its main tendency everywhere to give prominence to the ineffable, the inexplicable, the incomprehensible, was also their own; and the forms of expression which were the results of this system coincided also with their favorite expressions. "We hold fast to that which the scriptures declare," so this people were accustomed to talk: "the scriptures declare, 'The Word became flesh.' This means more than that he assumed human nature. In becoming flesh, he assuredly underwent no change. He is the same; but that is the inexpressible wonder; and every human attribute is to be ascribed to this God who became flesh. God was born; God suffered; there is a body of God. The *how* is what no reason can explain. The way in which this took place is known to God alone. We should not desire to know any more than what Scripture reveals. All further inquiries and explanations are dangerous to faith." "With God all things are possible: God accomplishes everything according to his own good pleasure, and in a way known to himself alone." Such was the reply, constantly repeated, to all difficulties which might be proposed to them.[1]

At the head of this party, among the monks of Constantinople, stood the abbot and presbyter Eutyches, — one of those who, for a long series of years, lived shut up in their cloisters, and had but once left them, that they might publicly raise their voice in behalf of the Cyrillian council at Ephesus and against Nestorius. See above.[2]

Under these circumstances, the disputes could not fail to break out

[1] This people's way of thinking and reasoning are graphically described by Theodoret, in the person of "Eranistes," particularly in the first of the three dialogues bearing this title; which agrees with the declarations of Eutyches at the council of Constantinople.

[2] When Eutyches declined to appear personally before the council of Constantinople, under the pretence that for many years he had not been wont to leave his cloister, he was reminded of what he had done during the Nestorian controversies: Εἰ γὰρ τότε Νεστορίου ἐναντιουμένου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εἰσῆλθε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὀφείλει νῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν; Concil. Chalcedonens. act. I. f. 149. Harduin. Concil. T. II.

anew. Those monks at Constantinople had, as we saw already in the case of the Nestorian controversies, great influence with the emperor; they stood closely connected with those of like disposition among the Syrian monks; and, by the reports which these latter furnished them, their zeal was still more inflamed against the revived Nestorianism. Accordingly they complained aloud at the renewed error of those who divided the one and only Christ into two Sons of God.[1]

Though Theodoret loved peace, and did all that lay in his power to preserve a good understanding even with the patriarch Dioscurus,[2] still his zeal for what he knew to be the truth did not allow him here to be silent; for he saw here the effort to spread abroad doctrines by which the immutability of the divine essence was infringed on, the true humanity of Christ denied, and the doors were thrown wide open for Docetism, Gnosticism, and Apollinarianism, in the mode of apprehending the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. Beyond question, it was a rash habit of imputing consequences which led men to imagine that they could find all these heretical tendencies in the rude and exaggerated expressions of these untutored zealots of Constantinople; but there were doubtless good reasons to fear, that, if such sensuous forms of expression should once supplant the more accurate dogmatic terminology, those false doctrines and tendencies would easily find in them a point of attachment. And it might actually be the case that many among those people were led by their fears to attribute too much to the human element in the life of Christ, and, from want of mental cultivation, fell into the undeveloped form of doctrine which, before the more accurate determinations had been occasioned by means of Tertullian and Origen, had prevailed in the church. Theodoret, in the year 447, believed himself in duty bound, in a work written on purpose, to controvert the whole Eutychian-Egyptian type of doctrine; and, in opposition to it, to unfold and defend the more mild Antiochian system, according to which the one only Christ consists of two natures, ever to be distinguished in respect to their individualities, united with each other in a personal unity, without confusion and without transformation.[3] Theodoret showed here, that he found no difficulty in transporting himself into the mode of thinking and the point of view of the Eutychian,[4] whom he introduces speaking under the name of the beggar (ἐρανιστής), and that he understood how to distinguish these views themselves from the consequences flowing from them when consistently carried out. He purposely cited, in this work, against his adversaries,

[1] See e. g. Theodoret, ep. 82 and ep. 101.

[2] See his ep. 60 to Dioscurus.

[3] His work entitled ἐρανιστὴς or πολύμορφος, the Beggar or the Multiform; because he accused this new heresy, of collecting together by begging so many scraps from divers old erroneous doctrines, that a new one had grown up which bordered closely on several of the older heresies. This work is divided into three dialogues: in the first, hence denominated ἄτρεπτος, he treats of the immutability of the divine essence; in the second, ἀσύγχυτος, of the distinctness without confusion of the two natures; in the third, ἀπαθής, of the incapability of suffering pertaining to the divine nature.

[4] We employ this designation here only for the sake of brevity, and to express the thing by a single word, though an honor is thereby ascribed to Eutyches to which he is not entitled; namely, that a new and peculiar doctrinal tendency had proceeded from him as its author.

such authorities alone as were recognized by themselves; passages, for instance, from the writings of Cyrill of Alexandria; and he abstained from quoting those church-teachers who were suspected by the opposite party, however much importance he attached to them himself; — such, for instance, as Diodorus and Theodore. The moderation which Theodoret here displayed, drew upon him, it is true, many reproaches from the zealots of his party.[1] But by this moderation, however, the entire party of those who were zealous for the doctrine of one nature in Christ could in nowise be conciliated: they saw in this mode of representation, on the contrary, nothing but a revived Nestorianism.

Dioscurus accused Theodoret before the patriarch Domnus of Antioch, that, as had been reported in Egypt, he had, in sermons preached there, taught a doctrine whereby the one Lord, Jesus Christ, was divided into two Sons of God; and he afterwards published a rude letter to Theodoret himself, in which he accused him of teaching false doctrines. Theodoret replied in a letter to Dioscurus, written with great moderation and forbearance. He begged of him that he would not listen to the representations of one side only, but that he would examine the matter calmly and without prejudice. He endeavored, by clear and accurate explanations, to ward off the charges with which he had been assailed. He drew up a full confession of faith, in which he adopted the Egyptian forms of expression, qualified by certain precautionary remarks, as closely as he was able without doing violence to his own doctrinal convictions; and concluded with pronouncing sentence of condemnation on those who refused to call Mary the θεοτόκος, and on those who called Christ a mere man, or divided the only-begotten into two Sons.[2] But Dioscurus received Theodoret's overtures of peace in bad temper. He allowed monks to come forth publicly, while he was present in the church, and pronounce the anathema on Theodoret; and he himself sanctioned the act.[3] He sent deputies to Constantinople, with instructions to accuse before the emperor the whole church of Eastern Asia, as being infected with Nestorianism. Hence, Domnus was under the necessity of sending a mission to Constantinople for the purpose of defending his church.[4] And Theodoret wrote, in defense of himself, to influential men in church and state at the imperial residence. Now it is true that no new investigation or new decision followed these controversies. But still we see how much could be effected by the influence of Dioscurus; for an imperial decree made its appearance, directing Theo-

[1] See his noble letter to the bishop Irenæus, ep. 16. He says there that the only thing of real importance was to hold fast to those conceptions which are requisite for the unfolding of the truth, and that men ought to avoid terms which excite controversy. He expressed it as his wish, that the whole controversy on the word θεοτόκος had never arisen, ὅτι περὶ τούτου πᾶσα ἡ διαμάχη γεγένηται, ὡς οὐκ ὤφελεν. His conscience bore him witness, that he had submitted to this accommodation, not for the sake of worldly aggrandizement, not through any desire of the episcopal honor, which had occasioned him so much trouble. But it was his aim, neither to say nor to do anything to please this man or that man, but to edify the church of God, and to please its bridegroom and Lord.

[2] Ep. 83.

[3] See Theodoret, ep. 86 to Flavian, and ep. 113 to the Roman bishop, Leo the Great. He says in the latter, that this took place a year previous to the second Ephesian church assembly, therefore in the year 448.

[4] See Theodoret, ep. 92.

doret, inasmuch as he was constantly assembling synods at Antioch, and disturbing the faith of the orthodox, to keep quiet within the bounds of his own diocese, without stirring beyond its limits, or visiting any other city. Very justly might Theodoret complain of this arbitrary and inequitable proceeding, by which, without being allowed the right which even a criminal enjoys, he was condemned unheard. All he asked for was a calm and legal investigation of his case.[1] Yet this was but a prelude to the more violent outbreak of these disputes in the vicinity of the court itself. Events here ensued which were at bottom connected with what had transpired in Syria; — events which in the outset, like the Nestorian controversies, announced an altogether different issue, and from which the Syrian bishops, who were not sufficiently acquainted with the state of things at the court in Constantinople, were hoping that a favorable turn would be given to their cause,[2] but which were in fact destined to serve the very end of introducing from a foreign quarter a sudden and violent decision of the contest.

The whole arose from an attack on the man who had hitherto acted as a principal organ of the party of Dioscurus, namely, the abbot Eutyches,[3] and this attack was one that corresponded with the spirit and interest of the Syrian church.

In the year 448, the bishops from different countries, who happened to be present on various matters of business at Constantinople, met there in an ecclesiastical assembly, under the presidency of the patriarch;[4] when one of their number presented a formal complaint against Eutyches the abbot. The person who in this case appeared as the complainant was the bishop Eusebius of Doryleum in Phrygia Salutaris, a man who had already, as a layman in the civil capacity of an imperial commissioner, (agens in rebus,) manifested his zeal for the orthodox faith, by intermeddling uncalled for in the Nestorian disputes; and perhaps in this way he may have attained to the episcopal dignity.[5]

[1] See ep. 79, etc.

[2] For it is doubtless to the condemnation of Eutyches which followed at Constantinople, that what Theodoret says in ep. 82 refers: *Αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψε, καὶ τῶν τὴν συκοφαντίαν ὑφηνάντων τὴν συκοφαντίαν διήλεγξε, καὶ τὸ δυσσεβὲς αὐτῶν ἐγύμνωσε φρόνημα.*

[3] The patriarch Domnus of Antioch is said to have ventured first to accuse this person by name before the emperor, as the reviver of the Apollinarian heresy, who had been bold enough to condemn Theodore and Diodorus. Perhaps this was done in the letter which he wrote to the emperor in vindication of the Oriental church: see above. This accusation by Domnus has been preserved to us by Facundus of Hermiane, in a Latin translation. Defens. trium capitulor. l. viii. c. 5.

[4] A *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*, as it was called.

[5] In the breviculis historiæ Eutychianistarum, or the gestis de nomine Acacii, belonging to the last years of the fifth century, it is said, for instance, of this Eusebius: Zelo fidei, quem etiam cum agens in rebus esset, ostendit (ipse enim Nestorium quoque in tempore reprehendit in ecclesia rem sacrilegam prædicantem). Sirmond. opp. T. II. ed. Paris. f. 760. These words, by themselves, would render it probable, that the layman who thus interrupted Nestorius in a sermon — see above, p. 508 — was no other than this Eusebius; and this conjecture is confirmed by the manner in which Cyrill of Alexandria and Marius Mercator express themselves in mentioning the above-related incident; naming him as a person who was *still* among the laity (*τέλων μὲν ἐν λαϊκοῖς ἔτι*, qui *adhuc* inter laicos erat); for this *still* seems to denote, that he did not continue to remain a layman, which suits the case of this Eusebius. Nor is Garnier's conjecture improbable, that the same Eusebius was author of the first formal complaint publicly posted up against Nestorius in the church at Constantinople, in which the latter was compared to Paul of Samosata (see above, p. 511). For it is said, indeed, in the superscription, that it came from the *clergy* of the Constantinopolitan church; but in

The patriarch Flavian had thus far taken no part in the disputes between the doctrinal parties; and as he must have been well aware of the great influence possessed by the Eutychian monkish party, as well as of his own critical and hazardous situation with a court party opposed to him, which might easily convert Eutyches into an instrument for promoting their designs, he would be very little inclined, under these circumstances, to enlist himself in such controversies. He sought therefore, in the first place, to crush them in the bud; and sought to induce the bishop Eusebius to give up his suit. He begged of him, that he would but make one visit to the abbot Eutyches in his cell, with a purpose of coming to some understanding with him, and settling the terms of peace, so that *new* disturbances might not arise in the church.[1] But as Eusebius could not be persuaded to withdraw his complaint, a summons was served upon Eutyches. The latter, in a haughty and imperious manner, at first declined personally to obey the summons. The synod, after the third summons, were about to proceed with him according to the ecclesiastical law, as one who, by refusing to appear, had confessed that he was guilty; when finally he presented himself; not alone, however, but accompanied by a large train of monks, soldiers, and notables of state, who would not part with him till the synod gave their promise that he should be permitted to return in safety to his cloister. At the same time appeared one of the emperor's secretaries of state, (Silentiarius,) with a letter of the emperor, in which the great influence of the party of Dioscurus and of Eutyches, and the mistrust which these men had contrived to inspire in the emperor's mind against the synod, were clearly manifested. The emperor declared it to be his will, that the creed expressed by the fathers, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, at Nice, and at Ephesus when Nestorius was deposed, should be maintained, and that nothing should be done which tended to detract from it. This declaration was without meaning, except it implied that the emperor had somehow been filled with solicitude lest Eutyches should be condemned as a defender of the pure doctrine established at Nice and at Ephesus. And as it respects the clause which spoke of the Ephesian council, since it might be disputed what was meant by the Ephesian council, the point was left thus undetermined, in order that a great deal else might be introduced, as it might suit the designs of the party of Dioscurus. If by it was understood the illegal assembly of the party of Cyrill, then there would be an opportunity of introducing also Cyrill's anathemas. We may discern here the same plan which afterwards, and so long as the influence of Dioscurus predominated, was undeviatingly pursued.

the complaint itself, *one* individual only speaks, and he addresses the clergy and laity. Moreover, Leontius of Byzantium says (l. III. c. Nestorianos et Eutychianos) that this document proceeded from a certain Eusebius, qui tunc florebat in judicandi potestate, but who afterwards became bishop of Doryleum. The first remark should be corrected, it is true, by the breviculus; for the agens in rebus possessed no judicial powers. Now if this conjecture is correct, Eusebius, while a minister of state, must have already busied himself a good deal with the study of the doctrines of the church, and hence would be the more zealous about them when he became a bishop.

[1] Ὥστε μὴ τινα πάλιν ταραχὴν καὶ θόρυβον ἐγγενέσθαι ταῖς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαις. See Acta Concil. Chalc. act. I. in Harduin. T. II. f. 111, E.

This mistrust of the emperor towards the synod was still further manifested, and in a way certainly disrespectful to them, by the fact, that he deemed it necessary, as he declared in the letter above mentioned, to send one of his high officers of state, the patrician *Florentius*, a man approved on the score of his orthodoxy, to attend the synod, on the ground expressly assigned, that the *matters in discussion related to the faith:* hence he was not merely to see to the preservation of outward order, which was hitherto considered to be the business of the emperor's commissioner, but also to watch for the preservation of sound doctrine. Insulting, however, as this letter was to the synod, it was yet received with the customary loudly reiterated demonstrations of applause, and the adulation even went to the extreme of saluting the emperor as *high priest*.[1]

Eutyches possessed the doctrinal bent which we have described at length on a former page: he professed to be unwilling to hold to anything, except what he found expressly affirmed in the holy scriptures. He reverenced — he said — the sayings of the older church-teachers; *but they could not possess, in his view, the authority of a rule of faith; for they were not free from error, and they sometimes contradicted one another*.[2] To all questions proposed to him concerning Christ, he had always ready the reply: "I confess him to be my God, the Lord of heaven and earth: his essence I do not allow myself to wish to comprehend."[3] Finally, on being pressed, he declared that he did indeed suppose there were two natures before the incarnation, but that after it he could confess but one nature. By this, beyond all question, Eutyches intended to say, as that which was meant by the adherents of the Alexandrian system of doctrine, that two natures should be distinguished in conception; but in actual manifestation only the one nature of the Logos become flesh must be recognized. But by his rude form of expression, he furnished occasion, it must be acknowledged, for many suspicions of heresy, to those who fastened only on the letter of the expression,—as though he believed in a preëxistence of Christ's humanity, and the like. Furthermore, Eutyches was wont to call the body of Christ, the body of God; and though he did not deny that Christ possessed a human body, yet it seemed to him derogatory to its dignity, as the body of God, to call it the same in essence (*ὁμοούσιος*) with other human bodies. A certain mistaken and undefined feeling of reverence

[1] One of the exclamations: "Many years to our high priest the emperor!" *Πόλλα τὰ ἔτη τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ βασιλεῖ.* See Concil. Chalc. l. c. f. 160, D.

[2] These were the words which Eutyches, somewhat earlier, addressed to the deputies of the council, in his cloister. The original substance of his declaration, in words, cannot, it is true, be precisely ascertained. Eutyches and his friends asserted, that his words had not been faithfully reported. And the deputies themselves did allow, that they might have taken some things which were said, not wholly according to their literal meaning. The party of Eutyches, however, had a particular interest in refusing to recognize as faithfully reported many things which seem to have been too freely expressed for the faith of the church grounded on outward authority, and which might give offense to the bishops. It is clearly manifest, on comparison, that the difference between the original form of the expression actually employed by Eutyches, and that in which his declaration is presented in the acts of the council of Constantinople, cannot be regarded as a very important one. See Harduin. Concil. T. II. f. 182.

[3] *Φυσιολογεῖν ἐμαυτῷ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω.*

kept him from this. True, he would have found no difficulty in expressing himself precisely as the synod required that he should, although he had hitherto never expressed himself thus; but yet he would not consent to condemn the opposite form of expression, which in truth appeared to him the better one. Since, then, he could not make up his mind to recognize the two natures in Christ, nor to join in the above-mentioned formula of condemnation, the synod gave sentence against him, that he should be divested of all his spiritual titles, and excommunicated from the church.

Flavian — who, as we have already said, had from the very first engaged, not without solicitude, in this whole affair — must have been well aware of the danger into which he was plunging, by proceeding thus against the head of a monkish party possessed of so much influence at court, and connected with the powerful patriarch of Alexandria. Even as the leader of that monkish clan which had proved to be so influential amidst the Nestorian controversies, Eutyches was a dangerous man.[1] But, besides this, the case now was, that the most powerful men of the court, the eunuch and chief lord of the bed-chamber, *Chrysaphius*, whose influence was then unbounded, and Nomus, the most eminent of the officers of state, maintained a close correspondence with the patriarch Dioscurus, and consented to assist in the promotion of his ends: and that Chrysaphius was a personal friend of Eutyches, whom he respected as his godfather;[2] and hostile to the patriarch Flavian, with whom his avarice found it more difficult to drive a profitable bargain than with a Dioscurus.[3] Chrysaphius was at the head of a court-party, opposed to the influence of Pulcheria, the emperor's sister; and the latter was a patroness of Flavian. Chrysaphius, having succeeded, then, in forming a league with the empress Eudocia against Pulcheria, and in depriving the latter of her influence, and finally removing her entirely from the court, was now armed with all necessary power to proceed against the patriarch. It might well be, therefore, that the whole contest, if not instigated by his own secret arts and those of Dioscurus, yet furnished him with a welcome occasion for prosecuting a plan which had been devised before.

[1] See the complaint of an Alexandrian presbyter against Dioscurus, in Harduin. Concil. T. II. f. 332. Of Nomus it is here said: Τότε τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν χεραὶν ἔχοντι πράγματα. Theodoret also had proofs of the unfavorable disposition of the patrician Nomus towards his party, as two letters which he sent him were not answered. See ep. 96.

Eusebius of Doryleum shows, by a remarkable expression of his during the proceedings at Constantinople, how much reason he had to fear the power of Eutyches. "I fear his running about," says he; "I am poor, he has money; he threatens me with exile, he already depicts to me the Oasis." Δέδοικα αὐτοῦ τὴν περιδρομὴν, ἐγὼ πένης εἰμί, ἐξορίαν μοὶ ἀπειλεῖ, χρήματα ἔχει, ἀναζωγραφεῖ μοι ἤδη τὴν Ὄασιν. See acta Concil. Chalc. Harduin. T. II. f. 162, C.

[2] See Liberat. breviar. c. 11.

[3] See Theophan. Chronograph. ed. Venet. f. 68. Chrysaphius, according to this historian, had invited the emperor to require of the patriarch Flavian a present in gold (εὐλογία) on the occasion of his entering into his office. Flavian sent him an episcopal gift, consecrated bread, (εὐλογία in another sense,) with which, however, Chrysaphius was not satisfied. As it is intimated in Theophanes (l. c.) that Flavian took the part of certain Alexandrian clergy, Cyrill's relations, persecuted by Dioscurus, in opposition to Chrysaphius, who here acted in subserviency to the revengeful spirit of Dioscurus, while he sought at the same time to gratify his own avarice, (see Harduin. l. c.) we may perhaps find in this also a reason for the hatred of both these men to Flavian.

The way in which Eutyches presented himself before the assembly plainly showed that he was conscious of being able to depend on the assistance of a powerful party. Thus it became known, even in distant lands, how much Flavian had hazarded by this mode of proceeding. The advocates of the doctrine of the two natures, in Syria, saw in this case a triumph of the truth, which they attributed to the zeal and courage of Flavian overcoming the fear of human power; and they sent messages to assure him of their sympathy and joy on the occasion.[1]

But Eutyches applied to the emperor with a petition, demanding a new trial. He endeavored to show, that, in the proceedings against him, the prescribed legal forms had been violated; that the sentence of condemnation had been already prepared before he was tried; and that, in the drawing up of the protocol, many things had been stated that were untrue. The emperor received the petition, and ordered a revision of the earlier proceedings. But as Flavian, with all his respect for the emperor, yet did not suffer himself to be influenced in the least in his judicial proceedings by fear of the imperial power, the revision resulted in a confirmation of the sentence pronounced upon Eutyches.

This was, however, by no means the end of the business: it was rather but the beginning of greater and more general commotions in the Eastern church. Eutyches had already, during the proceedings at Constantinople, let fall an expression from which his ulterior designs might have been conjectured. He had said he would consent to profess his belief in the two natures of Christ, if the bishops of Alexandria and of Rome would also approve of it. The sentiments of his ally Dioscurus were well known to him; and he expected to be upheld by the Roman bishop, judging from the manner in which the predecessors of that bishop had espoused the cause of the monkish party in the contest with Nestorius. But he did not consider, that the doctrines of Nestorius might be opposed from some other point of view than that of the Monophysites. Eutyches himself wished to have that expression considered as an appeal to a general council to be attended by both the other patriarchs. This appeal to a general council was thenceforward the mark at which he constantly aimed. Of this he spoke in his letter to the Roman bishop, Leo the Great, complaining that Nestorianism was starting up afresh. This he desired also of the emperor, and the latter, since he had been already reminded from those at Alexandria, that new and energetic measures were required in order to supplant the reviving Nestorianism, was therefore easily induced to comply with Eutyches' request. Already, when the revision of this matter at Constantinople was ordered by the emperor, arrangements were at the same time in progress for assembling a general council, which should pass definite sentence on all the matters in dispute.[2]

Flavian, however, was desirous of preventing the convocation of a new council of this sort. In his view, no such assembly was needed,

[1] Theodoret. ep. 11.

[2] The remark of a bishop, from which we may see that all this was only intended as a provisory transaction: Εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οἰκουμενικὴ ἐκελεύσθη γενέσθαι σύνοδος καὶ πεφύλακται τὰ καιριώτερα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ μετεστάλησαν πολλοί. Conc. Chalc. Harduin. T. II. f. 176, D.

since the doctrine of the church, as hitherto expressed, was sufficiently decided against Eutyches. This, we must allow, was not necessarily clear to all; for nothing, at least in the public declarations of the church, had been expressly determined on the points in dispute; as the antagonism between the doctrines of the Antiochian and the Alexandrian church had not as yet been resolved by any public decisions; and the articles of agreement entered into with Cyrill, which might pass for such conciliation, had from the first been differently construed by the different parties. Beyond question, in the existing state of feeling of which we have spoken above, and with the known disposition of Dioscurus, and the mighty influence of his party, which was also the party of Eutyches, no good could be expected from a new general synod. Hence Flavian called upon the Roman bishop, Leo the Great, to use his authority also to prevent the assembling of another general council, lest all the churches should be thrown into disturbance.[1] These words show what prospects were anticipated from the council in question; and similar were the expectations of all unprejudiced men who were honestly solicitous for the welfare of the church.

But Flavian could not obtain what he desired. The emperor could not forgive him for condemning Eutyches, which from the first was contrary to his will; and for this very reason he became more closely connected with the opposite party, under whose supremacy the general council was to be placed.

The manner in which this new council, the second general council of Ephesus, appointed to meet at *Ephesus* in the year 449, was first announced by the emperor, and the arrangement of its course of proceedings, could but serve to deepen the solicitude which had been awakened at the outset; since it was plainly manifest, that the emperor had a perfect understanding with Dioscurus, and that the assembly was to be used by the latter and his party only as an instrument for the accomplishment of a plan which had already been prepared. In his ordinance addressed to this synod, the emperor declared, that, as the patriarch Flavian had stirred up a dispute concerning the doctrines of faith with the abbot Eutyches, he, the emperor, had taken great pains to suppress the disorders which had arisen, and for this reason had often sent to the patriarch; for, in his opinion, the true faith had been sufficiently established by what had been taught by the fathers at Nice and at Ephesus. But as the patriarch was not to be moved by his repeated entreaties that he would abstain from these disputes, therefore the emperor had not deemed it safe to let such a controversy be managed without calling in the assistance of all the most eminent bishops from all countries; and hence this general council had been convoked, for the purpose of investigating the whole matter anew, and of extirpating every devilish root;[2] for the purpose of thrusting the adherents of the blasphemies of the godless Nestorius out of the church, and of ordering that the orthodox doctrine should be maintained with unshaken con-

[1] Ὥστε μὴ τὰς ἁπαντάχοσε ἐκκλησίας διαταραχθῆναι.

[2] Πᾶσαν διαβολικὴν ἐκκόψαι ῥίζαν, i. e. as is in fact immediately afterwards explained, the devilish heresy of Nestorius.

stancy. Dioscurus was nominated by the emperor, president of the council; and his assessors were to be the bishops Juvenalis of Jerusalem and Thalassius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. The last, however, were mentioned in such a way as made it sufficiently evident, that they were to be used only as the tools of Dioscurus; for it was said of both those bishops, that they, and all such warm friends of orthodoxy, would be of the same mind with Dioscurus. The judges of Eutyches — for example, the patriarch Flavian — should attend the council, not as judges however, nor as voters, but in order to learn the decision of the council, which was to investigate the matter anew. Already, in the first letters missive, the emperor had ordered that Theodoret should be present only on condition it should be deemed good by the whole assembly; but, in case of any difference of opinion on this point, he should remain excluded. By this it was very clearly announced beforehand, that Theodoret was not to be admitted. Yet too many apprehensions were still entertained of the influence of the well-merited esteem in which that excellent man stood with many. For this reason, in his letter to Dioscurus, the emperor declared why he had nominated him to be president of the assembly: "Because it might happen, that numbers inclined to Nestorianism would take every pains to bring it about, in some way or other, that Theodoret should attend the council. On this account, Dioscurus only should decide that point; for those who ventured to add or take away anything from the doctrines of faith, as they had been established at Nice, and afterwards at Ephesus, ought to have no voice at the synod, but, on the contrary, to be subjected to its judicial sentence." While all the opponents of the Alexandrian system of faith were thus plainly enough excluded from the synod, as Nestorians; the other party, on the contrary, were favored in the most arbitrary manner. The emperor directed: "Because, in many districts of the East, the orthodox Archimandrites [1] were in controversy with the bishops, who were said to be infected with the Nestorian blasphemy, therefore the abbot Barsumas, as their representative, should have a seat and a voice at the council." The emperor had appointed two civil officers — men, as he declared, of approved orthodoxy — to attend the proceedings, as his plenipotentiaries. In the instructions given to them, they were directed, in case they observed any one creating disturbance to the prejudice of the holy faith, to place such person in safe custody, and report the fact to the emperor; that is, they were authorized to remove every man who was bold enough to express freely his own convictions in opposition to the Alexandrian monophysitism.

In correspondence with these arrangements was the actual course of this council, justly branded in the history of the church with the title *robber-synod*, (σύνοδος ληστρική.) Dioscurus here ruled supreme, by his vote, which was paramount to every other; by the influence of the imperial commissioners, which gave meaning and force to his threats; by the fanatical violence of his Egyptian party, and particularly of the

[1] The very party with which, as we have before remarked, Theodoret and his friends had so many contests.

great body of monks who attended Barsumas, whose fierce shouts might well give reason to apprehend that they were capable of any outrage; by the terror which a troop of brawny hospital-waiters (parabolani, see p. 192) and soldiers — who were admitted into the assembly for the purpose of intimidating refractory members—spread around them; [1] and, finally, through the cowardice or entire want of character shown by so many bishops, to whom the truth was not the highest of all interests. Nothing could be more contrary to the spirit of the gospel than the fanaticism which actuated the dominant party in this council in favor of certain dogmatic formulas of conception, in which men dreamed of possessing Christ, who is spirit and life, though in temper and action they denied him. Theodoret relates,[2] that, when the assembly were about to bring a formal complaint against a bishop who was accused of unchastity and various other crimes, the president Dioscurus dismissed the whole matter, remarking: "If you have a complaint against his orthodoxy, we shall receive it; but we have not come here to pass judgment on unchastity." Theodoret takes this occasion to set forth the character of the synod. "They were for acting," he said, "as if Christ had merely prescribed a rule of faith, without giving rules of practice." (See above.) Some examples from the proceedings may serve to verify this description.

The general plan which Dioscurus pursued at this council was the same which he had thus far been prosecuting by his subservient instruments,—to condemn whatever was opposed to the Alexandrian system of doctrine, as a heretical innovation overstepping the determinations of doctrine settled at the councils of Nice and of Ephesus. He opened the proceedings by declaring that the council of Nice and the council of Ephesus had both established the same creed; everything had on these occasions been settled in an unalterable manner. Accursed be he who would unsettle again, and subject to new examination, what had there been determined! This proposition was received with shouts of approbation like the following: "On this depends the salvation of the world! God save the bishop Dioscurus, the great guardian of the faith!" He then cited the passage in 1 Sam. 2: 25, from which the misapprehended distinction had been drawn between sins against God and sins against man, and the perverted principle that heresies were sins of far deeper dye than all others. And he added, applying this principle to the present case: "If the Holy Ghost then dwelt with our fathers, and determined whatever was determined, then he who has introduced any alterations here has proved himself to be a despiser of the divine grace." This also was received "as the voice of the Holy Spirit," as the synod expressed it in their shout of applause. The very announcement of the proposition, that Christ consists of two

[1] The bishop Basil of Seleucia, in Isauria, said to Dioscurus, at the council of Chalcedon, in excuse of what he had done contrary to his own convictions, at the council of Ephesus: Πολλὴν ἐπέστησας ἡμῖν τότε ἀνάγκην τὴν μὲν ἔξωθεν, τὴν δὲ ἔνδοθεν, τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γλώσσης σου· εἰσέτρεχον γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν στρατιῶται μετὰ ὅπλων, καὶ εἱστήκεισαν οἱ μονάζοντες μετὰ Βαρσουμᾶ καὶ οἱ παραβαλανεῖς καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο πολύ. Concil. Chalc. act. I. Harduin. T. II. f. 213.

[2] Ep. 147 ad Joannem Germaniciæ, T. IV

natures, produced such an excitement that all the Egyptian bishops, and the whole throng of monks that accompanied Barsumas, exclaimed, "Divide asunder the man himself who speaks of two natures. He who speaks of two natures is a *Nestorius*." When the bishop Eusebius, of Doryleum, attempted to explain the doctrine of two natures in Christ, many voices exclaimed, "Burn Eusebius; let him be burnt alive. As he has cut asunder Christ, so let *him* be cut asunder."[1] Such exclamations, with the sight of the soldiers and the ferocious monks, were quite sufficient to stupify many who otherwise would not have given their assent to the propositions of Dioscurus. Thrown off from their self-possession, and hurried along against their will, they repeated by rote whatever was prescribed to them.[2]

True, the bishops who attended this Ephesian synod had strong inducements afterwards, at the council of Chalcedon, to exaggerate the scenes of violence which there occurred, in palliation of their own conduct on that occasion; and, besides, many contradictions may be detected in their remarks: but still it is clear that force was resorted to in various ways to compel men to subscribe the decisions of the council; that the bishops were kept confined for a whole day in the church; that they were menaced by soldiers and monks till they had subscribed; and that *blank papers* were laid before them for their signature, which could afterwards be filled up with whatever the leaders chose.[3]

After Dioscurus had thus carried through the principle that the Nicene-Ephesian creed was alone valid, the canon established at the first council of Ephesus was now confirmed anew, that whoever taught or endeavored to introduce anything different from these articles, should, if a bishop or ecclesiastic, be deposed from his spiritual office, and, if a layman, excommunicated from the church. This law was next applied, in a wholly arbitrary manner, and without any trial of the cases, to the bishops Flavian and Eusebius. Inasmuch as these bishops had deviated on almost every point from this creed, and thus excited disturbances and scandal in all countries, they had of themselves incurred those established and unalterable penalties, and should be deposed from their spiritual office.[4] Many who were impelled by their

[1] Concil. Chalc. act. I. Harduin. T. II. f. 161, E.

[2] A bishop, Basil of Seleucia, says himself afterwards, at the council of Chalcedon, in his own excuse: Τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο κρότος, ὥστε πάντων ἡμῶν τιναχθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν . . . . ἀχλύος δὲ πληρωθεὶς εἶπον. L. c. f. 102.

[3] L. c. f. 94. Theodoret also says, soon after these events: Τῶν συνεληλυθότων οἱ πλεῖστοι βιασθέντες συνέθεντο. Ep. 142.

[4] When that canon was brought forward by Dioscurus, several bishops remarked at once, that the deposition of Flavian was the real object at bottom. And when, soon after, Dioscurus actually proposed this deposition, many of the bishops arose, and, clasping his knees, begged him to desist from that judgment. One of the bishops alleged the very characteristic reason, that he too had presbyters, and should therefore be cautious how he let a bishop be deposed for the sake of a presbyter. But Dioscurus remained firm: he would rather let his tongue be cut out, he said, than pass any other sentence, and he threatened to call upon the imperial commissioners. Dioscurus asserted, it is true, that this whole account of the matter, given by some bishops at the council of Chalcedon, was false, and appealed to witnesses. But he may have easily forgotten himself what he had said in the heat of passion; and, as a matter of course, such things were not entered on the minutes of the scribes. A great deal in

fears to acquiesce in these judgments, quieted their consciences with the reflection that at least no new doctrines had been proposed, to which they were forced to give their assent; for the only point in question was whether they should hold fast the form of doctrine set forth in the Nicene and Ephesian councils. But they would not distinctly look at the fact, that Flavian and Eusebius were at any rate deposed solely on grounds of doctrine.[1] Accordingly those very bishops who had taken part in the council of Constantinople under Flavian gave their assent to these decrees. Even the patriarch Domnus, of Antioch, who, on account of the position which he held in the church, stood at the head of the Orientals, was persuaded to yield with the rest, heedless of the warnings which the excellent Theodoret, with a wise foresight of the future, gave him when the council was about to be opened.[2] But this compliance could not avail him. Dioscurus could not for this forgive him his opposition to the Cyrillian anathemas; and, when he was compelled by sickness to withdraw from the council, sentence of deposition was pronounced afterwards also upon him.[3] The same sentence was passed upon Theodoret, and several others who were among the most worthy bishops of the East.

By an imperial edict, Theodoret was also removed from his diocese, and obliged to retire to the cloister where he had received his early education. His enemies endeavored so to contrive it that he should be deprived even of the necessaries of life; and many were so awed by the power of the dominant party that they dared not interfere in his behalf.[4] There were, however, a few pious bishops who vied with each other in testifying their affection for a man who was thus suffering for the truth. Theodoret, who was accustomed to moderate his bodily wants and needed but very little to satisfy them, declined most of the gifts which were offered him, writing to his friends "that the God who gave the very ravens their abundance of food, had provided him thus far with all that was needful for his support."[5] When we compare the spirit of ambition and violence on the one hand, and of servile compliance and cowardice on the other, exhibited by so many bishops of the East; with the firmness rising above all fear of man, the tranquil composure amid all the storms of the times, and the confidence of faith in contending for the truth, which shine forth in this example of Theodoret, the striking contrast leaves upon us but a still more agreeable impression of his character.[6]

those remarks bears at least an impress too distinctly characteristic to be liable to the suspicion of having been invented. Concil. Chalc. act. I. Harduin. T. II. f. 216.

[1] Μηδεμίαν γεγενῆσθαι περὶ τὸ δόγμα καινοτομίαν. Ep. 147.

[2] See Theodoret, ep. 112. Theodoret here very justly reminds the patriarch, that no good had come of all the previous councils.

[3] See Liberatus, cap. 12. Dioscurus brought in evidence against him a letter in which he had declared against the anathemas, though certainly in very moderate terms (eo quod essent obscura).

[4] He writes himself, ep. 134: Εἰ πάντες ταύτην ἐζήλωσαν τὴν ὠμότητα, οἰόδεν ἕτερον ὑπελείπετο, ἢ ζῶντας μὲν ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἀναλωθῆναι, τελευτήσαντας δὲ μὴ τάφῳ παραδοθῆναι, ἀλλὰ κυνῶν καὶ θηρῶν γενέσθαι βοράν.

[5] Ep. 123.

[6] A few characteristic facts selected from his letters may here serve as illustrations When he first received the tidings of his deposition, he wrote (ep. 21): "All the sufferings we meet for the sake of the divine doctrines are very welcome to us. It cannot be otherwise, if we truly believe in the promises of our Lord, that the suffer-

Thus, then, the party of Dioscurus, by availing itself of the power of the court, had succeeded in crushing the Oriental church. Some changed their faith with the change of circumstances, and bowed the knee to the dominant party.[1] Others, although they remained faithful to the truth themselves, yet dared not lift up their voice in its defence. The men of free and fearless spirit were separated from their churches and banished. In this lamentable state of things, but one refuge was left to the oppressed church of the East, namely, to appeal for redress to the Western church, which had remained free from the influence of the political power, and had not been affected by any of these contests; and especially to the bishop of the ancient capital of the world, through whose all-powerful influence at the court of the Roman emperor, they might hope to receive assistance also from the latter quarter.

This important station in the church was then occupied by Leo the Great, a person of great energy and firmness of character. Leo had from the first been drawn into some participation in these controversies. Eutyches in the first place, and then Flavian, had had recourse to him. As soon as he obtained exact information respecting the subject of the dispute with Eutyches, he acquiesced in the sentence of condemnation passed on his doctrine, and simply expressed a wish that gentle methods might be employed to induce Eutyches to recant, and, if he could be persuaded, that he might be forgiven. He afterwards wrote Flavian a letter constituting an epoch in the history of the doctrines of faith, in which he endeavored to prescribe the law for the decision of those disputes, and unfolded in detail the doctrine of the unity of Christ, as one person in two natures, both retaining unaltered their respective attributes, but acting in union with each other; and to this letter he constantly refers in all his succeeding communications. The emperor Theodosius having invited him to take a part in the Ephesian council, he sent, as his deputies, the bishop Julius of Puteoli, the presbyter Renatus, the deacon Hilarus, and the notary Dulcitius. These deputies witnessed the scenes of violence which were exhibited at that synod; but they played there a very insignificant part, having attempted in vain to get permission even to do so much as to read publicly before

ings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Rom. 8: 18. But why do I mention the enjoyment of future blessings? For even though no reward were bestowed on the combatants, yet the truth, itself alone, were enough to move its friends to encounter with all joy every danger in its behalf." He then proceeds to unfold in a beautiful manner, from the epistles of Paul, from the passage in Rom. 8: 35–38, how the apostle asked for no recompense, but the love of the Saviour was to him more than all recompense; — the doctrine, preëminently shining through the writings of the Antiochian church-teachers, of disinterested love: Those who counselled him to be silent, and yield to the times, — a so-called *οἰκονομία*, — he repelled, opposing to them the precepts of holy writ, which require the bold annunciation of the truth; and he reminds them of that truth worthy of all acceptation, that none of the other cardinal virtues can avail anything without fortitude, ep. 122. In predicting the judgment of God which awaited the authors of injustice, he only expressed the wish, that they might seasonably desist from their wrong-doing, "that we may not be compelled to sorrow over them when we see them suffering punishment." Ep. 124. "What can be more feeble than they are who lack the truth?" he writes, ep. 129.

[1] Of such Theodoret says, ep. 147: *Ποῖοι πολύποδες οὕτως πρὸς τὰς πέτρας τὴν οἰκείαν ἐναλλάττουσι χρόαν ἢ χαμαιλέοντες πρὸς τὰ φύλλα τὸ χρῶμα, ὡς οὗτοι τὴν γνώμην πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς μεταβάλλουσιν;*

the synod the letter of Leo. Without directly giving them a refusal, the all-controlling Dioscurus still contrived always to find some plausible reason for delay.[1] When the patriarch Flavian protested against the unrighteous judgment passed by the Ephesian council, the Roman deacon had courage enough to join in this protest;[2] and Flavian handed over to him an appeal to a larger council which should be held *in Italy*. Hilarus succeeded in escaping from the high-handed violence of Dioscurus; and, by choosing the less frequented routes, arrived at Rome, where he drew up a faithful description to his bishop of the proceedings of the Ephesian council, and presented to him the appeal.[3] The bishop Theodoret also, in a remarkable letter,[4] resorted to an appeal of the same kind.

Many and various were the motives which now conspired to determine Leo as to the course he should pursue, and as to the way in which he should embark in these affairs. On the one hand, the zeal for pure doctrine, sympathy for oppressed innocence, indignation at the unspiritual mode of proceeding at Ephesus; on the other hand, the idea which already completely absorbed his mind, that a certain superintendence and jurisdiction over the whole church belonged to him as the successor of Peter, — all these considerations combined to give a certain direction to his mode of conduct. No sooner had he received these accounts from his deacon, than, in his letter addressed to the East, he expressed in the most emphatic tone his dissatisfaction at the arbitrary behavior of the Ephesian council,[5] and urged the necessity of assembling a new council in Italy. Through the influence of Leo, a letter written in the same spirit was addressed from the court of the

[1] Dioscurus at first had even proposed that the letter should be read before the synod, though perhaps he was not in earnest about it. But upon this, the first secretary of the Alexandrian church, (Primicerius notariorum,) the presbyter John, whose duty it was to present the official records, said that he held in his hands the imperial *sacra* addressed to the council. Respect to the emperor now required, that this document should be read first, and the letter of Leo was then forgotten. See Concil. Chalc. act. I. in Hard. T. II. f. 90. When it was proposed afterwards, that the acts of the *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*, by which Eutyches was condemned, should be read, and the Roman deputies were asked whether they also were satisfied with this course, they declared they would agree to it on condition that Leo's letter to Flavian should first be read. But now Eutyches declared the Roman deputies were suspected by him; for on their arrival they had alighted at the house of the patriarch Flavian, they had breakfasted with him, had frequently been in conference with him; and Flavian had shown them all possible honor. He must therefore require, that, if they proposed doing him any wrong, this should not be used to his disadvantage. The bishop Dioscurus then declared, it was certainly no more than right that those acts should first be read, and then the reading of the letter might follow afterwards. But when this was done, no one remembered that Leo's letter was next to be read. Act. Chalc. I. f. 110. For a third time, the Roman deacon, Hilarus, took the opportunity, when Dioscurus brought forward his proposition respecting the unalterable validity of the Nicene-Ephesian articles of faith, to affirm that these doctrines agreed with the faith of the fathers, as also with that letter of Leo; and added, that if they would allow that letter to be read, they would perceive that it contained nothing but the truth. But again this invitation was neglected. L. c. f. 255, E.

[2] L. c. f. 258.

[3] L. c. f. 34.

[4] See above, vol. II. p. 199, in the history of the church constitution.

[5] With him originated the name by which this council was stigmatized in the history of the church. Ephesinum non judicium, sed latrocinium, ep. 95, ed. Ballerin, according to other editions, ep. 75.

Western emperor to Constantinople. By all these means, nothing, however, could for the present be effected. So false a representation of all that had happened had been given to the emperor Theodosius, who, at the same time, depended entirely upon it; so completely concealed from him was the true condition of the Eastern church, that he wrote to the emperor Valentinian III.: everything had been transacted at Ephesus with perfect freedom, and in strict conformity to truth; none but the unworthy bishops had been deposed; Flavian had met with the punishment he deserved; and, since his deposition, perfect peace and unanimity prevailed in the churches, where nothing else was now supreme but the pure truth.

Meanwhile, however, the choice of Anatolius as the new patriarch of Constantinople, in place of the deposed Flavian, rendered it necessary to enter into new negotiations with the Roman bishop; for it was wished that he should be recognized also in the Western church, which could not be done without the concurrence of the Roman bishop. But Leo would not otherwise consent to recognize Anatolius, except on condition he gave unambiguous proofs of his orthodoxy, condemned the doctrines of Eutyches as well as of Nestorius, and consented to subscribe, with several other documents, the letter of Leo to Flavian.[1] To settle the details of the business with the patriarch, he moreover sent to Constantinople a delegation consisting of two bishops, — one of whom was Abundius, bishop of Como, — and two presbyters.

In the meantime, important changes had occurred at Constantinople in the state of public affairs, altogether favorable to Leo's designs. Dioscurus had in truth been indebted, in a great measure, for his triumph, to the power of Chrysaphius and of the empress Eudocia. But now Chrysaphius had fallen into disgrace, and was banished. The emperor had separated from his wife Eudocia, and the latter retired to the district of Jerusalem. Pulcheria, the patroness of Flavian, was recalled to court, and once more obtained unbounded influence.[2] These changes alone enabled Leo now to accomplish vastly more at Constantinople. Already had Pulcheria caused Flavian's body to be brought to Constantinople, and buried with all the honors due to a patriarch. In addition to this, an event now occurred which gave the decisive blow. Theodosius died in the year 450, when Pulcheria united herself in marriage with Marcian, and procured for him the imperial dignity. The prevailing religion at court now took an altogether different turn. The bishops who had been deposed and exiled on account of their faith were recalled, and directed to resume their dioceses. As the prevailing doctrinal inclination of the court was wont to have great influence on the conduct of very many bishops, so it happened too in the present case. Many, who under the former reign had taken the side of Dioscurus, under the influence of force or of fear, or who were already in the habit of making their doctrinal opinions subservient to circum-

[1] See Leo's letter to the emperor Theodosius, to Pulcheria, and to the abbots of Constantinople, ep. 69–71, and the life of the bishop Abundius of Como, in the actis Sanctorum, T. II. m. April.

[2] See Theophan. Chronograph.

stances, now signified their repentance. The patriarch Anatolius transacted all matters relating to the healing of the schism of the churches, in a common understanding with the Roman bishop Leo; and, to facilitate this, the latter sent a new deputation to Constantinople. He declared it to be his own mind, that the bishops who had erred simply through weakness or fear, should be granted forgiveness if they signified their repentance, and, as he had already required of Anatolius, should present satisfactory testimonies of their orthodoxy. An exception only should be made of the case of those bishops who had taken the lead in the second Ephesian council, Dioscurus, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem. The definitive sentence with regard to these last should remain reserved to the Roman bishop until after a more exact investigation.

At the same time, however, the objects and interests of the Roman bishop and of the imperial court could not be brought perfectly to agree with each other. Leo proceeded on the supposition, that a new investigation of the doctrines of faith was wholly unnecessary; since everything had been sufficiently decided already by what had been determined during the previous disputes, and especially by his own letter to Flavian; and that the only proper subject for deliberation and counsel was, how to proceed with those who had lately espoused the party of the second Ephesian synod. Should it be thought advisable on this account to assemble a general council, this ought to be appointed to meet in some Italian city; Flavian having in fact appealed to a council to be convened in Italy.[1] But the emperor had in view, at the same time with the doctrinal interest, also a political one: he did not wish to suppress, by force, a schism which was so deeply rooted and so widely spread, and the suppression of which might be attended with such disastrous consequences both to church and state; but he wished to devise means for a peaceable settlement. It was his desire, therefore, to avoid offending either of the two contending parties, and especially did he need to be indulgent towards a sect so powerful in one part of the empire, and so dangerous on account of their wild fanaticism, as was the monophysite or Egyptian party. Hence the object to be accomplished could not appear so easy to the emperor as it did to the Roman bishop, neither could he agree with the latter in respect to the choice of means. He wished and hoped — a hope which no one but a layman ignorant of the common course of theological controversies could entertain — to bring about, by means of negotiations at a general council, a concordat, which might serve as the basis of a reconciliation between the two parties. But this object was one which he could hope to accomplish only by means of a council whose place of assembling should be so near that an influence might be brought to bear upon its proceedings from Constantinople, and that,

[1] E. g. ep. 82 ad Marcian: Non cujusmodi sit fides tenenda tractandum est; sed quorum precibus et qualiter annuendum. Ep. 94 ad eundem. Quamvis synodum fieri *intra Italiam* poposcissem, — which he often repeated in his letters to Constantinople.

if necessary, the emperor might attend it himself. He therefore sent out his letters missive for such a council to meet at Nice in Bithynia in the year 451. This particular town was doubtless selected for the express purpose of giving greater authority to the council by the remembrance of the first council of Nice, whose creed it was once more to assert in opposition to strange doctrines of erroneous tendency. Moreover, the bishop of Rome was invited to take a share in the deliberations of this council.

During these transactions, Leo proceeded according to the same consistent principles and in the same spirit as he had ever maintained. The position which he assumed for himself was that of a certain primacy, a certain supreme jurisdiction, which it belonged to him to assert over the whole church. He alleged as the reason why he could not himself appear at that council, not only the then political situation of the Western empire, but also the ancient usage, which did not permit a Roman bishop to be personally present at a foreign general council,[1] as if this was beneath the dignity of a bishop of Rome; and yet he deemed himself warranted to exercise the presidency there through his delegates, three bishops, and two presbyters, whom he sent to Chalcedon:[2] and in fact they often conducted in the council in such a manner, as that they seemed to arrogate to themselves in the name of the Roman bishop a certain supreme judicial authority;[3] although at the same time the patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople considered himself the president of the synod.[4]

The church assembly was now about to be opened at Nice, where 630 bishops had already convened; but the disturbances excited there by fanatical ecclesiastics, monks, and laymen, probably belonging to the party of Dioscurus, and who threatened to repeat over the scenes of the second Ephesian council, doubtless convinced the emperor that it would be necessary to bring the place for the assembling of the council nearer to the imperial residence, and more under the influence of the government. The Roman delegates also informed the emperor, that they dared not attend the council, unless he himself would be present. In order, therefore, to the better guidance of the council, the emperor transferred it from Nice to Chalcedon.[5] Thus, by its vicinity to the seat of government, the object could now be secured, which was originally had in view, that the first officers of state and

[1] See ep. 93 to the synod at Nice: Nec ulla poterat consuetudo permittere. So, too, the deputies of Leo, in the beginning of the third act of the council: Ἐπειδήπερ οὔτε τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἔθος ἔσχηκε τοῦτο.

[2] Ep. 93 to the synod at Nice: In his fratribus, qui ab apostolica directi sunt, me synodo vestra fraternitas æstimet præsidere.

[3] So e. g. the Roman delegate, in the third act, said the apostolic see had granted pardon to the penitent bishops of the second Ephesian council, l. c. 346. When Dioscurus was about to take his seat in the synod, the Roman delegates declared they had been instructed by the bishop of the city of Rome, which is the head of all the churches, κεφαλῆς ὑπάρχοντος πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, not to suffer this; for he had presumed to hold a synod without the assistance of the apostolic seat, a thing which never had been done, and which ought not to be done. They declared that they were resolved to take their leave if this was permitted. Concil. Chalc. act. I. f. 68.

[4] Leo and Anatolius are named together as ἐξάρχοντες τῆς συνόδου. L. c. act. IV. f. 436.

[5] See the letter of Marcian to the synod at Nice, f. 48 and 49, l. c., and Liberatus, c. 13.

the imperial senate might be present at the meetings; and that, whenever aught occurred of doubtful character, the emperor might be immediately informed of it, and interpose his veto.

The imperial court had set itself a problem, the solution of which was attended with the utmost difficulty,—to reconcile and unite together two parties irritated and inflamed with fanatical hatred towards each other. This was apparent at the very outset, in the manner in which Theodoret was received by the two parties, when he appeared in the midst of the council, as the accuser of his former judges, and to obtain a solemn act of justification. While he was welcomed by the Orientals with expressions of enthusiastic sympathy, the bishops of the Egyptian party degraded their spiritual character by repeated outcries of blind and frantic fanaticism: "Cast forth the Jew, the enemy of God, the blasphemer of Christ!"—and, to remind the empress, that she who had wrought the overthrow of Nestorianism ought not to tolerate this Nestorian, they added, "Long live the empress! long live the orthodox emperor!" so that the very laymen of rank, who attended the synod in the name of the emperor, were constrained to say that such vulgar outcries ill beseemed bishops, and could be of no advantage to any party. But the bishops justified themselves on the ground, that, "they were lifting up their voice in defence of piety and the orthodox faith."[1]

True, the influence of the altered tone of the court soon manifested itself in the case of those bishops who had attached themselves to Dioscurus at the Ephesian council, even such of them as had stood with him at the head of the synod. Already, during the first proceedings, the majority went over from the right side, where the Egyptian party sat, to the left, where the Orientals were seated under the presidency of the Roman delegates.[2] Often, especially when the question related to the deposing of all those bishops who had stood foremost in the second Ephesian council, the council resounded with the cry, "We have all sinned, we all ask forgiveness." Many with very ill grace excused the part they had taken at that former council, by pleading the command of imperial authority, and the constraint to which they were put; whereupon the lay dignitaries must reply, that in matters of faith such an excuse could not pass;[3] and Dioscurus was doubtless right in saying, that such an excuse implied in its very terms an accusation.[4]

But although the tone of the court exercised so great an influence on the conduct of the bishops, and although both parties joined in annihilating the Ephesian transactions; yet the breach between them

[1] Δι' εὐσέβειαν κράζομεν, Concil. Chalc. act. I. l. c. f. 74.

[2] L. c. f. 130.

[3] L. c. f. 106.

[4] The bishop Basil of Seleucia in Isauria excused his signature to the judgment pronounced on the patriarch Flavian, on the plea that deference to a tribunal composed of a hundred and twenty or thirty bishops compelled him to obey their decrees. When, upon this, Dioscurus remarked, that he had passed judgment on himself of having trampled on right through the fear of man, he gave this singular reply: If he had stood before secular magistrates, he would have been ready to die as a martyr; but he had no power to contend with his fathers. L. c. f. 102.

still continued, and the imperial ministers, who were to see to it that the emperor's designs at the council were carried into effect, found it by no means so easy to unite them together by means of a common symbol of faith, and thereby to put an end to the divisions in the Oriental church, the fresh outbreaks of which was an object of continual dread. The very proposal to draw up a new symbol of this kind met from many with determined resistance, because doubtless they saw through the motives of policy, which would not harmonize with their dogmatic zeal, and hence wanted confidence in the whole thing.[1] Meantime the patriarch Anatolius, while the other business of the council went on, proceeded to discuss with a select number of bishops the matters of faith. With those who had many objections to make against the articles in the letter of Leo, which was to obtain the authority of a creed, he entered into an examination of their scruples, and endeavored to remove them, in which too he seems to have been successful. But when the symbol which resulted from those secret deliberations came to be laid before the assembly, new difficulties and objections could not fail to arise. For although a reconciliation was thereby to be brought about between the two parties, yet it was unavoidable that there should be a decided preponderance one way or the other, either in favor of the Egyptian, or else in favor of the Romano-Oriental form of doctrine; and accordingly either one or the other of the parties must be offended. The symbol of faith first proposed[2] seems to have been drawn up particularly with a view to accommodate the prevailing interest of the Egyptian party. It contained the article, that Christ consists of two natures, which doubtless accorded with the Egyptian creed; for that affirmed that the natures should be distinguished from each other in conception, though not in their actual being.[3] But some of the Oriental bishops were dissatisfied with that symbol, which was received by the other party with loud demonstrations of applause. The Roman delegates declared, that, if the council could not agree with the letter of Leo, they wished liberty to return home; and a council should be held at Rome. This threat, which caused a schism to be feared between the Oriental and the Occidental church, was sufficient to frighten the imperial court; and it was the more earnestly desired to gratify Leo, inasmuch as it was hoped, that, by showing respect to his doctrinal decisions, he might be induced

[1] See Concil. Chalc. act. II. f. 286.

[2] There were doubtless good reasons for not incorporating this with the other acts of the council; and hence we can only gather its contents from the way in which it was received.

[3] That this was the main point may be collected from the negotiations of the patriarch Anatolius with the bishops whom he sought to persuade to agree in an alteration of the creed. On the same principles which had moved them to consent to the deposition of Dioscurus, said he to them, they must also consent to reject the creed: for Dioscurus had deposed Flavian for no other reason than because he maintained the doctrine of the two natures; but the creed contained the article, that Christ consists of (not subsists in) two natures. He would doubtless say, the creed contained the doctrine of Dioscurus, who had been condemned, not of Flavian, who had been justified, by the council. But the bishops who were in favor of the symbol maintained, on the other hand, that Dioscurus had *not* been deposed *for doctrinal* reasons. See l. c. act. V. f. 449.

to recognize the rank conceded to the patriarch of Constantinople. (See vol. II. p. 202.) It was for this reason so much pains had already been taken to give the validity of a creed to the letter of Leo addressed to Flavian, with which a part of the bishops could not be satisfied.[1] The civil dignitaries therefore proposed the appointment of a new committee to examine the symbol of faith, to which delegates should be chosen from the different parties, particularly six Orientals; and these should hold their meetings and deliberations under the presidency of the Roman delegates, as well as of the patriarch Anatolius. But the proposal to change the symbol of faith was received by many of the bishops with loud tokens of disapprobation. The imperial commissioners deemed it necessary to draw up a report of the doubtful temper of the bishops to the emperor, and wait for his commands. The emperor's decision appeared; and it was ordered that either the proposal for the nomination of a committee should be adopted, and that by these such a symbol should be drawn up as all could be satisfied with, and against which no scruples could be raised; or else all should, by their metropolitans, propose their own faith, and in this way all discord be removed; or, if they could not be satisfied with this, no other course remained than to take measures, since the unity of faith could not be settled here, for holding a general council in the West. This last was a threat well calculated to have an effect on the bishops. They must have a creed dictated to them by the Roman bishop and a Roman council. But the threat produced at first nothing but exasperation. Such expressions were heard as the following: those who were not satisfied with the ancient symbol were Nestorians; these might go; they might take up their journey to Rome. The commissioners then declared, though doubtless not till after many other things had transpired which have not been reported to us: Dioscurus had avowed it as his doctrine that Christ consists of two natures; but could not allow that two natures subsisted *in* Christ. Leo teaches that two natures are united without confusion, without change, and without separation, in one and the same Christ. With which of these two do you agree? The bishops — who could hardly, all of them, be the same as had opposed every change in the ancient creed — now exclaimed: "We all have the same faith with Leo; whoever contradicts this faith is a Eutychian. Upon this the commissioners suggested, that nothing more was needed than to receive into the creed that article from the letter of Leo. After this proposal had been generally received, they held with the select committee a secret meeting, in which the new symbol of faith was drawn up accordingly. In this it was defined that the one Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, should be recognized in two

[1] Leo was asked, in a letter addressed to him by the synod, to manifest, by that concession, his thanks to the emperor for having given the force of law to the doctrinal decision of the Roman bishop, and to the patriarch, for having united with him in establishing the pure doctrine. See Mansi concil. T. VII. f. 154. So too, for the like purpose, the patriarch Anatolius himself hinted at his own services in this respect to the bishop Leo, in a letter addressed to the latter, which was first published among the works of Leo, by the brothers Ballerini. Mansi l. c. f. 171.

natures,[1] so that all confusion, change, and division of the two natures is excluded.[2] No one should be allowed to profess any other creed than this; to teach or *to think otherwise.*

While all the rest who had been active in the second Ephesian council, testified their repentance and requested to be forgiven, the patriarch Dioscurus, on the other hand, persisted in his opposition. He refused to recognize the judicial authority of the council; and, after having been thrice summoned in the customary form, still remained firm in his refusal. Meanwhile, in addition to what was objected to his behavior at the second Ephesian council, many grave charges, affecting his moral character and his administration of the episcopal office, were brought against him by Alexandrian ecclesiastics. Instead of being humbled, he had the boldness himself to excommunicate the Roman bishop. He was accordingly deprived of all his spiritual titles and dignities.

But although the person of Dioscurus was sacrificed, even by those who had previously consented to serve as his instruments, yet the fanatical hatred of his party towards the Orientals was still manifested in various ways, and particularly by the outrageous manner in which the venerable bishop Theodoret was received by the council. When, in compliance with a petition of his own, the case of Theodoret, in the eighth session of the council, was to be taken up, and he accordingly appeared among the assembled ecclesiastics, and referred to the petition about to be read as a testimony of his faith, he was constantly interrupted by the cry: They would allow nothing to be read; all he had to do was to condemn Nestorius. "Speak out clearly, Anathema to Nestorius and his doctrines; anathema to Nestorius and his friends!" It is easy to see that Theodoret was not prepared to condemn Nestorius at once and without any farther qualification; but that yet he was ready to make any sacrifice, for the sake of peace, which he could do consistently with his convictions and with the demands of conscience. He had no hesitation in condemning what men had become wont to designate as the Nestorian heresy. We see that Theodoret could now yield more than he would have been willing to concede at an earlier period. "Truly," said he with dignified composure, "I speak not otherwise than as I know is well-pleasing to God. In the first place, I would convince you, that my bishopric is not to me so very dear an interest; that I am not solicitous for the honor, and that it is not *for the sake of it* I have come here, but because I have been calumniated.

[1] Not only the report of the monk Euthymius (see his account of the life of Cyrill in Analectis Græcis, Paris, 1688) and of Evagrius prove that the reading of the Latin copies of the symbol is the correct one, and the reading of the Greek ἐκ δύο φύσεων is false; but also the whole course of proceedings in the council proves this. Manifestly the earlier symbol, more favorable to the Egyptian system of doctrine, contained the ἐκ δύο φύσεων, and the favoring of the other party consisted mainly in converting the ἐκ into ἐν. Moreover the ἐκ δύο φύσεων does not suit the connection: the verb γνωριζόμενον points rather to the original ἐν. The ἐν δύο φύσεσι or the ἐκ δύο φυσέων was the turning-point of the whole controversy between the Monophysites and the Duophysites.

[2] Ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως.

I have come to prove myself an orthodox man, to show you that I condemn Nestorius and Eutyches, and every man who speaks of two Sons of God." Again it was loudly vociferated: "Say anathema to Nestorius, and to all who think like him." But he was afraid to condemn Nestorianism, without having first unfolded what he deemed to be *the pure doctrine*, lest some occasion should be given for employing that vague word Nestorianism, for the purpose of condemning that which, according to *his own convictions*, was much rather the true doctrine. Hence he said: "If I may not be allowed in the first place to explain how I believe, I cannot express that anathema; but I believe" — here the bishops cried out: "He is a heretic; he is a Nestorian; cast forth the Nestorian." Theodoret then said: "Anathema to Nestorius, and to every one who calls not Mary the mother of God, and who divides the one only-begotten Son into two sons. I have subscribed the confession of faith and the letter of the bishop Leo; and so I believe. Farewell." The emperor's commissioners thereupon declared that Theodoret had now given sufficient proof of his orthodoxy, and it only remained, that, as he had been justified by the Roman bishop, he should be restored to his church. To this proposal of the court, the assembly now acceded by acclamation.[1]

Again, an incident which happened during the fourth action of the council foreshadowed what was to be expected from the dominant fanaticism in Egypt. Ten aged bishops from this country declined to anathematize at once, as they were required to do, the doctrines of Eutyches, and to subscribe the letter of Leo to Flavian. Such was the despotic authority of the Alexandrian bishops over the Egyptian church, that they declared it impossible for them, according to the church laws, to act in this case independently: they must wait for the

[1] Amidst these scenes at Chalcedon, we no longer perceive in Theodoret that constancy and firmness with which he had hitherto defended his innocent friend. He appears no longer faithful even to those professions which he earlier expressed; yet this may have been the effect of a momentary weakness. He may have deemed it best to yield for the moment to the fury of blind zealots, who would not listen to the voice of reason; especially as he explicitly stated, that with the name Nestorius he really condemned only a particular error, to express which men had been pleased to coin this term, — and it is easy to see that he felt himself placed under constraint. But in the strongest contrast with his former behavior stands the way in which he speaks at the conclusion of one of his latest works, his account of the heresies (*αἱρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή*), respecting his old friend; where he describes him as an instrument of Satan; as a man who by his pride plunged the church into disorders; who under the pretext of orthodoxy, introduced at one and the same time the denial of the divinity and of the incarnation of the only-begotten Son; one who met at last with the punishment he deserved, and the premonitory sign of his future punishment. Fear of the blind zealots alone assuredly could not lead him thus to contradict himself; vexation at the disorders which had grown out of Nestorius' attack upon the term *θεοτόκος*, (with which even *he* was not satisfied,) must in the end have cast a shade in his soul on the memory of the author of those disturbances. But, nevertheless, we have here a melancholy proof of human weakness in a man who otherwise appears to us as a light in an age of darkness. Fain would we agree with those who have considered this clause to be spurious, were there not so much stronger reasons for the contrary supposition, and were it possible also to consider the letter addressed to Sporacius on the Nestorian heresy, which is derived for the most part from that latter clause, as an interpolated piece. For the rest, Theodoret perhaps spent the last six or seven years of his life, as he designed to do, ep. 146, in seclusion and in the occupation of writing.

decision of the new patriarch of Alexandria, who was still to be elected, and govern themselves accordingly. In vain it was objected, that they ought not in matters of religious conviction to make themselves dependent on the authority of any individual man; and that the sentence of the general council must possess more force than that of an individual bishop. They implored the council to allow them indulgence, because in their own country they could not be certain of their lives if they ventured to declare themselves independent of their patriarch. This delay was finally granted them, under the condition that they should not leave Ephesus until the new patriarch was elected.

The council of Chalcedon, by proceeding in this manner, could not, of course, secure the object they had in view, which was to effect a union of the two parties. The weak spots which this assembly discovered by the inward contradictions brought to view during the course of its proceedings; the exchange of one confession of faith for another; the influence of court policy on the final result, — all this was, of course, ill suited to procure authority for the decisions of this council in the minds of those who entertained other opinions.[1]

When so passionate a fanaticism in favor of the Egyptian monophysitism had manifested itself at this council of Chalcedon, it was no wonder that it should soon be more widely spread by the adherents of Dioscurus on their return home; and that it should find its way among the swarms of wild and untutored monks who were used to these formulas, and produce among them the most violent agitations. In the doctrine of the two natures, these people saw nothing but pure Nestorianism, a dividing of the one Christ into two Sons of God, two persons. That he who is supreme over nature was still born in the natural way, — this, they declared, was enough for them to know. The *how* was what they could not explain.[2] This was the germ of the *Monophysite* controversies, so disastrous to the Oriental church, so pernicious to practical Christianity.

Palestine and Egypt were, at first, the chief seats of this controversy. The fanatical monk Theodosius, who returned from the Chalcedonian council to Palestine, conveyed thither the seeds of discord. He attached himself to the party of the deceased emperor's widow Eudocia, and soon ruled supreme in all the cloisters. He set every thing in commotion, raging furiously against all who would not secede from the Chalcedonian council. The patriarch Juvenalis of Jerusalem was banished from his city, and Theodosius himself nominated patri-

[1] The Monophysites well understood how to avail themselves of these weak spots laid open by the council, as we may see from the charges they brought against it; to which Leontius of Byzantium or Jerusalem, at the end of the sixth century, replied in his work against the Nestorians and the Eutychians. See this work in the Greek original, published by Mansi, Concil. T. VII. f. 799. If the charge brought by the Monophysites (f. 813) really implied that many votes at the council had been purchased with gold, this accusation would assuredly be confirmed by the bad defense of Leontius. But this does not lie in the words: they speak only of simony in the appointment of bishops. The word *χειροτονίαι* must be understood to refer, not to a vote in the council, but to ordinations.

[2] In the petition of the monks from Palestine: The *μὴ χρῆναι φυσιολογεῖν· πῶς γεννᾷ κατὰ φύσιν τὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν*; Harduin. Concil. T. II. f. 672.

arch there by his party. Similar things occurred in other cities. Provinces were wasted with fire and sword; Theodosius deposed and appointed bishops. It was finally necessary to check this evil by resorting to forcible measures.

The second theatre of these contests was Egypt, and particularly Alexandria. There Proterius had been nominated patriarch in the place of the deposed Dioscurus; but, from what we have already seen taking place at Chalcedon, we may easily gather that Dioscurus would still have a weighty party in his favor. There arose a schism, which gave rise to the most violent disorders. It became necessary to call in the aid of soldiers: the attempt to suppress the schism by force only served, as usual, to exasperate men's minds, and many scenes of violence ensued. Finally, quiet was restored, and so it continued as long as Marcian lived; although the Monophysite party, headed by the presbyter Timotheus Ailurus, continued to subsist as a separate and distinct one. But as the Monophysite party, after the death of this emperor in 457, indulged the expectation of finding a more favorable disposition in his successor, they ventured to appoint and to ordain Timotheus as their patriarch. The attempt made by the military commandant, to put an end to the difficulties by force, led to a tumult, in which Proterius was murdered. Both parties now applied to the emperor with petitions. The latter, being aware of the great importance of the Monophysite party, was the more desirous of removing the schism by means of some mutual agreement, without resorting to force. He begged the Roman bishop Leo the Great to come himself to the East, and direct the negotiations. But Leo had no inclination to do this. Moreover, he was of the opinion that no concessions ought to be made at the expense of doctrines expressed by a council under the guidance of the Holy Ghost; but that these must only be strictly maintained. The bad result of a general council assembled for the purpose of restoring peace having at last been made evident by the example of the council of Chalcedon, the emperor made trial of another expedient. He issued a command to all the metropolitans to consult with their bishops respecting the manner in which the council of Chalcedon and the ordination of Timotheus ought to be regarded and treated, and to report to him the result of their deliberations. Distinguished above others for a wise moderation, rare in this age, was the opinion expressed on this occasion by the bishops of Pamphylia. We here meet with a distinction lying far remote from the fanatical habits of doctrinal conception peculiar to this period,—the distinction between that which belongs to the essence of Christian faith, and that which belongs to the exactness of doctrinal definitions requisite for the development of theology. "Those definitions," said they, "were drawn up by the Roman bishop Leo, and by the council of Chalcedon, not for the purpose of having them pass to the laity, and give offense to them; but they were designed only for the priests, that they might have wherewith to answer gainsayers. The doctrine concerning the union of two natures in one Christ was not employed for the instruc tion of catechumens, nor adopted into the general formulas of doc-

trine; but used only for the purposes of theological discussion." They were of the opinion that there ought to be no dispute on the questions, whether Christ *subsisted in* two natures, or *consisted of* two natures, and whether we should speak of one nature of the Word which became man: the only important thing was, that the union of the two natures should be maintained, but without being confounded. They recommended the condescending indulgence, of which Christ was the pattern, as the best and readiest means of reclaiming errorists, and of restoring tranquillity.[1]

Since the majority of voices, however, now maintained the authority of the council of Chalcedon, and were opposed to the ordination of Timotheus Ailurus, the emperor Leo resolved that he would put an end to the difficulties by force. In the year 460, Timotheus Ailurus was banished to Cherson, and in his place Timotheus Salophaciolus was appointed patriarch of Alexandria. The mild character of the latter enabled him for the moment to do something towards restoring tranquillity.

So much the more violent, however, was the ferment which ensued, when, by a political revolution, the hitherto oppressed party of the Monophysites at once obtained the preponderance. This took place in 476, when Basiliscus succeeded in expelling the emperor Zeno, successor to his father-in-law Leo in the year 474, from the imperial throne, and securing it for himself. Whether the fact was that he had not attained to this high eminence without the aid of the Monophysite party, or whether he hoped to find in this party an important support, he showed from the beginning that it was his purpose to make it the ruling party in the East. He was the first to publish decisions on matters of faith by imperial laws; for, in entering on his reign, he issued a circular letter (ἐγκύκλιον) to be signed by all the bishops on pain of being deposed from their office; whereby it was established, that the Nicene creed, together with the several decrees in confirmation of it passed at the councils of Constantinople and Ephesus, should alone be valid; while, on the other hand, the Chalcedonian symbol and the letter of Leo were condemned as standing at variance with this, and ordered to be burned wherever they might be found. Many of the bishops readily complied with the imperial command; partly such as, being rather inclined of themselves to adopt the Monophysite opinion, had only been moved by the ruling power to accept the Chalcedonian articles; and partly such as were always in the habit of shaping their opinions according to the doctrinal tendency of the court.

At Alexandria, the victory of the Monophysite party would take place without any violent struggle; for this party had there a natural preponderance. Timotheus Ailurus resumed his patriarchate, and the mild Timotheus Salophaciolus quietly returned back to his cloister. But violent commotions arose in many districts, where hitherto the party of the Chalcedonian council had prevailed; and enthusiastic monks, who exercised the greatest influence over the people, stirred them up to resistance against the imperial command. The patriarch

[1] See Harduin. Concil. T. II. f. 731.

Acacius of Constantinople, although wavering himself, yet took courage from the strength of the zealots, to show resistance to the emperor. And as, in addition to this, Zeno had, in the mean time, strengthened his power, Basiliscus issued in 477 a second circular, (ἀντεγκύκλιον,) whereby the first was revoked. Soon after this, the victory of Zeno, who once more made himself master of the empire, changed the whole face of affairs.

This emperor was the more firmly resolved in the outset to do all in his power to advance the party of the council of Chalcedon, because doubtless he was especially indebted to this party for the recovery of his throne, and because his political interests would make him hostile to the other party, which Basiliscus had favored. This change of court orthodoxy was soon followed by the usual consequences attending such lamentable dependence of the church on the state. Those same bishops of Asia Minor who, under the preceding reign, had defended themselves before the emperor Basiliscus against the charge of having only subscribed his circular letter by constraint, and from motives of fear; who had styled this document, in their communication to him, a divine[1] and apostolic letter; who had declared to him that the world must go to ruin, if he did not uphold the authority of his religious edict; who called on him to depose the patriarch Acacius from his seat, — these same bishops now testified to this very patriarch their repentance; writing to him, that they had subscribed the circular letter of Basiliscus, not from conviction, but because they were compelled to it; but that in their faith they really agreed with that which had been piously and rightly determined at the council of Chalcedon.[2]

This change must have had a very great influence, especially on the condition of the Alexandrian church, in which the Monophysite party was ever predominant. Timotheus Ailurus was allowed, it is true, peacefully to end the few remaining days of his old age in the patriarchal office; but when, after his death in 477, the Monophysite party proceeded to choose the archdeacon Petrus Mongus as his successor, the emperor looked upon this as an insurrection; he pronounced sentence of death on Petrus Mongus, and the latter seems to have escaped the execution of this sentence only by flight. It was ordered that Timotheus Salophaciolus should be restored to the patriarchate of Alexandria. The emperor threatened all laymen and ecclesiastics who should not within two months recognize Salophaciolus as their patriarch, with the loss of all their dignities and churches, and with exile.[3] The restored patriarch Timotheus was enabled for the moment, by his moderation and gentleness, to preserve quiet at Alexandria. He presented a rare example for this age; protecting instead of persecuting the Monophysite party, — insomuch that *the emperor* had to

[1] The θεῖον, — divinum, — the usual designation, indeed, derived from the pagan times, and applied to whatever came from the emperor; but it was bad enough in bishops, when speaking of religious matters, to imitate such phraseology.

[2] Comp. Evagr. hist. eccles. III. c. 5 and 9.

[3] See the letters of the Roman bishop Felix III. to the patriarch Acacius, and to the emperor Zeno.

admonish *him* to use greater severity towards the heretics, and not allow them to hold their church assemblies and to baptize; but, notwithstanding this, he still continued to pursue the same course of conduct. Hence he was universally esteemed by the Alexandrians; and they would call out to him in the streets and in the churches: "Although we have no church-fellowship with you, yet we love you." [1]

But after the death of Timotheus Salophaciolus, which soon ensued, there arose a new schism. The party which was by far the most numerous, that of the Monophysites, chose for their patriarch the archdeacon Petrus Mongus: the minor party of the Chalcedonian council chose the chief treasurer of the Alexandrian church, John Talaya. The emperor at first was resolved to approve the choice of the Chalcedonian faction alone; but a complication of events led him to change his mind.

John Talaya, at that time presiding as presbyter over the churches on the island of Tabennæ, had been sent by the patriarch Timotheus Salophaciolus, after the latter had been reinstated in his office by the emperor Zeno, on a mission to Constantinople, in company with Gennadius, a kinsman of the patriarch, and bishop of Lower Hermupolis. Gennadius remained behind at Constantinople, and had there acquired great influence as plenipotentiary or agent (apocrisiarius) of the Egyptian patriarch. John Talaya, however, had entered into a connection with Illus, one of the first men of the empire, to whom the emperor was in part indebted for the recovery of his throne; and probably at this time Illus engaged, perhaps not without the assurance of receiving a splendid remuneration from Talaya, that he would procure for him the patriarchate after the death of the aged Timotheus. For this reason, after his return to Egypt, Talaya gave up his office in the church at Tabennæ, and resumed the post which he had before occupied at Alexandria, so that he might be ready, on the death of Timotheus, immediately to make such arrangements as would secure the attainment of his object, beyond all fear of a failure. From this place he sent many and valuable presents to Illus. Relying on the patronage of this powerful man, he deemed it the less necessary to secure the good will of Gennadius, whom he had left behind at Constantinople, or of the patriarch himself; and by this neglect he made them both his enemies. The deputy whom he sent with his inaugural letter (*ἐνθρονιστικα*) to Constantinople, was instructed not to present this immediately to the patriarch, but first inquire after his patron, the influential Illus, and to proceed in all respects as he should direct. But as the latter was then at Antioch, the deputy of John Talaya set off for that city, without presenting his letter to the patriarch.[2] By this unexampled neglect of the honor due to him as bishop of the imperial residence, the patriarch Acacius was completely disgusted; and, as Illus soon after rebelled against the emperor, Acacius was the more

[1] See Liberati Diaconi breviarium causæ Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum, ed. Garnier, pag. 108.

[2] See Liberat. c. 16 and 17, and Theophanes' chronography.

easily enabled to make John Talaya hateful also to the emperor Zeno. Peter Mongus, the head of the Monophysite party, was cunning enough to turn these circumstances to his own advantage. He visited Constantinople in person, and pointed out the danger to which the exasperation of the numerous party of the Monophysites might expose the tranquillity of the state, if a patriarch were thrust upon them whom they could not approve. He proposed, on the other hand, a treaty by which he hoped to unite all in one church. Acacius entered into this scheme, and persuaded the emperor to favor it. The latter issued, in the year 482, a treaty of agreement addressed to the churches of the Alexandrian patriarchate, which, by omitting the expressions employed in the disputed questions, and abiding only by general terms, was expected to bring about the removal of this opposition. It was here determined, that no other creed should be valid than the Nicene-Constantinopolitan symbol, which had been confirmed at Ephesus. A symbolical authority was given to the anathemas of Cyrill; and, without mentioning the words "person" and "nature," which touched the dispute, it was declared that Christ is one and not two,[1] since miracles and sufferings were referred to one and the same person. Moreover, sentence of condemnation was pronounced on Nestorianism and Eutychianism, but also on all who taught or had taught contrary to these articles, whether at Chalcedon, or in any other synod or place whatsoever.[2]

This *concordate* was now designed, in the purpose of the emperor, to serve as a basis for the peace of the church. Those among the Monophysites who agreed to subscribe it should, without being required to give up their peculiar opinions, be received by the other party into the communion of the church; and also the latter should be left free to retain their peculiar doctrines, and for themselves to maintain the authority of the council of Chalcedon, and of Leo's letter to Flavian. But without interfering with these differences, the concordate should stand valid as the basis of church fellowship, and neither party should stigmatize the other as heretical. But such an object was not to be attained in this way. The zealous Monophysites demanded an explicit condemnation of the council of Chalcedon, and of the letter to Flavian; and as they separated from the moderates, who were satisfied with the concordate, without having any principal leader, they were from henceforth designated as the headless sect, (ἀκέφαλοι.) Now when those bishops who chiefly agreed with this party in their doctrinal opinions, allowed themselves to be influenced by their respect for it, they lost the confidence of those with whom, by means of the compromise, they had concluded a peace. On the other hand, the zealous adherents of the Chalcedonian council were far from being satisfied with a written contract in which this council was spoken of in such disparaging terms, and all who accepted the compromise appeared to them as Monophysites. Thus it happened, that the henoticon, instead of doing away the schism, only made it worse than it was before. Instead of two parties, there were now four; the zealots on both sides, and the

[1] Ἓν τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ δύο. [2] Evagr. h. e. III. 14.

moderates of the two parties who accepted the compromise. The warm adherents of the Chalcedonian council found great sympathy in the Roman church, and there stigmatized the dominant party of the Oriental church as heretical. A schism between the Eastern and the Western church was the consequence of this.

While these commotions growing out of the henoticon were still in progress, the emperor Zeno, A.D. 491, died, and was succeeded by *Anastasius*. The latter was only desirous of preserving peace and of silencing the heretic-makers on both sides; and for this reason he would not suffer the treaty of coalition to drop. But this moderation, proceeding from motives of policy, could only make him an object of suspicion to the zealots; and, as he would tolerate nothing which was opposed to his plans, in seeking to preserve peace, he appeared in the light of a persecutor. Serious disturbances, arising out of the struggle between the two parties, broke out during this emperor's reign, in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Constantinople; and his efforts to compel the enthusiasts to moderation were attended with no other result than to render the commotions more violent. As he exerted himself with the most vigor to repress the enthusiasts near by, in Constantinople itself, he must of course become suspected of favoring the Monophysites. In the patriarch of Constantinople he found a violent antagonist. By the patriarch Euphemius, the orthodoxy of the emperor had been suspected from the first; he had consented to his taking the throne, only on condition that the emperor should give him a written assurance, that he would attempt to do nothing against the authority of the Chalcedonian council. Anastasius soon endeavored to get rid of him, which he could not do without exciting a tumult among the people. The presbyter Macedonius, in whom, until now, no one had ever witnessed any symptom of passionate zeal, was nominated his successor; but he too must soon incur the imperial displeasure, since he was not willing to lose his character for orthodoxy among the zealots of the party attached to the Chalcedonian council; and therefore connected himself more closely with them than suited the emperor's plans. Besides this, two men of vigorous activity now took the lead of the hitherto headless but zealous Monophysite party; and, in other districts, disturbances arose, the influence of which spread to Constantinople. One of these persons, Xenayas, of Tahal in Persia, had already contended zealously against the Nestorians in his own country. Afterwards, he had betaken himself to Syria; and the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter the clothier, so called after the trade which he pursued as a monk,[1] (originally one of the monks associated with Eutyches at Constantinople,) had made him bishop of the city of Hieropolis or Mabug. By the same dignitary his name also was changed into the Greek form *Philoxenos*, and by this name he is best known as the promoter of the so-called Philoxenian Syriac translation of the New Testament. But with the successor of this Monophysite patriarch, with Flavian, who was more inclined to the doctrines of the

[1] Πέτρος ὁ κναφεύς.

Chalcedonian council, his zeal in disseminating the Monophysite doctrines involved him in a quarrel; for though Flavian was willing to purchase peace by yielding many points, yet nothing could induce him expressly to condemn the doctrine of the two natures. Violent contests ensued, which spread even to the adjacent Palestine.

The second of these two new leaders of the Monophysite party was *Severus*, who came from Sozopolis in Pisidia. While a Pagan, he had devoted himself to the study of the law, in the famous law-school at Berytum, and afterwards became an advocate. At Tripoli in Phœnicia he received baptism, became a monk, and united himself with a society of zealous Monophysites. Banished by a hostile party, he came with a number of his companions to Constantinople, to seek protection from the emperor. He told him that the defence of the Chalcedonian council was the cause of all the disturbances; he sought to introduce a certain addition to the old and venerated church song, the trisagion, (the thrice holy, from Isa. 6,) which might serve as the basis of a coalition between the two parties. Some time before, the above-named Monophysite church-teacher, Peter the clothier, had already added, to one of the invocations to God in that church hymn, the clause, Thou who wast crucified for us, (ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς.) The transfer of predicates, which was expressed in this clause, in fact perfectly coincided with the Monophysite type of doctrine; but it might also, in another sense, precisely after the same manner as the term θεοτόκος had already been adopted into the church phraseology, be admitted by the Duophysites as being opposed to Nestorianism; and so, by this opposite reference of the same term, both parties might come together. Of this ambiguity Severus availed himself; but, in the then existing ferment of minds at Constantinople, this addition appeared as a crass Monophysitism, as impinging on the immutability of the divine essence; and this innovation met with the most determined resistance. While, in the public worship of God, one party sang the old church hymn in its simple form, others burst in, loudly vociferating the added words. Thus the very solemnities of worship were profaned by expressions of worldly passion, and even by bloody contests. As the rumor spread that the emperor favored the addition to the church hymn, and was threatening to remove the patriarch Macedonius, a violent tumult broke forth. The houses of many of the grandees were burned; a monk, who was supposed to be the author of the addition, was seized by the infuriate populace and murdered, and his head was carried about in triumph stuck upon a pole. Then appeared the emperor at the circus before the assembled people, without his crown. He declared himself willing to lay down the government; but all could not reign at once, one must be sovereign. These words had their effect on the excited multitude; the people besought the emperor to retain the government, and promised tranquillity. The emperor took advantage of this favorable moment: he caused the patriarch Macedonius to be removed, and Timotheus, a presbyter who had accepted the henoticon, was appointed his successor. Meanwhile, the emperor saw himself under the necessity, for many reasons, of yielding to the fury of the exasperated

party of the Chalcedonian council, where this predominated. By this exasperation, aid and comfort was given to the insurrection of the military commander Vitalian, which broke out in the year 514; and Anastasius found himself compelled to enter into conditions of peace, to the advantage of the adherents of the Chalcedonian council. He promised to assemble a council at Heraclea in Thrace, and moreover to invite the assistance of the Roman bishop, so that, above all things, the church-fellowship might thus be restored with the latter, which amounted to no more nor less than that the Chalcedonian council should be reinstated in its authority; for no hope certainly could be entertained of making peace with the Roman church, *on any other terms than these*. Yet Anastasius sought to put off the fulfilment of these irksome conditions as long as he could; and the difficulties which were raised by the Roman church in conducting the negotiations for peace, facilitated his plans. The enthusiasm for the Chalcedonian council, and the hatred of Monophysitism and of the emperor Anastasius, who was considered to be its champion, did but mount so much the higher after that emperor's death, and at the commencement of the reign of his successor Justin, in 518.

When John, the patriarch of Constantinople under the new government, made his first appearance at the public worship, he was received by the assembled people with loud shouts, demanding that since the Manichean Anastasius no longer reigned, but the orthodox Justin, the authority of the Chalcedonian council should once more be publicly recognized; that the anathema should be pronounced on Severus, and on all the leaders of the Monophysite party; that all Monophysites should be removed from the imperial court and from the capital;[1] and that fellowship should be restored with the Roman church. The assembled multitude did not desist from their impetuous outcries, till the patriarch yielded. Similar demands of ecclesiastics, monks, and laity, came also from other churches. As the emperor Justin, a rude Thra-

[1] See the protocol in the acts of the council under Mennas, Harduin. T. II. f. 1334 and 1355. The hatred was particularly manifested against the powerful lord chamberlain (Præpositus sacri cubiculi) Amantius. The multitude shouted, in allusion to him: Τὸν λῆρον τοῦ παλατίου ἔξω βάλε. F. 1337. He must doubtless have had great influence under Anastasius, in promoting Monophysitism; for, in calling upon the patriarch publicly to declare himself, it was exclaimed, that, under the reign of a Justin, he needed have no fear of Amantius (οὐ φοβῆσαι Ἀμάντιον τὸν Μανιχαῖον· Ἰουστῖνος βασιλεύει), l. c. Harduin. f. 1339. This Amantius, however, was hated and suspected by the emperor Justin; for he had conceived the project of making a certain count Theocritus emperor, through whom he might hope to be ruler himself. He had for this purpose given a sum of money to Justin, then commander of the emperor's body guard, in order that, by a skillful distribution of it, he might purchase votes in favor of Theocritus. But Justin used the gold in behalf of *himself*, and became emperor. Of course he must now stand in dread of Amantius; and hence soon caused him to be executed. See Evagr. h. e. l. IV. c. 2, Theophanes, Chronograph. at the commencement of the reign of Justin. The assassination of Amantius, however, was deemed a judgment on the heretic. See the popular exclamation in an assembly in the church at Tyre, which likewise demanded the condemnation of the Monophysites. Harduin. l. c. f. 1359: Ἀπέθανεν Ἀμάντις ὁ ἀντάρτης τῆς τριάδος. We discern here the hidden connection betwixt the plots of political and theological parties. The fear of the infection of Monophysitism was in many districts so great, that in Tyre, for example, the Egyptian dealers in wood were not suffered to remain in the city lest they might spread the Monophysite heresy beyond Egypt. L. c. 1356.

cian, who took no interest himself in theological disputes, was governed by his two chief ministers, Vitalian and Justinian, who warmly espoused the doctrines of the Chalcedonian council, he would very easily be persuaded to every measure which favored the interests of this party. New negotiations were entered into with the Roman bishop Hormisdas, and men were ready to consent to all the conditions prescribed by that bishop for the restoration of church-fellowship. Among these was the severe one, that the names of all the bishops who, under the preceding reign, had accepted the henoticon, or attached themselves to the Monophysite party, should be expunged from the church records. To anathematize the leaders of the Monophysite party was a point which might be easily secured; nor was there any hesitation at Constantinople even to surrender the patriarch Acacius to the popular will. But, in many districts, ecclesiastics and churches were not at all disposed to sacrifice the memory of their beloved bishops: they would not suffer themselves to be moved to this by arguments or by threats. New schisms and bloody disturbances were to be feared, if they were forced to this. The emperor himself, therefore, requested the Roman bishop to yield a little on this point.[1] The Monophysite clergymen, however, were deposed from their places. Severus, who had managed to make himself patriarch of Antioch, was threatened with a severer fate through the vengeance of the commander Vitalian, who had been injured by him; but he saved himself by fleeing to Alexandria, where he met with a friendly reception from his Monophysite fellow-believers. There the party was too strong to be prudently attacked.

Justinian, the successor of this emperor, from the year 527, meant to be considered a zealous champion of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Intermeddling in theological disputes was with him a favorite passion; and he would very willingly have been lawgiver to the church, in the same sense as he was to the state: but the more he acted, or supposed he acted, by his own impulse, the more he served as the tool of others, who knew how to influence him by taking advantage of his weakness. Thus was he often obliged to subserve interests to which he was altogether opposed in his own intentions. In particular, his wife Theodora, who governed him, and who was herself attached to Monophysitism, successfully plotted many a scheme for the advantage of the Monophysite party, which he abhorred. She even went so far as to cause to be formed, under the very eyes of the emperor at Constantinople, a Monophysite society, whose branches extended through all parts of the empire, and to procure that a Monophysite should be elevated to the episcopate of the imperial residence; and every thing was prepared to raise up the Monophysites from their state of oppression to being the dominant party. Her principal agent in accomplishing all this was a person by the name of Anthimus. He had once been bishop over the church at Trapezund in Pontus; but, without waiting to be regularly dismissed from the pastoral relation, he had left his flock for the pur-

[1] See the correspondence between the patriarch of Constantinople, the emperor Justin, and the Roman bishop Hormisdas.

pose, as he pretended, of having it in his power to lead a perfectly Christian life as a monk;[1] but probably, if we may judge from the sequel, he was led to this step, like so many others, by more doubtful motives; and the truth was, that the court life had more charms for him than the administering of a pastoral office distinguished by no outward splendor, in an insignificant town. He betook himself to Constantinople; there his ascetic garb procured for him distinguished consideration; he gained the confidence of the empress Theodora, and the alternate residence at the court and at a pleasant villa near Constantinople[2] suited him better than his former secluded life in the pastoral office. This person now drew around him all the most important men of the Monophysite party, who, under the protection of Theodora, visited Constantinople; and amongst these was Severus. At length, by the management of Theodora, Anthimus, in the year 535, was nominated patriarch of Constantinople.[3] Of a surety, the emperor Justinian, who was so zealously orthodox, entertained no other idea than that his bishop was a staunch adherent of the Chalcedonian council. And perhaps the trick would have lasted still longer, and the cunning Theodora would have succeeded in accomplishing still more, if the whole plan had not been frustrated by an accident quite unforeseen, after the deception had been kept up no longer than a year. It happened, that the Roman bishop Agapetus visited Constantinople as ambassador of the East Gothic king Theodoric. Many dissatisfied ecclesiastics and monks took this opportunity of presenting to the Roman bishop, who had less to fear than others from the anger of the empress, and could therefore act more independently at the court, a formal complaint against the bishop Anthimus, charging him partly with erroneous doctrines, and partly with unjustifiable proceedings to obtain the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Roman bishop required him to prove his orthodoxy by a confession of faith, and (in accordance with the church laws of the West, which forbade the transfer of bishops) to return back from the patriarchate of Constantinople to his earlier bishopric, which he had voluntarily abandoned. As Anthimus could not consent to this, Agapetus excommunicated him from the fellowship of the church, and moreover avoided all intercourse with him. The empress was unable to change the mind of the Roman bishop either by promises or by threats. When, through his influence, Justinian came to see how grossly he had been deceived, his indignation knew no bounds. Anthimus was deposed; and at the recommendation of Agapetus, the presbyter Mennas, superintendent of the great hospital at Constantinople, was nominated patriarch.[4]

The new patriarch, in the year 536, invited the bishops who happened to be then present in Constantinople, to meet in a synod (*σύνοδος*

[1] In the first action of the council under Mennas, it is said: *Οὗτος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν καταλιπὼν, καὶ πεπλασμένον βίον ἐγκρατείας ἀναλαβών.* Harduin T. II. f. 1193.

[2] His *προάστειον*, act. IV. sub Menna, f. 1243.

[3] Procopius, in his secret history of the court (hist. arcana), c. 17, says of Theodora: *Αὕτη τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ ἱερωσύνας ἐχειροτόνει.*

[4] See Concil. sub Menna, act. I. Liberat. breviar. c. 21.

ἐνδημοῦσα), for the purpose of putting a final seal on the condemnation of Monophysitism, and its defenders. The emperor Justinian accompanied the decrees of this council with a confirmatory law, altogether worthy of his despotic spirit: "The leaders of the Monophysite party should keep away from the residence and from all the more important cities; they should live quietly and without disturbance as private persons, and take good care how they corrupted others, and led them into blasphemy. The writings of Severus should be burned, and none should be permitted either to own or to transcribe them. Every person who dared to transcribe them should suffer the loss of his right hand." [1]

When the empress Theodora saw her plans defeated, she still did not relinquish her object; but, fruitful of intrigues, endeavored to effect it in another way. She cultivated the acquaintance of the deacon Vigilius, who had come to Constantinople in the retinue of the Roman bishop Agapetus. The ambition of this unprincipled man led her to hope, that she might convert him into a suitable instrument for accomplishing her designs. Agapetus having died, either, as some report, before he left Constantinople, or, according to others, while on his journey home, she held out to Vigilius the promise of a large sum of money and of the Roman bishopric, if he would pledge himself to overthrow the authority of the Chalcedonian council, and to testify in writing that he agreed in faith with Anthimus, and likewise with the other leaders of the Monophysite party. Vigilius consented to the conditions, and the whole intrigue was managed and conducted between two women. Antonina, the wife of the Greek general Belisarius, whose successful campaigns had extended the power of the East Roman empire in Italy, was the confidant of the empress and of her plans, and employed to coöperate with her in carrying them into execution. She worked upon her husband.

In the mean time, Silverius had already been appointed the successor of Agapetus. It was now necessary for him either to make the same engagements which Vigilius had made, or else give place for the latter. But, as he would not consent to sacrifice his convictions for any temporal advantage, he was falsely accused of a design to betray Rome to the Goths, the enemies of the Greek empire; which accusation might derive some color of truth from the fact of the friendly relations formerly existing between the bishop and the king of the East Goths; and it was an easy matter for the faithless Greeks to fabricate records and testimonies. Silverius accordingly was banished, and Vigilius appointed bishop in the year 538.

More could be obtained from him, inasmuch as the cause of the faith stood with him in very slight account. In truth, he had but a very imperfect acquaintance with the controversies relating to it, and the interest he took in them was as slight as his knowledge of them. He confided to the hands of Antonina a letter addressed to Anthimus and the other leaders of the Monophysite party, in which he really expressed opinions wholly in accordance with the Monophysite views,

[1] Harduin. Concil. T. II. f. 1406.

and signified his agreement in faith with them; but at the same time he craftily requested them, in order that he might keep on good terms with all parties, to be careful not to divulge what he had written, but rather to put on the appearance of being particularly suspicious about his faith, so that he might the more easily accomplish what he had undertaken.

While Vigilius then was thus bent on serving two parties, one secretly, the other openly, it was out of the power of Theodora to execute through him a single one of her projects; for he took good care not to make any public declaration in accordance with her views. She thus found that her money and her intrigues had been expended to no purpose; and, in being deceived herself in attempting to deceive others, she met the deserved punishment of cunning perfidy.

But, notwithstanding this, she did not yet give up her object; and in the irresistible propensity of the emperor Justinian to decide on matters which he did not understand, in the various manifold strifes between the theological parties at court, and in the unprincipled character of Vigilius, she could still find means that flattered her with a more favorable prospect of accomplishing that object, or at least of involving the opponents of Monophysitism in a quarrel among themselves. The opportunity for doing this was as follows: The old Syrian church teachers, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas of Edessa, had, from the first, been special objects of the fanatical hatred and the heresy-hunting spirit of the Monophysite party. In the secret bargain which had procured for Vigilius the title of Roman bishop, he had pledged himself also to anathematize Theodore and Theodoret.[1]

From what had happened in a different quarter, the Monophysite court-party, who no longer dared to speak loud, found it in their power to unite with another party at court governed by a doctrinal interest entirely different from their own, for the accomplishment of this plan, which, as we see from the engagement entered into by Vigilius, had been long before projected. We must here cast a glance at certain events, which we shall notice more fully in another connection, but here only in a cursory manner.

The doctrines and writings of Origen, with which but few in the Oriental church were then accurately acquainted, and which in the Western church were wholly unknown, had just at this time met with great acceptance in the cloisters of Palestine; and a party of enthusiastic Origenists had there risen up, who were violently opposed by the zealots for the orthodoxy of the church. But this Origenistic party had so managed as to acquire great influence at court through the agency of two of their own abbots, Domitian, and particularly Theodore Ascidas. These had taken up their residence at Constantinople; and, by their pretended zeal in defense of the Chalcedonian council,

[1] In the above-cited letter to the Monophysite bishops, he concludes with the words: Anathematizamus ergo *Theodorum*, *Theodoretum* et omnes qui eorum statuta coluerunt vel colunt. Even Facundus of Hermiane knew of this secret bargain of ambition. De ipsius episcopi Romani chirographis ambitionis impulsu, quum fieri arderet episcopus, parti alteri factis. Ep. ad Mocian. Sirmond. T. II. 593, E.

won the special regard of the emperor Justinian, and hence possessed great influence in the palace.[1] He made Domitian bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, Theodore Ascidas bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; but, notwithstanding these appointments, they resided at court still more than with their communities, and used their whole influence to protect and to advance the party of their fellow-believers in Palestine. The patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, who was opposed to the Origenists, could not sustain himself against the influence of the powerful court party, and was obliged, in spite of himself, to make many concessions, in order to preserve his patriarchal dignity against the court intrigues which under the emperor Justinian carried all before them. But could the eyes of the emperor be once opened to see what a heretic Origen had been, and what heresies were to be found in his writings, the Origenistic party was lost; and how easily might this be brought about! It actually was brought about by a coincidence of events coming from different quarters.

The patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, who longed to be delivered from the yoke of the Origenistic court party, instructed two abbots, who sided with the opponents of Origenism, to bring before him a formal complaint against the Origenists, setting forth the heresies of Origen in detail. This document he sent to the emperor with a letter, describing to him the commotions excited by the Origenistic party.[2] Besides this, the archdeacon Pelagius, the Apocrisiarius of the Roman bishop, had come to Palestine on some particular ecclesiastical business with which he had been intrusted by the emperor. He was then joined by four monks who accompanied him from Palestine to Constantinople, for the purpose of laying before the emperor extracts from the writings of Origen in proof of his heresies, and procuring their condemnation.[3] To a Roman ecclesiastic, the heresies of Origen would seem extremely dangerous; and perhaps Pelagius was governed by motives of policy, even more than by a solicitude for the purity of doctrines: for he had long been jealous of the great power of Theodore Ascidas at the imperial court;[4] and the condemnation of Origen's doctrines, as heretical, would furnish him an opportune means of procuring his downfall. The patriarch Mennas of Constantinople also, who doubtless had often felt annoyed by the dominion of Theodore, readily entered into this plan; and both united their efforts in urging the emperor to condemn Origen's heresies. To the latter a welcome opportunity was here presented for establishing, by a religious edict, his authority as lawgiver also for the church, which indeed was the grand object of his ambition.[5] In the year 541, he issued a document drawn out in detail, and addressed

[1] Πρώτης παρρησίας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ μετασχόντες. Cyrilli Scythopolitani vita S. Sabæ, § 83. Coteler. monumenta ecclesiæ Græcæ, T. III.

[2] L. c. vita Sabæ, c. 85.

[3] As the letter which the patriarch Peter of Jerusalem sent to Constantinople was the same in substance with that which these four monks presented to the emperor, it might be that these monks, of whom Liberatus speaks, (c. 33,) and whose names are given by Evagrius, (IV. 38,) were no other than the delegates of the patriarch Peter.

[4] Liberatus, l. c. æmulus existens Theodoro.

[5] Liberatus, l. c. Annuit imperator facillime, gaudens se de talibus causis judicium ferre.

to the patriarch Mennas, which was perfectly in character with his despotic temper, and in which he endeavored to show what a detestable heretic Origen was, by enumerating the titles of the several heresies with which he had been furnished in the manner above described. He invited the patriarch to assemble a "home synod," (*σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*,) and cause Origen and his doctrines to be condemned. A copy of these synodal proceedings should be sent to all bishops and abbots, to receive their respective signatures; and, for the future, no person should be appointed a bishop or an abbot, without first condemning Origen along with the other heretics.[1] Similar letters the emperor caused to be dispatched also to the other patriarchs. The execution of this measure would occasion no general disturbance, as the judgment of the church concerning Origen had long since been settled. Mennas held the synod required by the emperor, which decided according to the imperial command.

But the object which it was hoped to accomplish by this condemnation, namely, to effect the ruin of the Origenistic party, was nevertheless defeated; for Theodore and Domitian sacrificed the truth, in order to save their own interests and that of their party; as, indeed, great liberty of accommodating one's self to circumstances was allowed by the principles of this Origenistic party, that the end sanctifies the means, and that the truth is not for all men. *They* likewise subscribed the decrees of the synod, and consequently nothing could be done to them.[2] They preserved their authority at court, and could still secretly work none the less effectually for the interest of the Origenistic party, insomuch that Theodore Ascidas ventured to threaten the patriarch Peter that he would cause him to be deposed, unless he received the Origenistic monks, who had been expelled, back again to their cloisters.[3]

Doubtless, however, notwithstanding their success for the present in defeating the plots of their adversaries, they could feel no security for the future amid circumstances so threatening; for, if their opponents could contrive to expose their hypocritical acquiescence in the condemnation of the Origenistic heresies, and their secret machinations in favor of a party condemned by an imperial command, a heavy disgrace awaited them. They must, therefore, anticipate the blow which might so easily crush them, and endeavor to turn it upon their adversaries. They must seek to draw off the attention of the emperor from the heresies of Origen, by occupying it with something else; they must excite another great commotion in the church which would suffer the Origenistic controversies to be forgotten; thus they could unite with their other object the pleasure of taking revenge on their adversaries, by attacking them on the side of their doctrinal interests. All this was craftily combined in the plan of causing the anathema which had been pronounced on Origen, to fall back on the Syrian church teachers Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret. Such a meas-

[1] For according to the *beautiful* custom, introduced under the emperor Justinian, in order to obtain a spiritual office, it was necessary to subscribe such a condemnation of the most famous heretics, *αἱρετικοὶ οἱ ἐξ ἔθους ἐν τοῖς γινομένοις λιβέλλοις ἀναθεματιζόμενοι.*

[2] Vita Sabæ, c. 85, near the end.

[3] Vita Sabæ, c. 86.

ure would not appear to have come directly from Monophysitism; for even by men who would never consent to be called Monophysites, sentence of condemnation had, in fact, been pronounced, in the controversy with Nestorianism, (see p. 555,) upon Theodore, as likewise upon many of the controversial writings belonging to the first period of the theological polemics of Theodoret. The man who was considered a pillar of orthodoxy, Cyrill himself, though to be sure a favorer of Monophysitism, had in fact condemned those Syrian church teachers as heretics. But as those three church teachers had ever been special objects of hatred to the Monophysite party; as this party had long been laboring to procure their condemnation; as two of them had been justified by the Chalcedonian council; such an attack would, of course, seem very much like a plot of the Monophysite party. What was known about the influence of the empress Theodora would serve to confirm this suspicion. The Origenistic party secured, then, by this undertaking, an opportunity of vexing their opponents, who, like Mennas, were zealous defenders of the authority of the Chalcedonian council, and violently opposed to Monophysitism. They might expect, that this proposal would create vastly greater commotions than the Origenistic controversies, and thus sink the latter in oblivion. They thus secured an opportunity also of forming an alliance with the Monophysite court party favored by the empress Theodora, which was still in existence, and of gaining thereby an important support. Whether they were also actuated in this case by the particular interest of a theological party, in causing Theodore, an opponent of the Origenistic school, to be condemned as a heretic, may remain doubtful; for this Origenistic party were more particularly interested in the peculiar *doctrinal* opinions of Origen, which, to be sure, were closely connected with his allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures; but Theodore of Mopsuestia had, strictly speaking, attacked only the principles of that method, while, in other respects, he decidedly agreed with Origen in many of his peculiar views of doctrine; as, for example, in the doctrine of restoration, which under Origen's name had been pronounced heretical.[1]

[1] That Theodore Ascidas had it in view, by these new commotions which he was the means of exciting, to bring the case of Origen into oblivion, is not only asserted by Evagrius, (IV. 38,) ἐτέρωθι τούτους ἀφέλκειν ἐθέλων, but declared also by one of the heads of this party, Domitian himself, in a letter to the Roman bishop Vigilius: Hi vero qui proposuerunt hujusmodi (Origenis) dogma defendere, id implere nullo modo voluerunt; sed talem relinquentes conflictum, conversi sunt adversus Theodorum, et moliri cœperunt, quatenus anathematizaretur et ille, ad abolitionem, ut putabant, eorum, quæ contra Origenem mota constiterant. Facund. Hermian. l. IV. c. 4. The same Facundus hints at the connection here with the schemes of the Monophysites: Horum (of the Origenists) satellitio functa gens Eutychianorum perfida, ea quæ per se contra Chalcedonense concilium sæpe tentaverat, per ipsos latentes aggressa est, qui nobis non videbantur hac parte suspecti, l. I. c. 2. Liberatus assigns, as the chief motive, the disparaging of the authority of the Chalcedonian council, and, as a subordinate one, the hostility to Theodore, because he had written against Origen, c. 24: Eo quod Theodorus multa opuscula edidisset contra Origenem, et maxime quod synodus Chalcedonensis laudem ejus susceperit. The former is confirmed also by Facundus of Hermiane, when he says that Theodore, by his work written against Origen, de allegoria et historia, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the Origenists, l. III. c. 6, unde odium Origenianorum incurrit. Still, however, it may have been nothing more than

It would be no difficult matter to point out to the emperor Justinian many passages in the writings of Theodore, which could not fail to appear to him extremely offensive; and, besides this, it was possible here to take advantage not only of his ruling passion generally, which was to set himself up as a lawgiver of the church, but also of another favorite plan, which at that very juncture he was agitating. He was using his efforts to bring back the Monophysites to reunite with the dominant church. For this reason, he was about to bring out under his own name a work in defense of the Chalcedonian council against the objections of the Monophysites. But now Theodore Ascidas and Domitian represented to him, that he would be able to effect his object in a much shorter and more certain way. The Monophysites, said they, particularly object to the council of Chalcedon and its adherents, that they have approved of Theodore, and of many writings of Theodoret and of Ibas of Edessa, which apparently favor Nestorianism. Now, if Theodore and those particular writings were condemned, this charge would be at once refuted. An important obstacle which had hitherto stood in the way of the recognition of the council of Chalcedon among the Monophysites, would thereby be removed at a single stroke; and if the emperor, by bringing about this condemnation, succeeded in restoring peace to the church, he would thereby confer on the church an immense obligation, and secure for himself an enduring renown.[1] Such a plan, so craftily presented, could not be otherwise than agreeable to Justinian; and the more so, as the influential Theodora, who understood the whole affair, gave it her firm support.[2]

The emperor was now urged to issue an edict as soon as possible on this subject; for the party was well aware, that, when he had once done this, he would consider it as a matter involving his own imperial authority and honor, and would never be turned from it. In the year 544, Justinian published the edict, which, from the three repeatedly mentioned points of which it treats, afterwards obtained the name of the edict de tribus capitulis, (*περί τριῶν κεφαλαίων.*) By this edict, which is known to us only from fragments, the anathema was pronounced on the person of Theodore and on his writings, on Theodoret's writings against Cyrill, and on the letter of Ibas,[3] as well as on all the defenders of the three chapters. The emperor was desirous, at the same time, of carefully guarding against everything which might seem like a disparagement of the authority of the Chalcedonian council, extending the anathema to those also who should draw any inference from this document to the prejudice of the council of Chalcedon.

This edict was now, in the first place, sent through the whole empire and laid before the bishops, for the purpose of obtaining their written

a wrong conclusion which led to this conjecture; for it is evident, for the reasons above cited, that this design was not connected, so very closely at least, with the interests of the Origenists; but at the same time it might have been a subordinate motive in the minds of enthusiastic followers of Origen.

[1] Liberat. c. 24. Scribendi laborem eum non debere pati, quando compendio posset acephalos omnes ad suam communionem adducere.

[2] As Liberatus expressly intimates, l. c.

[3] Designedly expressed as follows: Quæ *dicitur* ab Iba esse facta.

assent to it. Had it been possible in this way to secure the individual votes of all or of a majority of the bishops, the matter could have been so represented, as if the edict had been received by the whole church. But, in the case of an edict of this sort, the thing was not so easy to be effected as in the case of the edict against Origen; for the new edict appeared at once to be an attack on the authority of the council of Chalcedon, and a favoring of the Monophysites. Very much depended on the votes of the four patriarchs of the East, as these had the greatest weight with the other bishops. The patriarch Mennas of Constantinople expressed himself at first utterly opposed to the substance of the edict, because he saw in it a disparagement of the authority of the council of Chalcedon. He declared next, that he would wait till he could learn what was the decision of the Roman bishop. At length, however, he yielded to the authority of the emperor, and gave in his written acquiescence, but with the proviso that, in case the Roman bishop declared against the condemnation of the three chapters, his own declaration should be withdrawn.[1] So it turned out also with the other three patriarchs of the East, who in the first place declared against it, but were induced, on being threatened that they should be deposed, to subscribe their assent.[2] The example thus set was now followed by the other bishops.[3] Those who subscribed, received splendid gifts; the few who declined, were deposed and banished.[4]

But, if the emperor found it easy to carry through his design in the East, which was so accustomed to slavish obedience, he met with the more determined resistance, from the first, among the bishops and clergy in North Africa, which country, just liberated from the despotism of the Vandals, was about to be exposed to that of the Byzantines. Here a more independent and free spirit in church life had been transmitted from the school of the great Augustin. Here, men had learned how to contend for the faith, under the persecution of the Vandal kings. Those only who had already become accustomed to change their opinions like a coat, to please the party in power,— who under the Vandals had been Arians, and under Justinian had again exchanged Arianism for a zealous adoption of the Nicene doctrine,— entered now also warmly into the condemnation of the three articles.[5] When the imperial edict, with the demand for signatures, first arrived in North Africa, the bishop Pontianus replied to the emperor, that those writings to which the edict referred were as yet unknown in those parts. But, even if they were

[1] Facundus Hermianens. l. IV. c. 4. Facundus here very justly reproaches him with being more concerned about the judgment of a man than the judgment of God. In quo satis ostendit, de judicio se potius humano, quam divino esse solicitum.

[2] Facundus, l. c

[3] A characteristic description of the Greek bishops is to be found in a document of this period: Sunt Græci episcopi habentes divites et opulentas ecclesias, et non patiuntur duos menses a rerum ecclesiasticorum dominatione suspendi: pro qua re secundum tempus et secundum voluntatem principum quidquid ab eis quæsitum fuerit, sine alteratione consentiunt. From the letter of the Roman clergy to the Frankish envoys at Constantinople. Mansi Concil. T. IX. f. 153.

[4] Liberatus, towards the end.

[5] As Facundus (lib. contra Mocianum) says of a certain one: Qui Vandalis regnantibus Arianus fuit, deinde imperio succedente Romano cum tempore versus est, ut catholicus videretur, nunc etiam de palatio præjudiciis religionis catholicæ exortis eadem sequitur.

acquainted with those works, and if they found in them much that was at variance with the doctrines of the faith, they might be on their guard against such passages, but would not hastily condemn their authors, who were already dead. If such writers were still living, and would not themselves condemn the errors objected to them, then with all propriety they might be condemned. But now, they stood before the infallible judge, from whom there was no appeal. He concluded with saying, that the emperor would do well to take heed, lest, in seeking to condemn persons who were already dead, he might fall into the great mistake of condemning to death, for their disobedience, many now living; and lest he should at last be called to account for this by Him who would come to judge the quick and the dead. As among the Africans, so also among the bishops of Illyria and of Dalmatia, the edict met with determined resistance.

So many tokens of an unfavorable disposition towards the imperial edict having manifested themselves in the Western church, where the arm of Byzantine despotism was not so strong, it seemed the more important to the emperor, that the people of the West should be wrought upon through some weighty authority in the church. Hence, above all, he must seek to gain over the voice of the Roman bishop Vigilius, from whom, owing to the fickleness of his character, no very decided resistance was to be apprehended; and who had in truth already pledged himself in favor of the Monophysite court party; — a fact of which the emperor, indeed, was not aware, but which was doubtless well remembered by the party which had a hand in all these intrigues. Vigilius, who possessed neither the learning, nor the independent judgment in theology, which qualified him to decide with safety on these disputed matters, was, in all probability, the person who, at the very outset, instructed his two deacons, Anatolius and Pelagius, to get a learned ecclesiastic of Carthage, the deacon *Fulgentius Ferrandus*,[1] to draw up an opinion on this subject. They directed him to consult with the bishop of Carthage, or with other wise and judicious men; and they themselves expressed a suspicion, from which doubtless we may infer what was the then disposition of Vigilius himself, that this whole business might have originated in a secret plot of the Monophysite party.[2]

Thereupon, Fulgentius Ferrandus, in a free-spirited reply, declared decidedly against the reception of the imperial edict, for three several

[1] This Ferrandus is also known to us through his work entitled Christian Rules of Life, (qualis esse debeat dux religiosus in actibus militaribus,) written for the Comes Reginus, who probably filled the post of governor of North Africa. In this production he shows himself to be a man quite zealous and alive for practical Christianity, actuated by a warm philanthropy, and as fearlessly independent as he was prudent and sensible. He warned the count against the tricks whereby the governors of this period contrived to gain the emperor's favor, deceiving him with regard to the lamentable condition of the provinces, and finally bringing the latter to the very verge of ruin. He gives the count the following seven rules, which he goes on to unfold and explain: I. Gratiæ Dei adjutorium tibi necessarium per singulos actus crede. II. Vita tua speculum sit, ubi milites tui videant, quid agere debent. III. Non præesse appetas; sed prodesse. IV. Dilige rempublicam sicut te ipsum. V. Humanis divina præpone. VI. Noli esse multum justus. VII. Memento te esse Christianum.

[2] Facund. Hermian. l. IV. c. 3.

reasons: I. The supreme authority of general councils, particularly of those held with the consent of the Roman church, which, according to the sacred scriptures, held the first rank. Hence, what had once been decided by the council of Chalcedon ought not to be subjected to any new investigation. Let the decisions of the council be attacked, even but in a single article, and its entire authority was immediately unsettled. A distinction between determinations of fact and determinations of doctrine he would not admit to have any force. II. That persons deceased were removed from the jurisdiction of a human tribunal; and, for the sake of the dead, an occasion of offense ought not to be placed in the way of the living. III. No individual man should attempt to procure for his writings, by the subscriptions of many, that authority which the catholic church conceded only to the holy scriptures. No such fetters ought to be imposed on the judgment of church-teachers: it should be left free for each to determine, with regard to the dictum of an individual, what he felt obliged to approve, and what to condemn. Men should not bind themselves by such subscriptions, if they would leave themselves any opportunity of correcting their judgment afterwards, on a clearer manifestation of the truth.[1] Vigilius appeared resolved at first to follow the principles here expressed: but the emperor hoped easily to overcome his scruples, by means which his absolute sovereignty put within his power; and, as it was so very important to make sure of the voice of the Roman bishop, he sent for him to come to Constantinople. He admonished him, with the patriarchs and other bishops, to study for that peace which Christ loved more than all sacrifices. But Vigilius did not seem inclined to follow this admonition, in the sense in which the emperor intended it; for, while on his journey, he wrote to the patriarch Mennas, that the peace of Christ was a different thing from the peace of the world.[2] After his arrival at Constantinople, A.D. 547, he bore himself at first according to the same spirit. He excluded the patriarch Mennas, and all the bishops who had concurred in the condemnation of the three articles, from the fellowship of the church.[3] But his firmness did not last long. He suffered himself to be drawn, in the first place, into a secret written declaration, pledging himself to the condemnation of the three articles.[4] Through Vigilius, the emperor now sought to work upon a synod assembled at Constantinople; and the Roman bishop himself was anxious to give his first public declarations, in this way, a more advantageous appearance, and, by issuing them in fellowship with the large body of bishops, to secure himself from the reproaches which he had reason to apprehend. But owing to the energetic resistance of the North African bishops, especially of Facundus of Hermiane, this hope was defeated.

[1] A noble protest in favor of freedom of theological inquiry against an effort of this sort to fetter the universal judgment: Patienter ferat pius scriptor sollicitudinem piam requirentium veritatem, nec festinet auditorum tenere manum; sed per suavem sensum paratus meliora sentientibus consentire. L. c. c. 8.

[2] Lib. contra Mocianum, f. 594, A.

[3] Contra Mocian. f. 594, D. Theophanes, in the twentieth year of Justinian's reign, but where things which happened at different times are confounded.

[4] Occulta ejus ante judicium pollicitatio tenebatur, in qua se spopondit eadem capitula damnaturum, c. Mocian. 592, D.

Vigilius having failed of his purpose in the *assembly* of bishops, he made the experiment of negotiating with them individually; and in this way he was more successful. He contrived to bring it about, that his first public declaration, his so-called *judicatum*, appeared with the signature of seventy bishops.[1] But this step provoked against himself a serious opposition. Even the two deacons who accompanied him, Rusticus and Sebastian, ventured to stand against him; and they took care that the judicatum of Vigilius should speedily be spread far and wide. They accused him of having detracted from the authority of the Chalcedonian council; they were not afraid even to renounce church-fellowship with him, and a party of the clergy took sides with them. Vigilius, it is true, in a letter describing their conduct, and full of invectives, pronounced on them sentence of deposition;[2] but he had against him the public opinion of the Western church. The free-minded voices of the North-African bishops would here have great influence.

Among these is to be named especially the bishop Facundus of Hermiane. Having first entered into a thorough investigation of the questions in dispute, he came to a decision, and ever afterwards abode with unshaken constancy by the result at which he had arrived with clear conviction. In defense of it, he wrote a treatise eminently characterized by qualities seldom to be met with in this age, — a freedom of spirit unshackled by human fear, and a candid, thorough criticism, superior in many respects to the prejudices of the times.[3] Nobly did he protest against the uncalled-for dogmatism which had ever been the source of so much mischief to the Greek church; these useless disputes having in fact proceeded from no other cause. "While," he said, "in all other arts and occupations, no one presumed to pass judgment on what he had never learned; in matters of theology, on the contrary, they who learned the least were the most arrogant and peremptory in their judgments.[4] When the civil power overstepped its province, it might indeed plunge numbers in ruin, by misleading them to deny the truth with their lips; but still it could never effect its object, for it could not instill into the minds of men other convictions than they had: its power reached only to what was outward, not to the soul."[5] He spoke with scorn of those bishops who accused themselves, in pleading, in excuse of their behavior, the constraint under which they were placed; for it was not even the force of torture, but only the fear of the emperor's displeasure, which had brought them to yield.[6] "As if,"

[1] Contra Mocian. f. 593, C. and the preface to the work of Facundus pro defens. trium capitulor.

[2] See epistola ad Rusticum et Sebastianum. Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 176.

[3] Pro defensione trium capitulorum libri XII.

[4] L. XII. c. 4. Nam et suas habent officinas vel artifices omnia quæ ex proposito doceri videmus. Nunquam enim de textrino personare incudes audivimus et ignem illic in fornacibus anhelare. Nunquam comperimus a sutore quæsitum quæ cujusque fabricæ longitudini proportio latitudinis conveniret et quanta utriusque congrueret altitudo, quoniam illi integre scire possunt, qui ab ipsius artis sunt præceptoribus instituti. Solæ in contemptu sunt divinæ literæ, quæ nec suam scholam nec magistros habent, et de quibus peritissime disputare se credat qui nunquam didicit.

[5] Etsi vocem contradictionis abstulerit, animum certe mutare non potuit. Aliquos jus mundanæ potestatis ecclesiæ valet auferre, nullum tamen sibi acquirere.

[6] Against the excuse of Vigilius: Nos

said he, "we had been ordained bishops for no other purpose than to be enriched by the presents of princes, and to sit with them among the high authorities of the state. But if, amidst the many cares of the state, through the deceitful arts of the wicked, of which there is never any lack, any thing has been admitted by them which tended to injure the church or to disturb its peace, as if it were not our duty to set before them the truth for their own benefit, and, if it be necessary, to resist them with the authority of religion, and patiently endure their displeasure if we must incur it.[1] If God should now raise up an Ambrose," said he, "there would not fail to be a Theodosius."[2]

Although Vigilius reprimanded his antagonists with a tone of authority, yet he was not so firm as he wished to appear. The examples of the North-African and Illyrian bishops must have given him some sensations of shame. The North Africans had formally excommunicated him by a synodal decree, reserving to him nothing but the penance of the church.[3] The general voice of the Western church, which accused him of betraying the church out of regard for men, was by no means a matter of indifference to him. He wished to take back with a good grace what he had declared and sworn in so many different ways. To open the way for this, he importuned the emperor that he would cause the decision of the matter to be deferred to a general council, which the Western bishops also should attend. In the midst of a large multitude, the individual, forsooth, would have less to fear. Nor was the emperor by any means disinclined to this measure; for he could not but welcome the opportunity which such an assembly would afford him of putting down, by an overwhelming church authority, the opposition to the condemnation of the three articles; and the more, as religious agitations might bring on a political ferment dangerous to the unsettled state of his newly founded Western empire. Now, as a general council would pass a decision of so much greater weight, Vigilius prevailed on the emperor to give up to him for the present his own judicatum. Justinian was resolved, however, that his edict against the three articles should not fail, and that he would use the council only as an instrument for its confirmation and execution. But, as he had no great confidence, perhaps, in the fickle-minded Vigilius, he determined to make sure of him by putting him under an oath. And Vigilius was pusillanimous enough to take such an oath as the emperor was pleased to dictate, — an oath by which he bound himself to the degradation of acting as the emperor's blind instrument and secret spy. He

contra respondemus, quod ultro per ambitionem pollicitatione facta peccaverit, nec ulla sustinuerit tormenta, quibus cessisse credatur. Contra Mocian. f. 595.

[1] Quasi vero propter hoc tantum ordinati sumus episcopi, ut ditemur principum donis, et cum eis inter maximas potestates consedeamus, tanquam divini sacerdotii privilegiis fulti: sicubi autem fallaciis malignorum, quæ nullis temporibus defuerunt, aliquid eis inter tantas reipublicæ suæ curas subreptum fuerit, quod ecclesiæ Dei præjudicet vel ecclesiæ pacem turbet, non eis debeamus pro ipsorum salute quæ sunt vera suggerere, et si necesse fuerit, religionis auctoritate resistere, ac patientes offensionem quoque illorum, si acciderit, sustinere. L. IV. c. 4.

[2] Si nunc Deus aliquem Ambrosium suscitaret, etiam Theodosius non deesset. L. XII. f. 584, D.

[3] See the chronicle of the African bishop Victor of Tununum. Canisii lectiones antiquæ ed. Basnage, T. I. f. 332.

promised in it, that, heart and hand with the emperor, he would do all in his power to carry through the condemnation of the three articles. In defense of them he would neither directly nor indirectly do or say anything, nor enter into any secret councils. And should any individual propose to him anything that conflicted with these decisions, anything that concerned the three articles or the faith, or that was contrary to the interests of the state, he would make the individual known to the emperor, as well as all that he said, on condition, however, that the emperor should not attempt the life of any such person, and, out of regard for the honor of his sacred office, that he should not betray the informer. He was quite sensible, then, in what sort of light he must appear, as a Roman bishop, playing such a part.[1] The emperor, having, as he supposed, made sure of Vigilius, summoned, in 551, the bishops from Illyria and from North Africa, to a council to be held at Constantinople. The former did not attend, as they perfectly understood the object in view, and were resolved to have nothing to do with it. A part of the African bishops complied with the summons. The emperor endeavored to move them by bribes, by friendly words, and by threats. Several stood out firmly against his arbitrary will; and these suffered violent persecutions, partly under the false charge of political offenses. Among these latter was the bishop Reparatus, of Carthage, who was deposed from his office and condemned to exile; and his chief agent, (Apocrisiarius,) the deacon Primasius, obtained, as his reward for condemning the three articles, the *privilege* of being thrust as their bishop on the unwilling church of Carthage.[2] Not without tumults and bloodshed,[3] the churches in North Africa were deprived of their beloved bishops; while others were substituted in their place, who consented to serve as the slaves of the court. The governor of this province made search for all those bishops, of whom it might be expected that, owing to their character, or to their want of an independent theological judgment of their own, they might be easily led, and sent them to Constantinople to add, by their presence, to the number of those who condemned the three articles.[4]

When Justinian found it still impossible to do as he wished with the bishops of Illyria, Dalmatia, and North Africa, he next proceeded to

[1] The words of Vigilius, taken from the form of the oath, published first by Baluz, are: Et si quis mihi aliquid contrarium dixerit aut de istis capitulis, aut de fide aut contra rempublicam, istum sine mortis periculo pietati vestræ manifestabo et quæ mihi locutus est, ita ut propter locum meum personam meam non prodas. Mansi Concil. T. IX. f. 364.

[2] This Primasius should not be confounded with another Primasius, bishop of the city of Adrumetum in Buzazene, who was at first steadfast, but afterwards consented to take a bribe. Perhaps this latter is the same person who is the author of the commentary on the epistles of Paul, and on the Revelation.

[3] Procopius says of the emperor Justinian, of whom, in general, he judges more correctly than the Greek historians of this time: Ἓἰς μίαν ἀμφὶ τῷ Χριστῷ δόξαν ἅπαντας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρε· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐδόκει φόνος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, ἢν γε μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης οἱ τελευτῶντες τύχοιεν ὄντες. Hist. arcan. c. 13.

[4] See the narratives of the bishop Victor of Tununum, who was himself obliged to suffer exile, imprisonment, and bodily ill-treatment, as a defender of the three articles; and the report of the Roman clergy to the Frankish envoys.

urge the bishop Vigilius to unite with the obedient Greeks in condemning the three articles. Disregarding his remonstrances, he issued a new edict still more full in its details, which wore the appearance rather of a doctrinal treatise, than of an imperial decree. This, as it would appear, contained a justification of the sentence against Theodore; and hence a number of pretended blasphemous expressions were cited from his works, and many of the passages chosen for this purpose only betrayed the exceedingly narrow mind of the inquisitorial judge. At the same time, he defended himself against the reproach, that such a sentence tended to impair the authority of the council of Chalcedon; and he now supposed that he had deprived the Monophysites of all reasonable excuse for remaining separated from the dominant church. This edict Vigilius was required to subscribe; but the example of the North-African and Illyrian bishops had given him courage. He sent to demand of the emperor, that he should revoke his edict; he ought to wait for the common decision of the bishops, and either cause the Western bishops who had taken offense at what had hitherto been done, to attend the assembly in person, or else permit them freely to give in their written opinions. He threatened all who should receive the imperial edict, with excommunication. Such downright contradiction was more than the despotic Justinian could bear. Vigilius was obliged, in August, 551, to take refuge from the wrath of the emperor in a church.[1] An imperial officer with an armed force attempting to remove him from that place, he fled to the altar, to which he clung so firmly, that it came near being overturned with himself to the ground.[2]

The emperor having at length promised him safety upon his word and oath, he returned to his usual residence, where, however, he was treated like a prisoner. Disgusted at this confinement, he escaped during the night, two days before the Christmas festival, not without considerable danger, and took refuge in the church of St. Euphema, at Chalcedon. When the emperor invited him once more, by an honorable embassy, to leave this asylum, and promised to give him the most sacred pledges of personal security, Vigilius sent back the reply, that no further sacred pledges were needed, if he would but restore back to the church the peace it enjoyed under his uncle Justinus. But the emperor, who wished and hoped for the coöperation of Vigilius in carrying out his designs on the council, entered into a new train of negotiations with him, and at length succeeded in persuading him to leave the church.

From seven to eight years having now passed amidst these unfruitful controversies, which, destitute of all doctrinal interest, proceeded solely from the intrigues of court-parties and from the arbitrary will of an individual; the Roman bishop having been now detained six years to no purpose at Constantinople; it was finally determined, that a general council for the determination of this dispute should be assembled

[1] Beati Petri basilica in Ormisda.

[2] In his letter of complaint ad universum populum Dei: Et super nos etiam ipsa altaris mensa ceciderat, nisi clericorum nostrorum fuisset manibus sustentata. Theophanes, chronograph: Ἐκεῖθεν ἑλκόμενος κάτεσχε τοὺς βαστάζοντας τὸ θυσιαστήριον κίονας, καὶ τούτους κατέστρεψε βαρύς ὤν.

at Constantinople, in the year 553, under the patriarch Eutychius[1] — a great undertaking for an object which, measured by its intrinsic importance, was so comparatively insignificant. When Vigilius was invited to take part in this council, he declined; but declared himself ready, within the space of twenty days, to hand in his written judgment on the whole matter; and, in case he did not fulfil his engagement within that term, to accede to all the decrees of the council. The latter accordingly proceeded to their business, independently, and without waiting for the decision of the Roman bishop. Vigilius fulfilled his promise, and published his decision in his *constitutum ad imperatorem.* In this he declared, indeed, that the propositions which had been taken from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia were heretical; but immediately subjoined, that it was never allowable to condemn, after his death, a teacher who had died in the communion of the church. The writings, however, of Theodoret and of Ibas, having been approved by the council of Chalcedon, could not be rejected without impairing the authority of that council. Everything which might be done or written against this decision, from whomsoever it might come, he declared to be null and void. The emperor, who regarded himself to be the supreme lawgiver of the church, thereupon sent a letter to the assembled council, in which he declared, that Vigilius had, by his defense of the erroneous doctrines of Nestorius, and Theodore, and their companions, cut himself off from the fellowship of the church; and his name should therefore be expunged from the church records. He made a distinction, however, between the person of the individual Roman bishop, and the apostolic see or the Roman church; the fellowship of the latter should thereby be in nowise affected. The council followed the emperor's orders, and decided according to the imperial edict. The anathema was pronounced on the person and the doctrines of Theodore, as well as on the defenders of them; but with regard to Theodoret and Ibas, only on those particular writings, because both had afterwards recalled their erroneous doctrines, and accordingly had been acknowledged as orthodox by the Chalcedonian council. All who refused to submit to this judgment should, if they were ecclesiastics, be deposed from their places, and, if laymen, be excommunicated. Accordingly, several worthy bishops of Illyria and of North Africa, who did not yield to the ruling power, were deposed from their places and banished.

The strong desire to be released, and permitted to return home to

[1] This Eutychius, general superintendent (καθολικὸς) of all the monks in the metropolitan church of Amasea in Pontus, had just at that time been sent to Constantinople by his bishop, as his representative at the council, when the old patriarch Mennas died there. By his zeal (perhaps on his part, with his narrow views, honestly meant) against the heresies of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and for the condemnation of the three articles, he gained the particular favor of the emperor. Among other things, it is said that Justinian — which accords well with his taste — was highly gratified, when Eutychius, in answer to those who would not allow that it was permitted to anathematize the dead, affirmed it as a certain truth, that men were both warranted and in duty bound to pronounce the anathema on heretics even after their death; for king Josiah had caused the very bones of the priests of Baal to be burned after their death. 2 Chron. 34. Justinian rewarded his zeal by bestowing on him the patriarchate. See the account of the life of Eutychius, by the presbyter Eustratius, in the Greek, in actis sanctorum. Appendix to the VI. April, § 22.

his bishopric, caused Vigilius again, and for the last time, to waver. He agreed finally to a new declaration, in which he retracted all he had written in defense of the three articles, and confirmed the decrees of the council of Constantinople. Upon this he obtained permission to return to Rome, but died on the journey, A.D. 555.

Thus, then, the arbitrary will of an emperor, governed by court intrigues, brought it about, that a great church-teacher, whose influence had been of no small weight on the development of theological doctrines, should be denounced as a heretic; while the fickle mind of a Roman bishop, whose instability of character made him the sport of circumstances, must triumph over the better spirit of the Western church.

But what was the result of these disputes? The project that hovered before the imagination of the emperor, of uniting the Monophysites with the dominant church, was not attained; for the authority of the council of Chalcedon, which was held fast by the majority, remained an abiding wall of separation between the two parties. And *in the Western church*, arose a new schism, which continued to exist in the following times, as the effect of the condemnation pronounced by the council of Constantinople, and adopted by the Roman church. The churches of Istria, and all those which stood under the metropolitan of Aquileja, renounced, on this account, the fellowship of the Roman church.

As the emperor Justinian, in the matters of which we have thus far spoken, was made use of sometimes by this and sometimes by the other court-party, as an instrument of their intrigues, while he supposed himself to be zealously contending for the purity of doctrines; so towards the end of his reign, subservient to the same party passions, and legislating on matters which he did not understand,[1] he was upon the eve of calling forth new disastrous controversies in the Oriental church. A party among the Monophysites, who followed the doctrines of Xenayas and of the bishop Julian of Halicarnassus, derived, as a necessary consequence from the union of the deity and humanity in one nature in Christ, the proposition, similar to one which had already been maintained by Clement of Alexandria and Hilary of Poictiers, that the body of Christ, even during his earthly life, was not subjected, by any necessity of nature,[2] to sensuous affections and wants, such as hunger, thirst, and pain; but that, by a free determination of his own will, (*κατ' οἰκονομίαν*,) he subjected himself to all these things, for the salvation of man:—which view went under the name of *Aphthartodocetism*.

It is easy to see, that this theory, seriously as the purely human element in Christ was thereby affected, would be agreeable to many who were actuated by a misconceived desire of honoring Christ by depriving him of all human affections. And moreover, the adherents of the doctrine of the two natures might suppose, they could consider this as a consequence flowing from the union of the two natures in one person;—

[1] *Περισκοπῶν μὲν τὰ μετέρα, περίεργος δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει.* So Procopius describes him, hist. arcana, c. 18.

[2] All that was included in the conception of *φθορὰ*, of the *παθητὸν εἶναι*, as a consequence of sin.

just as, on several other points, they agreed with the Monophysites, — namely, in approving the expressions, "God was born," "God suffered," and in denying all want of knowledge on the side of Christ's human nature (or Agnoëtism, as it was called). Perhaps, at the same time, a secret court-party favoring the Monophysites, although their head, the empress Theodora, had long since died, had a hand in this matter. And certainly the enemies of the patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople could not have devised a better means to involve him in controversy, and perhaps indeed to bring upon him the whole displeasure of the emperor.[1] As the emperor Justinian was strongly inclined to favor the most extravagant expressions which caused the human attributes of Christ to be entirely forgotten in the divine; as he had already, while a minister of state under the preceding reign, and afterwards at the beginning of his own reign, zealously defended the formula, which also was first brought into use by Monophysites,[2] "One of the Trinity suffered," when it was introduced into the church by certain Scythian and Constantinopolitan monks (the so-called Theopaschites); as he had, in 533, confirmed this formula by an edict, and given himself no rest till it was adopted also in the Roman church; so now, in his advanced age, he thought he could do no greater work for the honor of Christ and the expurgation of his own sins, than, by a new edict, to make Aphthartodocetism a law. Already was it determined to force obedience to this edict after the usual manner; already had the patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople[3] been deposed and banished for contradicting it; already a similar fate was threatening Anastatius, the patriarch of Antioch; and partly a new disgraceful bondage, partly new inward distractions, were impending over the whole Oriental church, when, by the death of this emperor, which followed soon after, — an emperor whose long reign had been the occasion of the greatest mischiefs in the Greek church, — it was delivered, A.D. 565, from these new evils.

APPENDIX.

The Formation of Separate Church Parties, in consequence of these Disputes, beyond the Limits of the Roman Empire.

While the several church parties which grew up out of these controversies within the Roman empire had to yield to the sovereign power; in other lands, where a different religion from Christianity was the religion of the state, they were at full liberty to express and to propagate themselves; and the hostile relation in which they stood to the ruling church doctrine in the Roman empire contributed, in those countries, to render the government favorably disposed to them.

[1] The biographer of Eutychius accuses the Origenists especially of participating in these plots. This charge may indeed have arisen from the hatred of a heretical party: at the same time, however, Aphthartodocetism might easily be held in connection with the peculiar views of this party.

[2] As an addition to the Trisagion.

[3] Eutychius conducted with firmness and dignity: he persisted, even after a thrice-repeated summons, in protesting against the judgment of an illegal synod.

This was true especially of the *Nestorians*. The most eminent seat from which this sect extended itself in Persia, was a flourishing school for the education of Persian divines in the city of Edessa, in Mesopotamia. (See p. 183, *n.* p. 611.) This city now became, immediately after the conclusion of the first Ephesian council, the theatre of the most violent disputes which grew out of the opposite views of doctrine which then agitated the church. The bishop of this city, whose name was Rabulas (see above), and who, before this, was on friendly terms with the other Syrian church teachers, had, at a later period, attached himself wholly to the side of the patriarch Cyrill; and he associated himself with the most violent zealots against that which went under the name of Nestorianism, insomuch that he even ventured publicly to pronounce the anathema on those venerated teachers of the Syrian church, Diodorus and Theodore. He met with a determined resistance, however, from many of the clergy, and especially from the presbyter Ibas, a person who stood in high estimation, and to whom the teachers of the above-mentioned Persian school attached themselves. The latter were banished by the tyrannical Rabulas; and, by their means, first, a tendency favorable to Nestorianism was introduced into Persia. Still more, however, did the presbyter Ibas himself, by his famous letter to the bishop Mares or Maris, of Hardaschir, in Persia, and by translating the works of Theodore and Diodorus into the Persian church language, which was the Syriac, contribute to diffuse, if not a predilection for Nestorius, yet an aversion to Cyrill, and a tendency of doctrine, with which zeal for the tenets of Nestorius might easily be associated. In this letter to the bishop Maris, he appears by no means as a friend of Nestorius. He says that this latter, as well as Cyrill, had given offence by his controversial writings. He blames him for having drawn down accusations on himself by his attack on the name θεοτόκος, applied to Mary; as in truth all the moderate Orientals were agreed on *this point* with Ibas. But yet he spoke with more rancour against Cyrill, whom he accused of teaching the *one*ness of nature of the deity and humanity, and of falling into Apollinarism.

When Ibas wrote this letter, the above-mentioned treaty of coalition had been concluded betwixt Cyrill and the Orientals. Ibas announced it with great triumph to his friend: he regarded the confession of faith laid down by the bishop Cyrill as a recantation on his part, — as a token of the victory of pure doctrine, and of the universal restoration of tranquillity.[1]

Very soon, no doubt, he must see that he had been deceived in his expectations, as may be gathered from what has been related above; for he himself had in truth a great deal to suffer for a long time afterwards, until he was justified by the council of Chalcedon, from the enthusiasts for the doctrine of Cyrill. In the meantime, he became, in 435, the successor of Rabulas, as bishop of Edessa. By his means, probably, the seminary for Persian church teachers was reëstablished, and it regained once more its former influence. The persecutions which

[1] The fragment of this letter is in the Acta Concil. Chalc. act. X. Harduin. T. II. f. 530.

Ibas afterwards had to suffer from the zealots of the opposite party, and the behavior of this party under the guidance of a Dioscurus, all this would of course be only suited to confirm the Persian Christians in their predilection for the oppressed party, to which they had attached themselves.

But the individual who contributed most to found and establish the Nestorian church in Persia was Barsumas, one of those Persian teachers who had been driven away by the bishop Rabulas. His long and active labors, from 435 to 489, as bishop of the city of Nisibis, gave him the best opportunity for this. Although the accounts of later Jacobite historians, especially such as Abulpharagius and Barhebræus of the 13th century,[1] respecting the artifices he is said to have employed to determine the Persian king, Pherozes, in favor of his own party and against the dominant church of the Roman empire, do not appear to be altogether worthy of credit; yet there can, at least, be no doubt that political reasons must have moved the Persian kings to favor a separation of the Christians of their kingdom from the Christians of the Roman empire, and Barsumas doubtless might skilfully turn these reasons to the advantage of his own party.

When, in the year 496, Babæus, who was one of this party, became, as patriarch of Seleucia, the head of the Persian church, he held a synod, by which the Nestorian church-party was completely organized. It became distinguished also from the rest of the Oriental church, by allowing bishops and presbyters to marry.[2]

The Greek emperor Zeno broke up, it is true, in the year 489, the Persian seminary at Edessa, on account of its Nestorianism. The consequence of this, however, was the transfer of the school to Nisibis, where it could freely develope itself under the Persian government, and only flourished so much the more. From this school arose others among this church party; and through many centuries it contributed to diffuse great enthusiasm for Christian knowledge and theological culture, and particularly for biblical studies, to which the spirit of a Theodore of Mopsuestia had given the incentives; and the Nestorian churches became an important instrument of diffusing Christianity in Eastern Asia.

The same was true also with regard to the propagation of the *Monophysite* party. In Egypt, the native country and proper home of this sect, it ever continued to exercise an important influence. But, when the emperor Justinian sought to enforce there as elsewhere the recognition of the authority of the council of Chalcedon, and to appoint those as bishops there who were devoted to the doctrinal system of that council, the Monophysites of this country renounced their connection with the dominant church, and maintained themselves as an independent sect, under their own patriarchs. Their party, after all that had transpired before, must have been the most numerous one. As the Egyptian church was the mother of the Ethiopian, this state

[1] See especially the extracts from them, Assemani bibl. oriental. T. III. P. I. f. 391, &c.
[2] Assemani T. III. P. II. f. 79.

of things would naturally have an influence also on the church in Ethiopia.

The Monophysite church developed itself with more freedom in Armenia. The persecutions waged against the Monophysites probably contributed to bring about the insurrection of the province of Greater Armenia, which facilitated the conquest of this country by the Persians. To the Persian ruler Chosroes, the separation of his new Christian subjects from the Christians of the Roman empire would of course be welcome, and he was desirous of confirming it. Under him, Nierses, the first bishop or catholicus of the Armenian church, held a synod at Thiven, in 536, at which the Monophysite system was confirmed, and the anathema pronounced on the Chalcedonian council.

The credit of having done most to preserve, establish, and extend the Monophysite party in Syria and the adjacent countries, belongs to a man distinguished for indefatigable zeal in the cause to which he had devoted himself, for enterprising activity and a courage that despised all dangers. In those regions, owing to the deficiency of clergy, of which the emperor Justinian had found means to deprive them, the Monophysite party was threatened with becoming gradually extinct, when certain imprisoned bishops of this sect united together, and ordained, as the general metropolitan of their church, the monk and presbyter Jacob, from the cloister of Phasitla in the district of Nisibis, a man inured to deprivations and hardships, and of unshaken firmness and constancy. With great rapidity, and not without many dangers, he traversed, under the disguise of a beggar,[1] the Syrian provinces and those adjacent; he confirmed, by his exhortations, the oppressed party, and ordained clergy for them; he gave them a superior in the patriarch of Antioch; and labored for them himself, during a period of thirty-three years, until A. D. 578, as a bishop, probably at Edessa. From him proceeded the name of Jacobites, which was applied sometimes to the whole sect, sometimes to a part of it only.

The peculiar bent of mind, however, in which the Monophysite system had originated, could not fail of soon becoming the source of internal divisions among themselves,— that spirit which turned away from living Christianity, and would fain confine the essence of faith to these or the other dogmatic formulas. The doctrine of the one nature of Christ, for the sake of which they had separated from the dominant church, still contained matter enough for dialectical disputes; and the differences which now began to be discussed among themselves, showed how completely, notwithstanding the controversy had originally a deeper foundation, men had finally lost themselves in wilful disputes about terms and phrases, without any disposition to understand one another in respect to the conceptions attached to them. Thus in fact it came about, that, amidst these controversies, many among the Monophysite party agreed in their doctrinal views with the adherents of the Chalcedonian council, except that they always substituted, instead of two

[1] From this circumstance it is said he received the surname Al Baradai,—Baradæus, the man in rags.

natures in one person, one nature in one person. Thus the party of Severus at Alexandria maintained, that deity and humanity, although united in one nature, yet retained unaltered the attributes corresponding to their proper essence; and they agreed therefore, in this respect, with the doctrinal conceptions of the Chalcedonian council. Stephanus, surnamed Niobes (Νίοβης or Νιόβος), an Alexandrian rhetorician or sophist, found something inconsistent in this view, judged from the position of Monophysitism; and he became the founder of a distinct party, who were called *Niobites*.

This disputed question was extended to the spiritual and corporeal attributes of Christ's humanity. Severus maintained, conformably to his principles, and agreeing in this respect with the Duophysites, the doctrine of Phthartodocetism in opposition to Julian of Halicarnassus. Themistius, a deacon at Alexandria, who belonged to the party of Severus, in applying this principle to the soul of Christ, fell, in truth, into the same species of *Agnoëtism*, which had already been denounced as heresy in Theodore of Mopsuestia.

By the controversies of the Monophysites with the theologians of the dominant church, the study of dialectics was greatly promoted in their theological schools; and this study found abundant nourishment in the works of Aristotle, who, still earlier than this, had by many been united with, or even preferred before Plato.[1] Dialectical acuteness was thus excited; and it is only to be lamented, that it should have been, for the most part, wasted upon such unprofitable investigations, and could only move within the contracted circle of the church system of doctrine then in vogue. Yet trained in the midst of this sect were two men, eminently distinguished for freedom and originality of mind. One of them, the learned and acute John, surnamed, on account of his literary activity, the laborious, (ὁ φιλόπονος,) lived in the last times of the sixth, and the beginning of the seventh century. He was an Apologist,[2] and a zealous polemical divine.[3] But while he was intending to attack, with his Aristotelian dialectics, the adherents of the Chalcedonian council, and was thereby led to employ the conceptual determinations of Aristotle, after a very inadequate manner, in explaining and unfolding the doctrine of the Trinity, as, it is said, had been done already by Ascusnages, a learned Monophysite, at Constantinople, he drew upon himself the charge of heresy from the side of his own party. He was wishing, namely, to show his opponents, that, if they

[1] As early as the end of the fourth century, Libanius, in speaking of such as had come from the schools of Athens, mentions, in connection with the cloak, not the Academy and Plato, but the Lyceum and Aristotle. See Libanius' Discourse Πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὴν παιδείαν αὐτὸν ἀποσκώψαντας. Vol. III. ed. Reiske, p. 438. So in fact the Armenian David, who was educated at Athens, introduced the study of Aristotle into Armenia, near the close of the fifth century. See Memoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de David, par C. F. Neumann, Paris, 1829.

[2] He wrote against Proclus and Jamblichus. Against the work of the latter, in defense of image-worship. Photius (see Cod. 215) was not entirely satisfied with this work. Did Philoponus perhaps express himself on this occasion against images after the same manner as the Monophysite Xenayas? See vol. II. p. 331.

[3] In his Commentary on the history of the Creation, he attacked with the Aristotelian logic, particularly, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

taught the doctrine of two natures in Christ, they must necessarily suppose also two hypostases. To make this out, he distinguished, as an Aristotelian, the twofold employment of the term *nature* (φύσις.) By this was understood either the universal conception of the kind, (the εἶδος ἐννπόστατον,) or nature in the concrete, the individual beings in which the universal was expressed and coined into particular existence, (the ἰδιοσύστατος τῆς φύσεως ὕπαρξις, the ἄτομα.) Now, when men spoke of two natures in Christ, they certainly did not understand, by the divine nature, the common divine essence, but the divine Logos, one of the three hypostases, in which the community of the divine nature, as of the divine essence, was contained. Even in speaking of a human nature, the human nature in general was not here meant; else it would be necessary to say, that the Logos united himself with all the men who ever had lived or who ever would live, for all these certainly belonged to the universal conception of the kind; but an altogether determinate human nature was meant, with which alone, among all, the Logos united himself in this manner. It was plain, therefore, that, in this employment of it, the term φύσις was perfectly identical with the term ὑπόστασις, and that accordingly, in supposing two natures, it would be necessary to suppose also two hypostases in Christ.[1] Now, by fixing upon such comparisons as these, which Philoponus employed, his enemies might, not without plausible grounds, accuse him of making the conception of the divine essence a mere conception of the kind, and of thus falling into Tritheism. To the very same result came the schoolman Gilbert of Poictiers, in the twelfth century, by a like employment of Aristotelian formulas.

The second of these men, Stephanus Gobarus, (Στέφανος ὁ γόβαρος,) belongs also to the party founded by Philoponus. We know, it is true, of but one book under his name, from the list of its contents by Photius;[2] but this suffices to signalize him as a man of rare freedom of spirit for these times. While others aimed, for the most part, simply to point out the common church tradition in the teachings of the ancient church, and while the differences among these were willingly kept out of view; this man, on the contrary, ventured to bring together the opposite affirmative and negative decisions of the ancient church-teachers on doctrinal and exegetical questions, in some cases on important points, under fifty two heads; and among these were to be found several expressions of venerated fathers of the church, which at that time might well appear offensive. Certainly it could not have been his object in this, to exalt the authority of the church tradition.

As it was frequently the case, that, in opposition to, or along-side of, the dialectic bent, a mystical tendency developed itself in theology, so it happened also among the Monophysites. A cloister at Edessa,[3] in Mesopotamia, had for its head, in the last times of the fifth century, an

[1] See the interesting fragment from the polemical work which Philoponus wrote, entitled ὁ διαιτήτης, *the arbitrator*, in Johannes Damascenus de hæresibus.

[2] Cod. 232.

[3] From these districts came also the Euchites, (see vol. II. page 276,) in whose mysticism a good deal of a kindred character may be found.

abbot by the name of Bar Sudaili, who had busied himself in various ways with that mystic theology which always formed one of the ground-tendencies of the Oriental Monachism, and from which had proceeded the writings fabricated in the name of Dionysius the Areopagite; as in fact he appeals to the writings of a certain Hierotheos, whom the Pseudo-Dionysius calls his teacher.[1] He stood at first on intimate terms with the most eminent Monophysite teachers, and was very highly esteemed by them. But, as his mystic theology came into conflict with the church doctrine, he drew upon himself the most violent attacks. Espousing the peculiar views of Monophysitism, and more particularly as they were apprehended by the party of Xenayas, he maintained that, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one divine essence, and as the humanity formed one nature with the godhead in Christ, and his body became of like essence to the divinity, (was deified,) so through him all fallen beings should also be exalted to unity with God, in this way would become one with God; so that God, as Paul expresses it, should be all in all.

If it is true, as it is related,[2] that on the walls of his cell were found written the words, "All creatures are of the same essence with God;" we must suppose that he extended this assertion so as to include not only all rational beings, but all creatures of every kind, and that his theory was,— as all existence proceeded by an original emanation from God, so by redemption all existence, once more refined and ennobled, would return back to him. But the question then arises, whether he understood this, after the pantheistic manner, as a return to the divine essence with the loss of all self-subsistent, individual existence (as it has often been observed, that mysticism runs into pantheism); or whether he supposed that, with the coming into existence of finite beings, sin also necessarily made its appearance, but that by the redemption this contrariety was removed, and now at length the individual existence of the creature should continue to subsist, as such, in union with God. Our information is too scanty to enable us to decide this question.[3] As a transition-point to that universal restoration, he supposed a millennial kingdom of exalted happiness on earth at the close of the earthly course of the world. That he entertained the same sensual notions respecting

[1] In the Pseudo-Dionysian writings cited by him, there were θεολογικαὶ στοιχειώσεις, (ground-works of theology,) and ἐρωτικοὶ ὕμνοι, (alluding to love in the sense of the mystics.) Abulpharagius (in Assemani B. O. T. II. f. 291) says that Bar Sudaili fabricated a book under the name of this Hierotheus, in confirmation of his own peculiar opinions; but he adds himself, that by many it was held to be a work of Hierotheus. It is probably therefore a mere conjecture of this Monophysite author, that Bar Sudaili was the writer of that book. It might possibly be, that Bar Sudaili found an older apocryphal book, under this name, among the monks, and used it in support of his doctrines

[2] This, however, may perhaps have been an invention of his enemies; since in fact they also affirmed, as the inscription was no longer to be found in his cell, that he had erased it, when the thing began to be noised abroad. The same opinion is said to have been expressed in his books, only in a more concealed manner; but it may be a question, whether men did not *imply* in these writings a sense foreign to their true contents, from hostile feelings or from misconception.

[3] See the letter of the Monophysite bishop Xenayas to Abraham and Orestes, presbyters of Edessa, in Assemani. T. II. f. 30.

this millennial reign as the older Chiliasts, we cannot assume to be proved by the accusations of his opponents without the addition of more decisive testimony. This would not be consistent, at least, with his mystic theology ; and his mystical expressions might easily be misconstrued by those who considered them in a hostile spirit. But neither are we warranted to pronounce the charge utterly false ; for combinations of a mystical and a sensuous tendency admit of being psychologically explained, and are not without example. Like the older Chiliasts, Bar Sudaili taught that the Sabbath of that millennial period of rest, the Sunday, answered to the commencement of a new, higher, eternal order of the world, after the universal restoration. By means of a mystical interpretation of the Bible, he sought to introduce his doctrines into the sacred Scriptures, and for this purpose wrote commentaries on the Psalms. He boasted of higher revelations, whereby the more profound sense of scripture had been laid open to him. He called the sacred scriptures dreams, and his own expositions the interpretation of dreams. It was assuredly not his intention by this to disparage the authority of the Bible, but only, after the usual manner of the Theosophists, to mark their obscurity for ordinary men. The Bible contained nothing but hints, intimations of higher mysteries, and hence could be understood only by those to whom the Spirit communicated the intuitions of these mysteries. But when this person was accused of having declared all sacraments to be superfluous, as well as all moral discipline ; of having taught that each individual might live according to his own sinful lusts ; it is evident, from the way in which these charges are laid, that they proceeded solely from an unjust fabrication of consequences. Because Bar Sudaili taught the destiny of all would at length be the same by reason of the universal restoration, it was inferred that, according to this doctrine, then, nothing at all depended on the different conduct of men, and each individual who continued to live in his sins would nevertheless share at last in the same blessedness with all the others. But Bar Sudaili would certainly have been far from admitting the correctness of these inferences.

d. Anthropology.

Having concerned ourselves, thus far, with those doctrines which especially called into play the speculative interest predominant in the Oriental church, we now pass to the subject of Anthropology, in whose development the practical spirit prevailing in the Western church was chiefly interested. We noticed already, in the preceding period, the germs of opposite tendencies in the mode of apprehending the doctrines connected with this subject : from these germs, unfolded to more decided and strongly marked opposition to one another, the controversies of *this period* proceeded. From that doctrine which forms the central point for Christianity and for the Christian consciousness, the doctrine of redemption, arise two sides or moments in the apprehension of Anthropology, which, in order to the perfect satisfying of the Christian interest, must become united. Redemp-

tion must certainly be met, on the one side, by the consciousness of the need of it, — the consciousness of moral insufficiency, — of the servitude and bondage of man in his natural condition; on the other side, by the consciousness of a germ in human nature which is allied to God, and which longs after deliverance; by the consciousness of a moral freedom, as the necessary condition, both to the acknowledgment of sin and guilt, without which no redemption can be talked of, and to the appropriation of the offered redemption itself. Christianity, which announces itself as the principle of a new birth and a new creation, presupposes in human nature, on the one side, the consciousness of a foreign element ruling within it, troubling and limiting its original essence, from which it must be made free, — the need of a moral transformation and restoration of that nature. On the other side, Christianity presupposes, on this very ground, the consciousness of a divine element related to itself, in which its transforming and ennobling agency is to find a point of union, — in which the new creation is to develop itself; as, through the new creation, what was planned in the original one is carried on to its actualization and fulfillment. According as the one or the other of these complementary moments became especially prominent, so the two chief tendencies in the apprehension and shaping of this doctrine ever formed themselves. One of these particular modes of apprehension became especially prominent in the North African church, through Tertullian; the other, in the Alexandrian church, through Clement and Origen; yet so that, notwithstanding the relative predominance of the one or the other of these moments, they still remained united, and the two tendencies were still held together by means of the common Christian consciousness at bottom. One of these tendencies, then, continued, generally speaking, to be the predominant one in the Oriental, the other the predominant one in the Occidental church. The sense of corruption, the consequent feeling of the need of redemption in man's nature, of grace as a power for the moral transformation of the corrupt nature, this was particularly unfolded in the Western church; while, at the same time, however, the church still persisted in regarding the free moral self-determination as the condition presupposed by the inworking of this higher, divine principle. In the Oriental church, on the other hand, Christianity was also acknowledged, it is true, as a divine communication of life, transcending the limits of man's original nature: in Christianity there was acknowledged to be a higher divine creation; and, proceeding from the first sin, there was acknowledged to be a corruption of human nature, which must be cured by the redemption. It was regarded in particular as a consequence of the first sin, that human nature had become subjected to mortality, to sensuous defects and excitement, and to the manifold temptations to sin.[1] It was simply held to be essential to affirm grace and free-will at the same time, without attempting exactly to define the relation of the two to each other; it was only sought carefully to avoid everything that might seem to favor arbitrary will on the

[1] The σῶμα ψυχικὸν and ἐμπαθές, as contradistinguished from the earlier ἀπάθεια. See vol. I. sect. 4, p. 620.

part of God in the election of men, — an unconditional predetermination, — which might seem to impair the doctrine of the divine love and justice, and of man's free-will. And, since now, however, the new creation might be regarded either in the light of a restoration of the original, a healing of the evil adhering to human nature; or, on the other hand, as the deification of the merely natural, whereby human nature was lifted up to a grade even above the level of its original constitution, the first mode of apprehension prevailed rather in the Occidental church, the second in the Oriental. With this latter point of view, indeed, might also be easily united a false separation of the divine and the natural.

The two different modes of apprehension here pointed out correspond to two different processes of religious culture pursued by the individual, according as the case was that he had arrived at the new position of Christian life more suddenly, through a violent crisis, by which the whole life was divided into two parts sharply opposed to each other, or more gradually, through many continuous transitions. This, therefore, on the whole, was the relation which the doctrinal tendencies of the two churches bore to each other. We turn to the more particular consideration of the *Western church*. To the peculiar character of the Eastern church we shall return again hereafter.

As representatives of the tendency we are about to consider, at the stage of development it had reached previous to the breaking out of these disputes, we may take Hilary of Poictiers and Ambrose of Milan.

In considering the scheme of doctrine which prevailed among the Latins, it is important to notice, that, in their ancient translation of the New Testament, the words ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον (Rom. 5: 12) were rendered, "in quo omnes peccaverunt." This furnished some apparent ground for the representation, that all mankind sinned in Adam; though we by no means intend to say that the above erroneous translation was the *only* ground on which such a doctrine reposed. The ground of it doubtless lay still deeper than that, in facts and enigmas of the moral self-consciousness, — in the same which also presented a foothold for the various schemes of doctrine concerning the soul's preëxistence. At all events, however, this erroneous translation was the means of bringing it about, that the above representation of all mankind having sinned in Adam should be universally received as an undeniable foundation of doctrine. This proposition, *Hilary of Poictiers* makes his starting point, when, in commenting on Matth. 18: 13, he understands by the ninety and nine sheep which went not astray, the angels, and by the one lost sheep, mankind; inasmuch as all humanity partook in the one sin of Adam.[1] As to the way in which this connection of the sin of Adam with the sin of mankind is to be conceived, it is a point which he explains no further. But thus much is clear, that from this he derived a sinful inclination

[1] Commentar. in Matth. XVIII. § 6. Ovis una homo intelligendus est, et sub homine uno universitas sentienda est. Sed in unius Adæ errore omne hominum genus aberravit.

cleaving to all men; as, for example, where he speaks of sins to which men are led by the bent of their nature.[1] Accordingly he says, that by baptism we are delivered from the sins of our birth, are separated from the propensities of our progenitors, and lay aside the old man with his sins and his unbelief.[2] *All* moral evil, however, Hilary seems to refer to the sensuous nature; while in the soul he recognizes the indestructible image of God.[3] Thus the contrariety betwixt the inner and the outer man is to him no other than that betwixt spirit and sense.[4] To him all men appear standing in need of the forgiveness of sin, by reason of the moral defects which cleave to them. "The works of righteousness," says he, "would not be sufficient to deserve perfect blessedness, unless the mercy of God, in those cases where the will was bent on righteousness, also forbore to impute those faults which proceed from the fluctuation and inconstancy of the human passions."[5] Human mutability, dependence on the inconstancy of the affections, preclude, according to Hilary, the possibility of perfect virtue. In comparison with God, no man can be called good. There is no perfect virtue but that which remains unchangeably the same. In man we can speak only of relative goodness: in single moments a man may be called good, either with reference to his intentions or to his actions; but this is not an abiding state with him, — a view of the matter, we must allow, which proceeds from a somewhat superficial way of considering it, since in moral life the individual moments do not admit of being thus insulated from their connection with the whole. "Human passions," says he, "vary by alternation: thus, for example, by injuries man is irritated; by fear he is disturbed; by love he is differently affected; by hatred he is impelled, etc. But still, in the moments when our will or our act is a good one, it cannot be otherwise than that we should be what we are."[6] The words of Christ, that he was not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance, he explains as follows: Our Saviour would thereby have us to understand, that as he was come in behalf of all, so all must see themselves to be sinners, in order to partake of the salvation which is through him.[7] So he says, "By faith, that is obtained which the law could

[1] Ad hæc nos vitia naturæ nostræ propellit instinctus. Tract. in Ps. I. § 4.

[2] In Matth. X. § 24. Ab originis nostræ peccatis atque auctoribus separamur, a patris et matris affectionibus dissidemus, veterem cum peccatis atque infidelitate sua hominem exuentes.

[3] Thus he says of Job: Formatus intra matris vulvam et per virtutem Creatoris in substantia animæ ad Dei sui imaginem figuratus, eum, qui ex incremento accessit profectum editi corporis congemiscit, in quo sibi in malis seculi et infirmitatibus carnis vitiisque vivendum sit. In Ps. CXIX. § 12.

[4] Cum interior homo spiritus opera desiderat, exterior voluptates corporis concupiscit. In Ps. CXXIX. § 6.

[5] Non enim ipsa illa justitiæ opera sufficient ad perfectæ beatitudinis meritum, nisi misericordia Dei etiam in hoc justitiæ voluntate humanarum demutationum et motuum vitia non reputet. In Ps. LI. § 23.

[6] Idcirco perfecta bonitas in nullo est, quia eam naturalium perturbationum incentiva demutant. Sed tamen, cum in bonitatis sumus vel voluntate vel gestis, non possumus vel tunc non hoc esse quod sumus. Et quamvis imperfecti ad id simus, nec semper id simus, quod tamen sumus in tempore, licet per naturæ infirmitatem demutationi bonitatis obnoxiis, non adimitur nobis bonos nos vel tum esse, cum sumus. In Ps. LII. § 11.

[7] Omnibus venerat. Quomodo ergo non se justis venisse dicit? Erant ergo, quibus necesse non erat, ut veniret? Sed nemo justus ex lege est. Ostendit ergo, inanem justitiæ esse jactantiam. In Matth. IX. § 2.

not bring to pass; faith alone justifies."[1] But justification is manifestly to be understood here in the objective sense. According to this, then, we might suppose Hilary would have been unwilling to admit the possibility of a righteousness consisting in the fulfillment of the law. This, however, is not his opinion. We find here a want of clearness in respect to the conception of the law, which afterwards, as we shall see, presented a foothold for Pelagianism. Failing to distinguish the two different modes of apprehending the law, first according to its eternal, divine matter, its spirit and essence; and secondly, the law in its particular, Mosaic form, in the outward statutes of this politico-theocratical constitution, the law expressed in commandments having reference to outward actions; failing to distinguish and hold apart these two different applications of the conception, and having his mind fixed on the last-mentioned reference, he was enabled to distinguish the standing ground of a righteousness consisting in the fulfillment of the law, by which one might, even without any knowledge of Christ, attain to a certain stage of blessedness, and the standing ground of the higher righteousness by faith, which could be communicated only through Christ.[2] In proof of such a standing ground of righteousness by the law, he refers to the words of Paul (Rom. 10 : 5), in which, we must allow, he applies a meaning altogether opposed to the thought of the apostle;[3] as if he intended to say, that, on the standing ground of law, it would have been possible for man to really fulfill it by works, and thus attain to life. But this mistake grew out of his neglecting to distinguish the sense of the word according to the original connection in which it is employed in the Old Testament, and according to the application given to it by the apostle Paul. Over against the laborious and painful righteousness of the law, and the sin-burdened life of the world, he places the gentle yoke of Christ, under which the practice of goodness is made easy by love; though in this case he fails rightly to explain how this is connected with, and grounded in the peculiar principle of the new Christian life. "Those who painfully struggle along," says he, "under the difficulties of the law, and those who are burdened with the sins of the world, Christ calls to himself; and he promises to make their way easy and their burden light, if they will but take his yoke upon them, that is, subject themselves to his commands, and come to him under the holy sacrament of the cross; because he is meek and lowly of heart, and they shall therein (by submitting to his commands) find rest to their souls: holding out the allurement of an easy yoke and a light burden, that he may bestow on those who believe on him the knowledge of the true good. And what easier, what lighter burden is there than this; to take delight in abstaining from sin, in willing what is good, in loving all men, in hating none, in attaining to things eternal, in not being

[1] Remissum est a Christo, quod lex laxare non poterat; fides enim sola justificat. In Matth. VIII. § 6.

[2] Nec ambiguum est, eos in viventium libro esse, qui antea sine ulla Christi cognitione pie in lege versati omnia præscripta legis impleverint. Scribuntur autem in libro justorum, quibus justitia Christus est factus. In Ps. LXVIII. § 24.

[3] In the passage just cited: De quibus secundum legem apostolus Paulus ita docuit: quia qui fecerit ea, vivet in illis.

carried away by things present and temporal, in being unwilling to do to others what you would not choose to suffer yourself?"[1] Now the only thing made prominent here is the standing ground of a new and higher moral knowledge; yet, in addition to this, we must take from other passages the sense of the forgiveness of sin imparted by Christ; nor should we neglect to notice the sacramentum crucis, of which mention is here made. Moreover, he undoubtedly presupposes the communication through Christ of a new principle of divine life, which belongs to the essence of the justitia fidei, — to justification in the subjective sense; since he constantly admits the necessity of a coöperation of grace and free-will, in order to the vigorous growth of the Christian life.

Thus he says,[2] "As the organs of man's body cannot exercise their activity unless certain other causes supervene, as, for example, the eye cannot see if there be no light; so the human soul ever possesses indeed the capacity of knowing God; but, unless it receives by faith the gift of the Holy Ghost, it will not attain to the light of that knowledge. Yet the gift of Christ is free for each man's acceptance, and that which is denied to none is bestowed on each, just so far as he will receive it. The Holy Spirit is the light of the soul; but we must long after it, we must labor to participate in it, and then preserve it within us, by faithful obedience to the divine commands."[3] "It is the extreme of folly and of impiety," says he in another place,[4] "not to see clearly that we live in dependence on God, and derive everything from God, and, in whatever we undertake or expect, to rely chiefly on our own ability, when the truth is, that whoever has anything in himself can have it only from God. To God, then, must all our hopes be directed." He considers it very important to set forth distinctly, that all the operations of divine grace are conditioned on man's free-will, — to repel everything which might serve to favor the notion of a natural necessity, or of an unconditional divine predestination. He quotes Ps. 58 : 45, to prove that sin cannot be considered as anything innate, but must be referred to a guilty hardening of the will;[5] for the godless man is here compared to a serpent that stops its ear to the voice of the charmer. Every day is the word of God held forth in opposition to the power of sin in man, to ward off and overcome it. They who hearken not to the voice of

[1] In Matth. XI. § 13. Legis deinde difficultatibus laborantes et peccatis seculi oneratos ad se advocat, demturumque se laborem onusque promittit, si modo ejus jugum tollant, mandatorum scilicet suorum præcepta suscipiant, eumque sacramento crucis adeant, qui corde humilis et mitis sit, et in his animabus suis requiem inveniant; jugi suavis et levis oneris blandimenta proponens, ut credentibus ejus boni scientiam præstet, quod solus ipse novit in Patre. Et quid jugo ipsius suavius, quid onere levius, probabilem fieri, scelere abstinere, bonum velle, malum nolle, amare omnes, odisse nullum, æterna consequi, præsentibus non capi, nolle inferre alteri, quod ipsi sibi perpeti sit molestum?

[2] De trinitate, l. II. § 35.

[3] Expetendus est, promerendus est, et deinceps præceptorum fide atque observatione retinendus. To the term *promereri*, according to the Latin usus loquendi of this period, the conception of merit, in the strict sense of the term, is not to be attached.

[4] In Ps. LI. § 20.

[5] In Ps. LVII. § 3. Ne vitium referri posset ad originem, præduratæ in his ad obediendum voluntatis crimen exprobrat.

the gospel are therefore the generation of vipers.[1] Expounding the Scriptures conformably with his doctrinal interest, he could find even in the passage, Rom. 9 : 13, which is altogether at variance with his fundamental position, nothing else than a divine predestination conditioned on the foreknowledge of the bent of the human will.[2] For the rest, it may be gathered from what has been said, how much remained still vague and self-contradictory in the doctrine of Hilary. There was a necessity for new developments, and a more distinct presentation of oppositions hitherto concealed.

Ambrose may well be regarded as forming the intermediate link between the course of doctrinal development which had till now prevailed in the Western church, and the great man from whom a new epoch commences, — namely, Augustin. Ambrose expresses himself still more strongly than Hilary on the moral corruption of man, and its connection with the first sin. Thus he says :[3] "We all have sinned in the first man ; and, with the propagation of the *nature*, the propagation of the *guilt* also has passed from one to all. In him *human nature* sinned." In one aspect, the corruption which passed from the first parent to all his posterity seems here to be derived from the law of natural propagation ; in another, a certain inherent connection seems to be supposed between the first member of the human race, as one in whom the whole kind was already contained in the germ, and all the later members of the race.[4] Yet Ambrose speaks, in other places, only of the personal guilt which each individual man has to bear,[5] and derives from the first sin nothing but the excitement to sin, not a guilt transmitted to posterity.[6] Concerning grace also, as the exciting and efficacious cause of all conversion, he declares himself still more strongly than Hilary ; but he too supposes the operations of this grace are conditioned by human recipiency. "Redemption," he says, "is given gratuitously, not according to the merit of works, but according to the free will of the giver, according to the election of the Redeemer. Why did some of the Israelites attain thereunto, others not ? The latter did not, because they were for justifying themselves ; because they were proud of their works ; because they did not believe, and would not acknowledge grace. The elect attained unto it, because they heard Him who called them, received Him who came unto them. Since all do not desire to be healed, but the greatest number avoid it, he heals those who will suffer themselves to be healed, and forces no man against his will. The Lord

[1] L. c. Cum ei (antiquo serpenti) quotidie ne fallat, ne subrepat, ne mordeat, etiam sub divini nominis denuntiatione, mandetur, et tamen obstructo desævit auditu : ex quo non obedientes evangelio natio viperarum sunt.

[2] L. c. Sic Esau alienatus ab utero est, cum major minori serviturus, etiam ante quam existeret, nuntiatur, Deo futuræ non nescio voluntatis, ipso potius hoc sciente, quam aliquo ad necessitatem genito naturamque peccati.

[3] Apologia David altera, § 71.

[4] Exposit. Evang. Lucæ, l. VII. p. 234. Potest et hic in uno accipi species generis humani. Fuit Adam, et in illo fuimus omnes. Periit Adam, et in illo omnes perierunt.

[5] Ps. XLVIII. § 9. In die judicii nostra in nobis, non alienæ iniquitatis flagitia punientur.

[6] L. c. Magis lubricum delinquendi, quam reatum aliquem nostri esse delicti.

calls the indolent, and awakens those who sleep. He who comes to the door and knocks, is willing, only, to enter. But it is our fault, if he does not always enter, if he does not always abide with us. That true light shineth to all; but he who shuts to his windows, robs himself of the light eternal."[1] It is true, however, that, in two passages, Ambrose expresses himself in such a way as to refer all that is good in man solely to the agency of God as the operative cause, without mentioning the human self-determination as a necessary condition. When he says: "Christ brings it about, that that which is in and of itself good, appears to be good also to us; for he calls him on whom he has mercy. Accordingly, he who follows Christ, and is asked, why he will be a Christian, may reply: *It so appears to me* that I must be one. And by so saying, he does not deny that God's good pleasure has so ordered it; for it is by God the will of man is first excited; for that God is loved and adored by the saint is the effect of God's grace."[2]

This passage might, perhaps, be understood to mean that the human self-determination, the *mihi videtur*, is something free merely in appearance, but properly grounded in the determining act of the divine will which determines all things, through which it is brought to pass that it *so* appears to the man as it *does* appear.

This thought comes out still more strongly in the following words of Ambrose in the same work: "God calls those whom he deigns to call; whom he will, he makes religious."[3] Now if we understand these passages as meaning that a grace determining man's will with irresistible necessity is here supposed, then, inasmuch as this supposition contradicts the assertions of Ambrose above quoted, we must admit that conflicting elements entered into his view of the faith; as in fact such appearances sometimes manifest themselves at the point of transition from one stage of development to another; and as we might very naturally expect it would happen in the case of a man who was not an original and systematic divine, but spoke rather according to the momentary impulse of his feelings. But although the freedom of the divine election and the creative agency of grace are made particularly prominent in these passages, still they do not imply any necessary exclusion of the state of recipiency in the individual as a condition; and, accordingly, this assertion of Ambrose admits of being easily reconciled with the assertions first quoted.[4] In another

[1] See in Ps. XLIII. § 47, in Ps. CXVIII. § 13. De interpellat. David. l. IV. § 4.

[2] In Lucam, l. I. § 10. Christus, ut id quod bonum est, nobis quoque videri bonum possit, operatur; quem enim miseratur, et vocat. Et ideo, qui Christum sequitur, potest interrogatus, cur esse voluerit Christianus, respondere: visum est mihi. Quod cum dicit, non negat, Deo visum; a Deo enim præparatur voluntas hominum. Ut enim Deus honorificetur a sancto, Dei gratia est.

[3] In Lucam, l. VII. § 27. Deus quos dignatur, vocat, et quem vult, religiosum facit.

[4] Augustin, in his work "de dono perseverantiæ," § 49, cites both these passages of Ambrose as testimonies in favor of the doctrine of grace working all. It may be, perhaps, that the mode of teaching pursued by Ambrose was not without its influence on him; but he was certainly not led by it to the doctrine of absolute predestination; for this doctrine did not unfold itself in his mind till a much later period. Besides, in the case of a man possessed of the intellect of Augustin, the power of such influence from abroad ought not to be overrated.

place, at least, he expressly supposes that predestination is conditioned by foreknowledge.[1]

Thus it is evident, then, if we call to mind the relation of Ambrose to the Oriental church teachers, that the way, indeed, was already prepared for the appearance of the opposite moments in the mode of treating these doctrines. Yet the two churches, separated by difference of language, stood too remotely distant from each other to come to any mutual consciousness of this existing opposition, and to be led by it into a relation of mutual hostility. The opposition might also still remain concealed under the points of agreement belonging to both parties. It was destined to make its appearance in the Western church itself, and there to be evolved and presented in lines so well defined and strongly marked, that an open contest between the two opposite tendencies would be inevitable. This first took place when these tendencies, in such representatives of them respectively as Augustin and Pelagius, had unfolded themselves to such a degree of sharpness as mutually to exclude each other.

We must speak in the first place, therefore, of these two men; and we will begin with *Augustin*, because the development of his theological views on the points now under consideration was guided and determined by causes wholly within himself, and depended on no impulse derived from outward opposition; while, on the development of the system of Pelagius, a man possessed of a less original, a less speculative and systematizing spirit, the practical opposition to those doctrinal views which were akin to, or proceeded from the mind of Augustin, had a great influence.

To the tendency which we have designated as the one peculiar to the Western church, and which we saw expressed particularly by Ambrose, Augustin was inclined by the peculiar course of education in which his whole life had been trained, and which we have already described.[2] We have seen how it was only after a long and violent conflict with a fiery nature, but which struggled against the godlike in a wild feeling of power, that he attained to inward peace. Through many years tossed one side and the other, between the ideals which attracted the cravings of his spirit, and the desires and passions which held him chained to the pleasures of the world, he experienced in himself the conflict betwixt the spirit and the flesh. From his own inward experience he learned how to understand the fundamental ideas of the Christian, more particularly of the Pauline doctrine concerning man; and with the study of St. Paul's writings he was, in fact, particularly occupied at the time when that great crisis occurred in his inner life. As he found these two great divisions in his own life, — the nature which, left to itself, after all the efforts in his power, still remained impotent, and struggled in vain, alternately attracted and repelled by the divine, wherein alone the spirit is conscious that it can find its rest; and the nature surrendering itself to faith, and victorious over sin through the power of redemption, — so he found once more the

[1] De fide, l. V. § 83.

[2] See pages 396–402.

same two main divisions in the development of human nature as a whole. The opposition between that which proceeded from the nature left to itself and estranged from God, and that which came from the new and divine principle of life imparted to humanity by redemption and regeneration, this opposition, which he had learned from his own inward experience, came, from his life, to be the central point of his system of faith. As the opposites of good and evil in human nature presented themselves to the notice of Augustin from the first, it must have struck him as being the most difficult of all questions, — Whence, in *that* human nature, which feels itself attracted by the good, which is conscious of it as its original essence, — whence the *evil* in it? This question occupied him the moment his thoughts were awakened on higher subjects. The meditation of this question conducted him to Manicheism, and with it was connected his renunciation of Manicheism. This became the central point for his thoughts, which strove after systematic connection and logical consistency. His systematizing mind, when it had once seized hold of a principle, was impelled to unfold and to apply it with the most rigid severity, not shrinking from any of the consequences to which it might lead.

But then we must distinguish different epochs and periods in Augustin's doctrinal progress, departing from which, and passing through which, he first attained to the last consistent development of the doctrinal principles which had flowed from that great crisis in his inner life.

The first period embraces the works which he wrote after his baptism until the first years of his entering upon the duties of a presbyter, — that is, until about the year 394, — his works, de moribus ecclesiæ Catholicæ et Manichæorum, de vera religione, and de libero arbitrio. As, at that time, his doctrinal mode of thought was the result of the experiences which he himself had undergone of the helplessness of the man left merely to himself, — of the need of assistance and of redemption belonging to human nature; so there was united therewith, in the scientific development, the idea, derived from Platonism, of the relation of the spirit in man to the absolute Spirit, of all good to the original Good, of all being to the Highest and Absolute Being. The principle of grace and of resignation to God, as the original source of all good, was the common element between the first period and all the succeeding periods of his doctrinal progress; the groundwork from which everything in his case proceeded, and on which he framed his system with an ever-increasing consistency. But along with this tendency, there were at that time still other tendencies in his mind, which at a later period were, in part, suppressed by the entire and one-sided predominance of the main tendency above described. Very unjustly have Augustin's anthropological views been attributed to the influence of Manicheism. His doctrine concerning the moral corruption of human nature was something entirely different from the dualism of Mani's philosophy of nature: it grew not (as in the case of Mani) out of a confusion of the moral element with the intuition of

nature, but out of a simple fact of the moral consciousness. Rather it might be said that the consciousness, early awakened in his profound soul, of the irreconcilable opposition between good and evil, led him, while endeavoring to account to himself for this opposition in a speculative way, to Manicheism; but that the moral apprehension of this opposition, which forced itself with ever-increasing strength upon his mind, drew him again from Manicheism. Again, from Platonism, and directly in opposition to Manicheism, his theory unfolded itself, that sin had not, as Manicheism taught, a self-subsistent existence of its own; but that, as all existence, all true being, sprung from the highest, the absolute, and is grounded in that, so evil is nothing other than just the subjective aberration of the created being from the law of the Supreme and only true Being; is, in and of itself, nothing, not being, the μὴ ὄν, which, nevertheless, the moment it begins to act, must subject itself to the law of the highest being;[1] and to this point Augustin always firmly adhered. Nor did he find any difficulty in bringing it into harmony with his later doctrine of absolute predestination. On the other hand, he united with it, in this period, another principle, by which this earlier period is essentially distinguished from the later.

He attached great importance, in this period, to the principle, — something that cannot be referred to the influence of Platonism, but proceeded out of a practical Christian interest, as it formed itself, in his case, in the opposition to Manicheism, — that the above-mentioned subjective aberration from the supreme good could not be explained on any ground of natural necessity, but could only be derived from the free will; and that the self-determining power of the free will continued ever to be the ground of this aberration; that the cause of the diverse relations of men to the supreme good was ever to be traced only to the diverse bents of their free will, which admitted of no further explanation. The firm and steadfast adherence to the free will as contradistinguished from natural necessity was, in this period, considered by him of the utmost importance. Beyond question, he held fast to this point, at least in theory, in the later period also; but it was only by a dialectic self-deception that he was enabled still to unite it, in reference to practical conduct, with the result of his later system.

The principles of Augustin, as they present themselves at this point of view, were as follows: In the condition in which man now finds himself, it is not in his power to be good; because he either does not know what he ought to be by his destination, or, if he knows it, is not able to live conformably to his known destination. Ignorance of the good, and the difficulty in practicing it, these are the moral evils of human nature; and this would be inconsistent with God's justice, were it not a righteous punishment. Sin is its own punishment; so that, when man had the knowledge of good, and made no use of it, he thereby lost the knowledge; and when, possessing the faculty for good, he did not practice it, he lost thereby the faculty itself.

[1] A defectus ab ordine, which yet must be subservient to the summus ordo. See especially the books de ordine.

If the question now presented itself to Augustin: how does this hindrance to goodness, found cleaving to the moral nature of all men, admit of being reconciled with God's righteous judgment? He answered: Man could rightly complain, if no one had ever yet got the victory over the force of error and of passion; but the truth is, on the other hand, the means are supplied by which man may obtain the victory. God is everywhere present; and in manifold ways, by the creatures who execute his will, calls after man who has revolted from him, instructs the believing, strengthens and supports those who do what they can. Inculpable ignorance is not imputed to man as a sin; but this, that he does not strive after better knowledge: his moral imperfections are not reckoned to him as a crime; but he is justly culpable for the neglect of the means lying in his power. Augustin here supposed, then, the influences of divine grace, without which man could not be freed from his moral evil, to be invariably conditioned by the subjective bent of the free will.

In a work composed about the year 394, entitled, "An Exposition of difficult passages in the Epistle to the Romans,"[1] the exposition of the difficult passage in the ninth chapter, which, at a later period, was especially employed by him to prove the doctrine of absolute predestination, afforded him an occasion for distinctly unfolding the connection of his ideas on this whole subject. He proceeds on the principle, that all men find themselves in a state of alienation from God, in which they can perfectly bring to pass nothing that is truly good. The love of God is the spring and fountain of all that is truly good; and to this man can attain only by the communication of the Holy Spirit. As, then, he can accomplish nothing good before this renewal of his inner life by the Holy Spirit, so neither can he merit, by any kind of good works, the grace by which he is cured of his moral maladies: grace precedes all desert. But on this account, however, there is nothing like arbitrary will on the part of God, when he gives to some, and withholds from others, the grace by which men obtain salvation. Men obtain this grace by faith; and faith is wholly the work of man.[2] In the passage relating to the choice of Jacob and the rejection of Esau, he believed, therefore, that he found the contrary position to an election conditioned on *good works*, but not to an election conditioned on *faith*.[3] The apostle Paul says, — he remarks, — God *works* in all, but by no means God *believes* in all. The hardening of Pharaoh, he explains as the fruit of his own guilt; the punishment of his previous unbelief, whereby his sin punished itself.

It is worth while to notice the way in which Augustin expressed himself respecting these matters on another occasion, namely, at the time when he was slowly progressing onward towards this last conclusion. In the collection of answers given by him to various questions proposed to him from the time of his return to North Africa, in the

[1] Explicatio propositionum quarundam de epistola ad Romanos.

[2] Cap. 60. Quod credimus, nostrum est. Quod autem bonum operamur, illius qui credentibus in se dat Spiritum Sanctum.

[3] Non quidem Deus eligit opera, quæ ipse largitur, cum dat Spiritum Sanctum, ut per caritatem bona operemur; sed tamen eligit fidem. L. c.

year 388, and onward[1] (his work de diversis questionibus octoginta tribus), the answer to the question relating to Rom. 9 : 20, and what follows (Quest. 68), probably belongs, as we may infer from the contents of the answer, to a somewhat later period.

Starting on the principle, that divine things can be understood only from the experience of faith and in connection with a sanctified temper, he asserts that the apostle here by no means intends to restrain *the pious* from inquiring into these things, but only those who are not as yet sufficiently well grounded in love, the earthly minded, those who are for understanding God's counsels without being the children and friends of God. "Cleanse thyself from the old leaven," says he, "that thou mayst be a new dough; and that, in so being, thou mayst be no longer in the childhood of Christianity, so as to need milk to drink, but mayst reach the perfect age of manhood, and be one of those to whom it is said, We speak wisdom among those that are perfect. Then wilt thou discern, in the right way and in the right order, the secrets of the Almighty concerning the most hidden deserts of souls,[2] — concerning grace or justice." "As it respects Pharaoh," he then remarks, "the question may be easily answered. Through his earlier criminality, in oppressing the strangers in his kingdom, he deserved that his heart should be hardened, so that he could not be moved to believe, even by the most evident miracles of the commanding God. Beyond question, he has mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardens. But this will cannot be an unjust one, since it proceeds on the most hidden relations of desert (is conditioned by them); for though sinners, on the ground of the universal sin, constitute one mass, yet there is a difference among them. There is in sinners, therefore, something that precedes, whereby, although not yet justified (that is, made just, sanctified), they are yet made worthy of justification,[3] and in other sinners also there is something going before, through which they are worthy of hardening. That still remains true which was spoken by the apostle (Rom. 9 : 16), "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." For although one who is oppressed with the lighter sins, or indeed with sins however great in magnitude and number, may, by bitter sighs and many pains of repentance, become worthy of God's compassion, yet it is not his own work, since, left to himself, he would perish; but it must be ascribed to the mercy of God, who comes to the help of his prayers and his sorrows.[4] It is little to will, if God does not have mercy; but

[1] So the terminus a quo is fixed by himself. Retract. lib. I. c. 26.

[2] De animarum occultissimis meritis, which doubtless refers to the hidden inward character, ere it manifests itself in appearance, — something which is known only to the divine foreknowledge, and hence conditions God's providential dealings with men.

[3] § 4. Venit enim de occultissimis meritis, quia et ipsi peccatores, cum propter generale peccatum unam massam fecerint, non tamen nulla est inter illos diversitas. Præcedit ergo aliquid, in peccatoribus, quo, quamvis nondum sit justificati, digni efficiantur justificatione, et item præcedit in aliis peccatoribus quo digni sunt obtusione.

[4] § 5. Quia etiamsi levioribus quisque peccatis, aut certe quamvis gravioribus et multis, tamen magno gemitu et dolore pœnitendi, misericordia Dei dignus fuerit, non ipsius est, qui si relinqueretur, interiret, sed miserentis Dei, qui ejus precibus doloribusque subvenit.

God does not have mercy, unless the will has preceded. And since none can will, unless exhorted and called (whether in the secret recesses of the soul, and in a way not seen by man, or from without by the word, or visible signs), it follows from this, that the willing disposition itself is wrought in us by God.[1]" Next he says: "But the calling which is made to individuals, or to single nations, or to the whole race in the right point of time, belongs to a high and profound order of things." To this he reckoned the passages in Jer. 1 : 5 ; Malachi 1 : 2, 3. "And this can be comprehended, perhaps, by those only who love God with all the heart, and their neighbors as themselves. Yet this must be held fast with an unwavering faith, that God does nothing in the way of injustice, and that there is no being who is not indebted to God for all that he is." These words might, indeed, be understood as referring to the mystery of absolute predestination; so that Augustin was at that time still reluctant to express himself more openly ; as indeed he seems to have explained this passage in his "Retractations." Yet, when we take the words in connection with what has been said before, we certainly cannot doubt, that, at the time he wrote this, he did not so understand it, but rather had in his thoughts a predestination conditioned on a foreknowledge of those *occultissima merita.*

In this scheme of Augustin, however, there was a great deal which, after a more full examination, after a longer study of the sacred Scriptures, must eventually appear untenable to a mind which so constantly strove after consistency and unity. For in proportion as he learned to place a higher value on the essence and dignity of faith, in proportion as the one-sided idea of faith, which was first apprehended by him as a faith on authority,[2] came to be gradually refined and transfigured into the idea of a living faith ; in the same proportion it must become clear to him, that faith already presupposed the entrance of the divine life into the soul of man, that the divine and human elements had here already commingled, and that the two could not be set off from one another by any such strict line of demarkation. But, in perceiving this, he might easily run into the other extreme, of referring faith, like all the rest, solely to the *divine* agency, and wholly repressing the self-determining activity of the *man.* Add to this, that the Theodicee which he had earlier attempted to construct on the groundwork of a predestination conditioned by foreknowledge[3] could not satisfy his acute and sagacious mind, in its application to the calling of nations and the election of individuals, and the expla-

[1] Et quoniam nec velle quisquam potest, nisi admonitus et vocatus, sive intrinsecus, ubi nullus hominum videt, sive extrinsecus per sermonem sonantem, aut per aliqua signa visibilia, efficitur, ut etiam ipsum velle Deus operetur in nobis. L. c.

[2] See vol. II. sect. I. p. 239.

[3] As, for example, that God's election of individuals and calling of nations was conditioned on his foreknowledge of the way in which they would be disposed towards his gospel, if it should be announced to them. See L. c. and ep. 102 to Deogratias: Quibus omnino annuntiata non est, (salus), non crediturі præsciebantur. § 15. Yet when Augustin wrote this, in the year 408, he had long brought to a completion his doctrine of predestination; and this answer, therefore, could no longer have satisfied him ; and he had already in reserve, from the standing ground of this doctrine, another answer, which he hinted at: Excepta illa altitudine sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei, ubi fortassis *aliud divinum consilium longe secretius latet.* § 14.

nation, grounded thereupon, of the difficulties in the Epistle to the Romans. To such a mind, it would seem preferable to cut the Gordian knot, which could be resolved by no human explanation.

And so it appears in fact, that Augustin, within the space of three or four years, had, from the point above described, changed his way of thinking on these matters; since he came to perceive, that the divine and human elements did not admit of being so severed from each other, — that a divine element was, in fact, contained already in faith. When, in 397, he wrote his work addressed to Simplician, bishop of Milan, in answer to various questions relating to the Epistle to the Romans,[1] this turning point of his dogmatic bent first clearly unfolded itself to the light.[2] He combated in this performance the very theory which he had earlier maintained; and it is easy to perceive, in the way in which he seeks to show its untenable character, that the time had not been long since he came to this view, and was seized with the first zeal in behalf of the new light which he supposed he had found.

Here also Augustin busies himself with the explanation of those difficult passages in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans;[3] but his previous mode of explanation no longer satisfied him. He now contended against those certainly un-Pauline interpretations of the difficult places in the epistle which in fact could actually proceed only from a prejudiced doctrinal interest. It is now clear to him, that Paul supposes neither an election of God conditioned on the foreknowledge of faith, nor an election conditioned on the foreknowledge of the works growing out of faith; for Paul in fact lays stress on the assertion, that God's election made a difference before the children were born, before they could believe, as well as before they could do anything.[4] Moreover, the desert of faith does not precede God's mercy; but it presupposes this mercy; and faith itself is one of the gifts of God's grace. Paul, in Rom. 9 : 11, certainly does not set the works of man over against faith, as the ground of the calling; but he sets the calling over against works. The calling of God, therefore, is here the first cause. Faith presupposes the calling. But whence comes it, then, that the call by the preaching of the gospel and by outward circumstances, which pave the way for this, comes to some and not to others; and that the same influences from without make a different impression on different men, nay, a different impression on the same men at different times? The almighty and all-wise God could find, in reference to the different states of men, those means of influencing them which must make an impression on them with inward necessity, so that, awakened, drawn, touched, and enlightened, they would follow, without being conscious of any resistance against the grace operating upon their will.[5] We

[1] De diversis quæstionibus, ad Simplicianum libri duo.

[2] As he himself expresses it, de dono perseverantiæ, c. 20, in reference to the work above mentioned: Plenius sapere cœpi in mei episcopatus exordio, quando et initium fidei donum Dei esse cognovi et asserui.

[3] L. I. Quæst. II.

[4] Si non ex operibus, quæ non erant in nondum natis, nec ex fide, quia nec ipsa erat. § 5.

[5] § 13. Posset ita vocare, quomodo illis aptum esset, ut et moverentur et intelligerent et sequerentur.

must say, doubtless, man's willing is nothing without the divine mercy ; but in nowise can we say, God's mercy and grace are nothing without man's willing; since God would find means of moulding every human will, in the way precisely suited to the character of each. On whomsoever he actually has mercy, whomsoever he actually chooses, him he calls in the way which is so befitting, that the subject is irresistibly drawn by him who calls, though he follows with freedom.[1] Neither is Augustin satisfied any longer to explain the hardening and the consequent rejection of one as opposed to the election of another, as a judgment specially drawn down upon the individual by his own sin ; for God's almighty power, he supposes, could assuredly find the means to operate upon every degree of hardness, and the same insensibility exists everywhere alike, till God moves the heart of man by his grace.

Thus, then, Augustin comes to the result, that all men are found in the same state of condemnation; the reason — not why God plunges some to destruction, which is altogether alien from God's holiness and love, — but why he does not rescue some from the destruction into which all, by the guilt of the first sin, have fallen, according to God's righteous judgment; but out of his free love has mercy on others, and calls them by his grace to everlasting life — the reason of this lies in the secret and by us incomprehensible counsels of the Almighty. But to this we must ever hold fast, namely, that God's justice cannot be impeached, although the exercise and range of it may surpass the measure of our knowledge. Yet, even according to the analogy of human relations, he cannot be accused of injustice, who according to his pleasure remits the debts of one man, while he requires payment from another.

It is evident from this development, that, as Augustin had already completed his system in relation to these doctrines more than ten years before the breaking out of the Pelagian controversies, — in the very form in which he presented it in opposition to Pelagius, — that this opposition could have had no influence in urging it to this extreme. With more propriety may it be said, that opposition to such doctrines as those of Augustin, or to the practical consequences which through misconstruction or abuse were derived from such doctrines, had no small share in leading *Pelagius* to form such a system as he did. The Pelagian tendency is to be traced, in the first place, to certain latent germs which were the undetected source of many views and opinions prevailing in the church; and, next, it was called forth by the struggle to oppose various errors of practical life which had become widely spread. And then it sometimes happened that the tendency of Pelagius, and the errors to which it was opposed, proceeded from the same principle, and were but different branches springing from the same root. To explain the first of these remarks, we discern, in that tendency which separated the Christian life from its connection with the one centre which should sustain the whole of it, from the single reference to Christ as its source; in the isolation

[1] L. c. Cujus autem miseretur, sic eum vocat, quomodo scit ei congruere, ut vocantem non respuat.

and undue exaltation of what belongs to the human side, — the overvaluation of human doing; the separation of the moral element from its connection with the common root of all Christian life; in the fond fancy of a perfection going beyond what the law demands, — transcending ordinary Christianity; in a word, we discern in all that which called forth the reaction of the Christian consciousness as it appeared in Jovinian, the incipient germs of, or point of attachment for the Pelagian element. But history allows nothing to remain covered up and concealed. False elements, which have imperceptibly attached themselves to Christianity in its process of unfolding what it contains, must cast off their envelope, expand to the open day, and fully express themselves, that they may be overcome by the pure Christian principle. Such is the significance of the tendency of Pelagius in the course of the church development.

Pelagius[1] was a monk[2] of British origin. Neither fact is unimportant in its relation to the development of his peculiar doctrinal views; for, in Monachism, the tendency previously indicated, of which we may regard that of Pelagius as the culmination, was the prevailing one. And the British church, since it probably owed its origin to the East, may have always preserved a closer union with the Oriental church than was usual in the West; and Pelagius thus had occasion to busy himself more with the study of the Greek church teachers, as certainly his name is also a Greek one. But the anthropology of the Oriental church, in which, as we have remarked, the doctrine of the free will was made especially prominent, offered many points of union to the peculiar tendency of Pelagius, who also did not fail to appeal to the utterances of Greek church teachers.

Pelagius differed from Augustin, as in the whole stamp and character of his mind, so by virtue of the peculiar course of his early education and training. He did not possess, like Augustin, that mighty nature which could not otherwise attain to peace but by passing through many devious wanderings and hard conflicts. His was a feebler, more limited nature; but one, too, which could more easily develop itself in a smooth and gentle course, — could more easily be controlled and conducted to its destined end. He was not possessed of the profound, speculative spirit which we find in Augustin: his predominant faculty was a sober, discreet understanding, joined with moral earnestness. In learning he was Augustin's superior. An earnest striving after moral excellence had inspired him from the first;[3] and his improvement had been quietly progressive. It was not

[1] We are glad to be able to refer, here, to an excellent monograph on Pelagius, written by our dear friend, the licentiate Jacobi.

[2] He is called Pelagius *Brito*, to distinguish him from others of this name. See Augustin. ep. 186, ad Paulin. init., and the concurrent accounts of Marius Mercator, Prosper of Aquitaine, and Paulus Orosius. That Jerome (præfat. Commentar. in Jeremiam) calls Pelagius Scotorum pultibus prægravatum does not contradict this testimony, since Scotia and North Britain are frequently confounded. The name Pelagius may, indeed, point out his origin, even if the old popular tradition, according to which this name is a translation of the British Morgan, is not reliable.

[3] Augustin, the warm but candid opponent of Pelagius, is assuredly the witness most worthy of confidence for the fact, that Pelagius, by his rigid life as a monk,

from some great crisis of the inner life, not through a violent conflict, that he had attained to the faith, or to the determination of consecrating his whole life to God; but, without his being conscious of any opposition to its influences, Christianity acted as an inward principle on his moral development. He did not have to contend with a wild and fiery natural temperament, nor with desires and passions peculiarly predominant.[1] Nor was he thrown into any of those storms of outward life, in which he might have been called to engage in a special struggle with himself; for he led a silent life in the midst of studies and monastic ascetism. While it was the case, as we have already remarked, that among the monks belonging to a certain class of human natures, the striving after moral ideals, by which they sought to mould and fashion their inner life, excited a more profound self-contemplation and led to a deeper self-knowledge; and while these, struck with the feeling of opposition between what they saw in their own inner life and those ideals which inspired them, sought from God manifest in Christ the removal of this opposition, and the satisfaction of their deep-felt need; others, on the contrary, by the intuition of these ideals, which seemed to them only a reflex of their own moral nature, by the successful results of their ascetic discipline, by the consciousness of a power of will to overcome the allurements of sense, were only led to feel their own moral strength, and to confide in their own moral efforts. It easily came to be the predominant thought with them, how far the man might advance towards perfection by a self-active development of the germs of goodness lying in his own moral nature, by the superior energy of the will, by self-control. It easily happened, too, that in the outward ascetism of the monastic life, in its efforts to subdue the sensual impulses, the true nature of inward holiness, of the disposition which has its root in love, was overlooked; that, in watching against the individual outbreaks of sin, monks neglected to pay any attention to its secret springs, and so failed in respect to the words of our Lord, Matth. 12: 29. Thus they might be led to believe they had produced great outward results by human efforts, while the radical evil was as far from being cured as ever. As it regards Pelagius, it cannot be asserted, at least without qualification, that such was the effect produced on him. On the contrary, in this respect he is an example of the better moral spirit of Monachism. His letter to Demetrias[2] bears witness of this. It is a letter of instruction in regard to the true spiritual life, directed, in accordance with the wish of her mother, to a virgin who had been consecrated as a nun. We perceive here how he demands the *completeness*, the *unity* of the moral life, and warns

had acquired universal respect. He says of him (de peccatorum meritis et remissione, l. III. c. 3), Istum, sicut eum qui noverunt, loquuntur, bonum ac prædicandum virum.—Ille tam egregie Christianus; and in ep. 186 he writes concerning him: Non solum dileximus, verum etiam diligimus eum.

[1] For this description, indeed, we can cite no historical authorities, so very little is known by us respecting the life of this man; but we take the impression of him from his doctrines and writings.

[2] Written in the year 415, when he was in Palestine, and with reference to the controversies which were then going on, although they are not here expressly mentioned.

against a one-sided ascetic tendency by which Christian perfection was made to consist merely in the victory over sensuality, and men were led to be severe with themselves in reference to sensuous needs, but all the more self-indulgent in other respects.[1] His healthy moral sense is especially discernible in what he says of the distinction between counterfeit and true humility. "How many," he says, "regard adulation as humility. Many pursue the shadow of this virtue, few its real substance. It is very easy to wear miserable clothing, to greet one's acquaintance in a lowly manner, to kiss the hands and knees, to put on the show of humility and meekness by a drooping head and downcast eyes; to speak in a low and feeble voice, so that one's words can scarcely be heard; to sigh frequently, and with every breath call one's self a sinner and a miserable wretch;[2] and if offended by a trifling word, suddenly to lift one's brow, throw back the neck, and change those submissive tones into a frantic shout.[3] A different sort of humility is that which Christ teaches, who exhorts us (Matth. 11 : 29) to follow his example — that pattern of true humility, under which, as he tells us, no pride lies concealed."[4] And now he might easily be misled, in contending against this hypocritical humility, worn in the confession of sin for a show, to despise, in general, all confession of sin, and to overlook also the truth lying at the bottom.

But still Pelagius was not free from the errors of the monkish morality, by which the system of morals was divorced from its intimate connection with the system of faith. He was entrammeled in the notion, which was so common among the monks, being connected with their vague and obscure notions respecting the moral law, that man can advance still further in Christian perfection than the law requires, by practicing the consilia evangelica (so called) — the *quantitative* method of estimating moral worth.[5] Neglecting to consider that the Christian principle embraces the whole alike, and leaves room for nothing else to be admitted as a determining principle, he distinguished what was commanded from what was forbidden, what was permitted from what was recommended as an object of higher perfection — which latter consisted precisely in abstaining from what was permitted, and so entitling one's self to a higher reward.[6] Starting from this position,

[1] See e. g. c. 18. Nos (proh pudor) quadam dilectione peccati, cum in quibusdam ostendimus quandam vim naturæ nostræ, in aliis omnino torpescimus Ibid. That abstinentia and jejunium were, with many, nothing else than umbracula vitiorum.

[2] Perfacile est enim, aliquam vestem habere, contemptam, salutare submissius manus et genera deosculari, inclinato in terram capite oculisque dejectis, humilitatem ac mansuetudinem polliceri, lenta voce tenuique sermones infringere, suspirare crebrius, et ad omne verbum peccatorem et miserum se clamare.

[3] Et si vel levi sermone offensus sit, continuo attollere supercilium, levare cervicem, et delicatum illum oris sonum insane repente clamore mutare.

[4] Præcipue fictam humilitatem fugiens, illam sectare, quæ vera est, in qua non sit superbia inclusa.

[5] See ep. ad Demetriad. c. 9. Supra legem facere, amore perfectionis supra mandata conscendere.

[6] Prohiberi quædam, præcipi quædam, concedi aliqua, nonnulla suaderi. Prohibentur mala, præcipiuntur bona, conceduntur media, perfecta suadentur. And respecting the two latter points: Duo vero reliqua, quorum unum conceditur et suadetur aliud, in nostra potestate dimissa sunt,

he, too, became a zealous opponent of Jovinian, defending against *him* the doctrine that there are different grades of merit and of Christian perfection,[1] on the ground of the distinction between precepts and counsels (præcepta and consilia.) He controverted the position maintained by Jovinian, that there is but one way of renouncing the world, which is the common duty of all Christians,—but one precept in relation to the giving-up of temporal things for the sake of the kingdom of God, which, circumstances allowing, was the duty of all alike.[2] Ardently zealous for what he considered to be the peculiar essence of Christianity in ethics, the "precepts" and "counsels," he was led to recommend in a particular manner the study of the Bible, pointing to it as the only source from which it is possible to learn perfectly the will of God.[3] But though he examined with the strictest conscientiousness every individual passage in the New Testament relating to morals; though he recommended the exact and literal observance of all Christ's commands, and inveighed against the allegorizing shifts by which it was attempted to bring the words of Christ into a forced accommodation with the ruling manners of the world;[4] yet he could not penetrate below the surface into the more profound depths of the Christian system of ethics, into its peculiar essence, its internal connection and unity; because he seized the parts in too insulated a manner, without grasping the whole new principle for shaping the world and human life, which lies in Christianity. He failed of seeing the connection between faith and life as it is presented in the New Testament. Hence, there was this difference betwixt Augustin and Pelagius, that, while the one could rightly understand, in the sermon on the mount, every single precept in its unity with the whole, according to the spirit of it, and found therein no separate, positive commands;[5] Pelagius, on the other hand, everywhere held fast to the letter of the individual precepts, and so took in its literal sense the prohibition of the oath.[6]

In order to explain the peculiar doctrinal tendency of Pelagius, we must take particular notice also of the opposite tendencies against which he contended. This is the more necessary in his case, inasmuch as he was not led by any creative, speculative, or dogmatizing spirit of his own to form a new system; but his efforts were determined and shaped by a present, practical interest, to guard against certain errors which seemed to him injurious to morality. Thus he was led to elabo-

ut aut cum minori gloria concessis utamur, aut ob majus præmium etiam ea quæ nobis permissa sunt, respuamus. Cap. 9.

[1] On 2 Corinth. 6: 12. Contra Jovinianum etiam hic locus facit, ubi meritorum gradus esse monstrantur; and on Philipp. 3: 18, 19. Potest et de Joviniani studiis accipi, qui jejuniorum afflictiones et omnem corporis cruciatum in luxuriam et epulas converterit.

[2] On 1 Corinth. 13: 3. Quod illorum sententiam destruit, qui renuntiandum rebus seculi certo tempore, persecutione cogente, volunt esse præceptum, ut et apostolis gloriam tollant, quod non voluntarie fecerint, sed inviti, et nostri ævi perfectos vanos constituant, qui rem alterius temporis frustra nunc voluerunt exercere. Item aliter: Notandum quod contemptus mundi martyrio comparetur, contra eos, qui illud de evangelio variis argumentis nituntur exsolvere, ubi dicitur ad divitem: Vade, vende omnia quæ habes et, da pauperibus.

[3] Thus he writes to Demetrias: In scripturis divinis, per quas solas potes plenam Dei intelligere voluntatem. Cap. 9

[4] On 2 Corinth. 3: 6. Si præcepta velis allegorice intelligere, omnem virtutem eorum evacuans, omnibus aperuisti viam delinquendi.

[5] See above, vol. II. p. 114.

[6] Christus jussit non jurare. Ep. ad Demetriad. c. 19; Hilar. ad Augustin. ep. 156.

rate his peculiar scheme of doctrine. He contended against the doctrinal tendencies of his time, only so far as certain practical consequences of a hurtful kind seemed to him necessarily to flow from them: by this he was induced to enter upon his doctrinal investigations and distinctions; and, in mainly following this practical interest, he did not even go so far as to unfold in their whole extent, and to trace to their ultimate grounds, the principles lying at the root of his doctrinal tenets. Next, by virtue of his truly earnest moral zeal, he was led to regard it as specially incumbent on him to combat the worldly Christianity of his times. We everywhere see in him a man filled with pain and indignation at the moral depravation of the great masses of nominal Christians in his day. Thus, in his remarks on 2 Corinth. 12: 20, he exclaims: "What would the apostle do, if he happened on our times, when, in comparison with other vices, such things are not considered to be sins at all?"[1] He sought to remove the grounds of excuse which served as props of their immorality to those who called themselves Christians, without considering themselves bound to pursue a Christian course of conduct. Among these belonged that distinction of spiritual and secular, respecting the injurious influence of which we have already spoken; though in one sense Pelagius himself supported it by his doctrine of a perfection transcending ordinary Christianity. In combating this distinction, when employed as an excuse for immorality by those who were engaged in the business of the world, he says, in expounding Ephesians 4: 4, 5: "It would be well for those persons to study what is here said, who, tied to the business of the world, suppose they may be allowed to sin, though others may not; when the truth is, all are baptized into the same body, have received the same spirit, and are called to the same hope."[2] He felt constrained to dissent from such as seemed to imagine that by a mere outward participation in the sacraments they were already sure of salvation, as well as from those who reposed on the opus operatum of faith — that outward and superficial notion of faith, which, as we have seen, was already so widely spread in the church. So in remarking on 1 Cor. 10: 1, he says: that no one might so rely on the fact of his having been baptized, or having partaken of the Holy Supper, as to imagine that God would indulge him in committing sin, the apostle brings forward this example from the fathers, to show by it that these rites will indeed then be truly profitable, when the commandments are obeyed.[3] And the words in Ephes. 5: 5, 6, he applies to those who imagined faith alone to be sufficient; that he who possessed faith and had been baptized could not perish, however he might sin.[4] Next, as there were those who

[1] Quid faceret, si nostris temporibus adinveniret, quibus ad comparationem aliorum criminum ista ne putantur quidem esse peccata!

[2] Unde diligentius legere debent hunc locum hi qui, in seculi occupationibus ligati, putant sibi licere peccare et aliis non licere, cum omnes in unum corpus baptizati, eundem spiritum acceperint, et in una spe vocati sunt Dei.

[3] Ne quis confidens in eo solum, quod baptizatus est, aut in esca spiritnali vel potu, putet sibi Deum parcere, si peccaverit, tale patrum proponit exemplum, quo ostendat, tunc ista merito profutura, si præcepta serventur.

[4] Contra illos agit, qui solam fidem dicunt sufficere. "*Nemo* vos seducat" dicendo; hoc solummodo opus est, ut fides sit et homo Christi baptisma consequatur, quam-

comforted themselves in their vicious life with the doctrine of a purgatory, flattering themselves that, in virtue of their orthodox creed, they would finally, at least, be saved, after having passed through that painful process of purification after death, Pelagius, in explaining 1 Corinth. 3 : 13, a passage often referred to in proof of this doctrine, sought to deprive them of this support, by demonstrating the groundlessness of that exposition, and proving that, even in this passage, the fire of hell is meant, which the vicious should not escape.[1] And hence he deemed it so important to maintain the eternity of punishments, in opposition to those who explained all such declarations of scripture as being nothing more than intimidating threats against sin.[2] Furthermore, as these persons excused themselves by pleading the corruption and weakness of human nature, and affirmed that living up to the divine commands was something too difficult for feeble man, Pelagius, to deprive them of these supports of moral indolence, endeavored to show that they unjustly loaded human nature with charges which fell back on the Creator himself, instead of laying the fault, as they should do, on their own will. The divine commands, he maintained, the commands of Christ, certainly required an exact fulfilment, as in fact they were, in spite of their contrary assertions, taught by the example of those who *had* fulfilled them, while still partaking of the same human nature with themselves.[3]

By these oppositions and these practical interests, then, the tendency of Pelagius, in respect to the doctrine of man's nature and the character and work of Christ, was modified and determined. Hence he was of the opinion, that in all moral exhortations the great point to be aimed at was, to make men clearly see that they were in want of none of the faculties necessary for fulfilling the divine commands ; to bring them to a conscious sense of the power bestowed on them by the Creator for accomplishing all good ends, as he says that he himself was accustomed to pursue this method in his exhortatory writings.[4] Hence he appealed to the examples of virtue exhibited among the Pagans, in proof of how much nature, left to itself, could effect even among the heathen ; and argued that, with the new aids and advantages possessed by Christians, the same nature would be able to do still more.

vis peccet, perire non potest. Comp. what he says on 1 Corinth. 6 : 9.

[1] Non hic, ut quidam putant, in igne flammæ arsura sunt opera, sed homines, qui ita operati sunt ut mereantur incendio deputari. Si autem opera, id est crimina punientur, salvo eo qui perpetraverat, non erit ei damnum, sed lucrum.

[2] On 2 Corinth. 11 : 3. Jam nunc serpens similiter quosdam seducit, gehennam propter solum terrorem asserentes nominari, quam aut penitus non esse aut æternam non esse affirmant, contra auctoritatem omnium scripturarum.

[3] In the letter to Demetrias : Dicimus : durum est, arduum est, non possumus, homines sumus, fragili carne circumdati — c. 3 : Improbissimi hominum dum dissimulant, id ipsum bene administrare, quod facti sunt, aliter se factos fuisse malunt, ut qui vitam suam emendare nolunt, videantur emendare velle naturam. And on Coloss. 1 : 22 : Vide si sciebat, se impossibilia præcepisse.

[4] Thus in his letter to Demetrias, c. 2, he says : Quem ego exhortationis ordinem, cum in aliis quoque opusculis tenuerim, tunc hic maxime observandum puto, ubi eo plenius naturæ bonum declarari debet, quo instituenda est vita perfectior, ne tanto remissior sit ad virtutem animus ac tardior, quanto minus se posse credat, et dum quod inesse sibi ignorat, id se existimat non habere.

On this principle, and from this point of view, he denied that there was any such thing as a corruption of human nature which had grown out of the fall. Such a doctrine appeared to him but a means of encouraging moral indolence,— a means of excuse supplied to the hands of vicious men. The question which from the first had so occupied the profound mind of Augustin — the question concerning the origin of sin in man — could not be attended with so much difficulty to the more superficial mind of Pelagius. This was no enigma for him; it seemed to him a thing perfectly natural that there should be moral evil. The necessary condition to the existence of moral good is the possibility of evil. Evil and good are to be derived alike from the free-will, which either yields to the seductions of sense, or overcomes them.

With these views of man's nature, Pelagius unquestionably still held fast to all the tenets taught in the Western church respecting the character and work of Christ. But although this was by no means a mere hypocritical accommodation,— though he was not conscious in this case of any self-contradiction, yet everything must necessarily have been so modified as to tally with his peculiar views of human nature. Augustin, as well as Pelagius, contended against those who represented a mere outward faith to be all that was necessary to secure salvation; but Augustin and Pelagius differed from each other in their mode of attacking this error. Augustin opposed to this notion of faith, another and different one: Pelagius sought to show that there must be, in addition to faith, the fulfilment of the divine commands. Augustin described an active life of good works, as something which flowed of itself from the essence of genuine faith:[1] Pelagius required it as something which must be added to faith, by employing those moral faculties which had been bestowed on human nature, and which were still further strengthened and enlarged by Christianity. And, in addition to this, Pelagius, who regarded it as a thing of the utmost importance to point men to the free-will by which they were able to do all things, was the more provoked to opposition, by the form under which the unfolded doctrine of Augustin concerning grace and predetermination, which was really revolting to the free-will, presented itself to his notice. But with the dogmatic prejudices and partial interest in behalf of the doctrine of free-will which he possessed, any form wherein the Christian consciousness expressed itself, with sincerity and fulness, as indebted for all things to the divine grace, would easily appear offensive, as detracting from the freedom of the will. Hence the great offence he took when he heard a bishop utter, as expressing his own feelings, the words of the prayer in Augustin's confessions:[2] "My God, bestow on me what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt."[3]

At Rome, Pelagius composed his commentaries on the epistles of Paul, in which his peculiar doctrinal tendency, in particular his pecul

[1] As for example in his work de fide et operibus, which is aimed against the above-mentioned error. See vol. II. p. 121.

[2] Confess. l. X. c. 29.

[3] Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis.

iar anthropology, allows itself to be clearly recognized, although they have come to us only in the form which they received through the expurgatory attempt of Cassiodorus. At that time, however, the matter made no farther stir. The public outbreak of the controversy proceeded from another defender of the same doctrine.

This was *Cœlestius*, with whom Pelagius first became acquainted while the former was an advocate at Rome. Through the influence, probably, of Pelagius, this person became zealously resolved to live a more earnest and devoted Christian life in a strict observance of all the precepts and counsels of Christ. He exchanged his profession as an advocate for the monastic life, and composed an exhortatory Christian treatise, in the form of three letters addressed to his parents, in which he probably explained the reasons which had induced him to change his plans of life. It would appear, then, that he followed the whole peculiar practico-dogmatical tendency of the individual who had been the means of awakening him to a more serious Christian life; and he sought to turn the skill in dialectics which he had acquired as an advocate, to the purpose of defending his scheme of doctrine.[1] Pelagius, owing to his peculiar temperament and advanced age, was little inclined to controversy, where he was not drawn into it by the interest he felt in behalf of his practical principles. He willingly made concessions, even against his own convictions, where those principles which alone seemed important to him, seemed not to be endangered. But Cœlestius, who was in the full vigor of manhood, and formed, as an advocate, for polemical controversy, stood forth more openly and recklessly in defense of the doctrinal principles connected with that practical system.[2]

In the year 411, Pelagius and Cœlestius went in company to Carthage, where the former, indeed, made but a short stay; but Cœlestius tarried longer. His ascetic zeal and his gifts procured for him friends, and he was encouraged to propose himself as a candidate for the office of presbyter in this church; but meanwhile various reports had fol-

[1] Respecting the native country of this individual, nothing certain can be said. That he was a native of Ireland or Scotland has been inferred, on no very safe grounds, from an enigmatical passage of Jerome, in the preface to the III. book of his commentary on Jeremiah. Marius Mercator says of him, in his commonitorium adversus hæresin Pelagii et Cœlestii: Pelagio adhæsit Cœlestius, nobilis natu quidem, et illius temporis auditorialis scholasticus. Augustin says, de gestis Pelagii, § 61, that these erroneous doctrines had not originated with the clergy, but with quibusdam veluti monachis. He meant here, probably, Cœlestius along with Pelagius. He styled them not regular monks, doubtless because they lived rather after the older and freer manner of the ascetics, than according to the more recent order of the Cœnobites. With all this is to be compared what Gennadius says, in his work de viris illustribus, c. 44, that Cœlestius, when a young man, before he fell into the Pelagian doctrines, wrote those three letters mentioned in the text, which Gennadius highly applauds, making the remark, important for us: Moralis siquidem in eis dictio nil vitii postmodum proditi; sed totum ad virtutis incitamentum tenuit. The tendency of which he speaks in this last clause, might very well be also a Pelagian one; but Gennadius, himself a *semi*-Pelagian, had not the sagacity to discern this Pelagian element lying at the root of the practical tendency, but not so clearly expressed. Hence he supposed Cœlestius must have composed this treatise when a young man, and before he went over to Pelagianism. Whether the statement, that he wrote these letters from a cloister, is correct, may also remain a question.

[2] Augustinus, de peccato originali, § 13, calls Cœlestius apertior, Pelagius occultior. Whether the account given by Prædestinatus is correct, (h. 88,) that Cœlestius had also written a work against the doctrine of the traduction of souls, before Pelagius appeared openly as a polemic, is questionable.

lowed him concerning his Pelagian errors, which here, where the opposite tendency of the dogmatic spirit chiefly prevailed, and where the mind of Augustin had the most decided influence, could not do otherwise than injure him.[1] The deacon Paulinus, of Milan, stood forth as his accuser, before a synod assembled at Carthage, A.D. 412. Six heretical propositions were asserted to be held by Cœlestius, which collectively were derived from the following: That the sin of Adam had injured only himself, not the whole human family; whence was drawn the conclusion, that children still came into the world in the same state in which Adam found himself before the fall. From these two propositions others were deduced, none of which probably had ever been asserted by Cœlestius in the form alleged, while several of them were ascribed to him only by inference. He sought to turn off the whole matter by maintaining that the dispute related to a merely speculative question, and had nothing to do with the essential doctrines of faith. He said the only point in dispute here related in fact to the question concerning the propagation of a sinful nature;[2] which question, however, was closely connected with the more general one concerning the way in which souls are propagated. As on the last of these questions, so also on the first, various opinions had been held in the church. On these points, nothing had been decided by the church system of doctrine. On account of his own particular views, then, on such a disputed matter, no one could be regarded as a teacher of false doctrine.[3] Had he denied the necessity of infant baptism (now universally acknowledged to be an apostolical tradition), that charge might seriously affect him. But, in truth, *he* also affirmed the necessity of this rite, although he entered into no further explanation of the grounds of its necessity. With these evasive answers, however, men were in nowise satisfied; and as he could not be induced to condemn the opinions which he was accused of maintaining, he was excluded from the fellowship of the church.[4]

But more favorable for the cause of Pelagius were the circumstances under which the controversy was renewed in another country. Pelagius, in the year 415, made a journey to *Palestine*, and in this way the controversy was spread to that part of the world; for Jerome was then living at Bethlehem, and he maintained a close correspondence with the Western church, and was moreover a man whose interest in theological polemics could easily be set in movement. He agreed with Augustin

1 Pelagius, who did not find Augustin at home at Hippo, had written him a very respectful letter. Augustin answered him in a few friendly lines, which at bottom, however, might already intimate some suspicion about the doctrine of Pelagius concerning grace, as Augustin afterwards (de gestis Pelagii, c. 26) actually explained the words, but putting into them more, perhaps, then, than they really meant. At all events, there was a very delicate allusion to the importance of the right doctrine concerning grace. He wrote to him, for example: Retribuat tibi Dominus bona, quibus semper sis bonus — ores pro me, quo talis a Domino fiam, qualem me jam esse arbitraris. Ep. 146. But without doubt, Augustin, who, on account of the peculiar tone of his mind, was habituated to such forms of expression, might thus express himself, without having in his mind any particular allusion to the views of Pelagius.

2 De traduce peccati.

3 Quæstionis res ista, non hæresis.

4 See Marius Mercator, commonitorium super nomine Cœlestii. Augustin. de peccato originali, c. 2, sq.

in opposing the Pelagian doctrine concerning the free-will, and concerning the freedom from corruption of human nature; and, owing to the connection in which this controversy seemed to him to stand with another, which at an earlier period had passionately interested him, he was led to attach to it much the greater weight. We refer to its connection with the Origenistic disputes. Jerome was inclined to trace the Pelagian doctrine concerning free-will and the moral powers of man's nature, to the influence of Origen and of Rufinus, whom he now so thoroughly hated, and to look upon Pelagius as a disciple of Rufinus. In addition to this, it happened that Jerome, who was so sensitive to all personal attacks, and so slow to forget them, was told that Pelagius had, on various points, attacked his commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians and his letter against Jovinian;[1] and for these reasons he was already much excited against him.[2] A young Spanish ecclesiastic, Paulus Orosius, was then on a visit to Jerome at Bethlehem. This person was a disciple, and an enthusiastic and servile follower, of Augustin. His professed object was to prosecute his studies under the direction of Jerome; and he gave the latter a more distinct account of this recent controversy, and proposed to him many questions relative to the whole matter in dispute. Jerome came out as a writer against Pelagius, in the first place, without mentioning his name.[3] But Pelagius without difficulty found many friends in the Oriental church, to which he stood in a very different relation, as it concerned his system of faith, from that which he held to the church of the West.[4] To such nice distinctions on the relation of free-will to grace, the members of the Oriental church were, in fact, as a general thing, not accustomed. Moreover, it had in nowise occurred to any one there, to give such prominence to the antithesis between grace and free will, as had been done in the Western church. Many of the assertions of Augustin would in this church have given great offense. The less men were acquainted here with the disputed questions of the Western church, and the less interest they felt in them, the more easily could they be made easy by the general declarations of Pelagius; and the latter was, besides, much more at home in the Oriental system of doctrine, than were his opponents.

When, in the year 415, Paul Orosius appeared before a synod assembled under the presidency of the bishop John (who had long been suspected by the friends of Jerome), and composed of presbyters connected with his church, he supposed he should easily be able to supplant the monk and layman, by means of the authority of the great bishop whose mind ruled the North-African church.[5] But the worthy bishop

[1] See vol. II. p. 303 ff.

[2] See his bitter taunts against Pelagius, whose person he describes, without naming him, in the preface to his commentary on Jeremiah.

[3] In his letter to Ctesiphon, and in his dialogues.

[4] This Jerome himself intimates, in his letter to Ctesiphon, where he speaks of the question brought into discussion by Pelagius: Quæ ante literas tuas plerosque in Oriente decepit, ut per *simulatam* humilitatem superbiam discerent.

[5] Although we become acquainted with these proceedings only through the passionate report of Orosius himself, yet the latter is so confused as to testify against himself.

John, of Jerusalem, who had already distinguished himself by many conflicts with blind zealots, was not disposed to lend his hand to any such measures of oppression. When it was objected to Pelagius, that he taught doctrines controverted by Augustin, the former, who would do homage to no human authority, replied, as he might safely do in the Oriental church, where Augustin's name hardly stood at this time in so high authority as in the church of the West — "And what matter is it to me what Augustin says?"[1] This remark was sufficient to stir up the indignation of Augustin's enthusiastic friends. They exclaimed that he who ventured to calumniate the bishop to whom the whole North-African church owed its restoration,[2] deserved to be excluded not only from that assembly, but from the fellowship of the whole church. But, without paying any attention to this outcry, the bishop John rather took the part of the man who was to be put down by dogmatic assertions. Dispensing with all hierarchical prejudices, he allowed him, though but a monk and layman, to take his seat among the presbyters; a proceeding for which he is highly censured by Orosius, who complains that he should permit a person accused of manifest heresy — though to be sure that person had never as yet been heard before any ecclesiastical body — to sit among Catholics; a layman, to sit among presbyters.[3] The bishop John said, he would now like to be Augustin, that he might pardon Pelagius in Augustin's name.

Pelagius was accused of maintaining, that man is without sin, and can easily obey the divine commands if he pleases. As the bishop John, like the Orientals generally, had no very strict or profound conception of what constitutes the fulfillment of the law, he believed examples could be found in the sacred scriptures, of a perfect fulfillment of the law.[4] All that appeared to him as false was the assertion, that it was possible for any man to accomplish this without the divine assistance. But when Pelagius acknowledged the divine assistance to be necessary here, the bishop was perfectly satisfied. It was quite foreign from him to propose to the former such questions as would have been proposed to him in the Western church, with a view to draw from him an explanation of what he understood by the divine assistance. He was satisfied with the explanation expressed in those general terms; and any one who, after this, was still bent on detecting heresy in the doctrine of Pelagius, seemed to him to detract, himself, from the power of divine grace. Finally, the accusers of Pelagius repeatedly affirmed, that both the parties belonged to the Latin church; and hence the question was one which only in the Latin church could be rightly understood. The bishop John conceded this, and agreed,

[1] Et quis est mihi Augustinus? Pernaps, however, Pelagius may not have originally expressed the answer in precisely the form in which the hostile and embittered Orosius here repeats it.

[2] Doubtless referring to his efforts in healing the schism of the Donatists.

[3] The words of Orosius are: Videlicet laicum in consessu presbyterorum, reum hæreseos manifestæ in medio Catholicorum, sedere præcepit.

[4] He appealed to what had been said of Zechariah and of Elizabeth, Luke 1: 6; to God's command given to Abraham that he should walk before him, and be perfect; which presupposed the possibility of the thing required.

that the subject should be referred to the Roman bishop Innocent, and meanwhile both parties should cease all further attacks on each other.

This attack on Pelagius having issued in a manner so little favorable to their views, the hostile party, consisting for the most part of ecclesiastics from the West, who probably held their consultations at Bethlehem,[1] determined to renew the assault before another bishop, and a still more numerous assembly. In the same year, the two deposed Western bishops, Heros of Arles, and Lazarus of Aix (Aquæ), appeared as the accusers of Pelagius, before a synod assembled at Diospolis in Palestine, under the presidency of Eulogius, bishop of Cæsarea. The propositions laid to his charge on this occasion were partly statements in which, as there expressed, the heretical element could not be easily detected, and on which, by means of superadded explanations, Pelagius might easily come to an understanding with his judges.[2] The members of this council were also disposed to ask no further questions, provided only that grace and free will were both equally maintained; and accordingly Pelagius found it not difficult to satisfy his judges. He was charged with holding the doctrine, "that man, if he pleases, can be perfectly free from sin; that there was such a thing as perfect purity from sin among mankind." This he explained by saying, that he who is converted from sin may live without sin by his own efforts and God's grace; but that he is not, for this reason,

[1] A significant hint on this point is contained in a letter of Pelagius to a presbyter who was his friend, written after the conclusion of the second council, where he says of the decision of this assembly: Quæ sententia omnem in malum conspirantem societatem ab invicem separavit. Augustin. de gestis Pelagii, § 54. And, in fact, Heros and Lazarus did actually return to the West. He might, then, have had good grounds for considering all these undertakings as the concerted plan of a party, which had associated for the purpose of bringing about his condemnation in the Oriental church. Yet if the whole thing had in this case been previously concocted, the points of complaint would, in all probability, not have been so unskilfully arranged.

[2] Thus it was objected to him that he had asserted: "In die judicii iniquis et peccatoribus non esse parcendum; sed æternis eos ignibus esse exurendos." It is most probable,—which is also confirmed by Augustin's remark on this passage in his book de gestis Pelagii,—that Pelagius had combated those who held out the promise of final salvation to a dead church-faith, not connected with a change of heart, but subsisting along with a vicious life, at least after suffering disciplinary punishment in the ignis purgatorius. See above, p. 637. His sincere zeal for morality may perhaps have moved him to deny altogether the doctrine of such an ignis purgatorius. When this proposition was brought before him, he appealed in defense of his assertion to the word of Christ himself, Matth. 25:46, and whoever believed otherwise, he added, was an Origenist. With this the synod was satisfied; for the Origenistic doctrine concerning the ἀποκατάστασις had always had, though not all, yet the majority of the most influential voices in the church against it. But had Pelagius unfolded his views more fully, and also represented the doctrine of that purgatorial fire as an Origenistic heresy, the members of the council would perhaps not have been so easily satisfied. Another assertion was: Quoniam plus facimus quam in lege et evangelio jussum est, in conformity with the doctrine of the consilia evangelica, which was so intimately connected with the monastic system of morals, and in which Pelagius (see above, p. 634) might certainly find some support for his system. Pelagius cites in defense of this proposition the remark of Paul, 1 Cor. 7:25, in recommendation, as it was generally supposed, of celibacy. Furthermore, the proposition: "The kingdom of heaven is promised even in the Old Testament." In this proposition, the sense corresponding to the orthodox faith admits, of course, of being more easily found than the heretical. The heretical sense, it may be conjectured, lay in the assertion, that men could obtain salvation by observance of the law; that there was a justitia legis. See below.

placed also beyond the reach of all temptations. Understood with these limitations, the synod were likewise all of the same opinion. It was now required of him, that he should pronounce sentence of condemnation against all who taught the contrary. He consented; yet on the singular condition, that he might condemn them as fools, not as heretics.[1] Furthermore, some of the propositions which had come from Cœlestius were read to him; but for these, he maintained that he was not to be held accountable, since they were none of his. He was even ready to condemn them, although it would seem as if he could not do it, without also condemning many of his own doctrines. But perhaps the matter was made easy to him, by hastily reading over the propositions, and forbearing to enter into any minute inquiries.[2] As the result of the whole business, Pelagius was recognized as a member of the Catholic church.

From the relation of Pelagius to the Oriental church, we may infer that he found many friends there, especially among the monks; and this passionate class of men may have resorted to many measures in support of the party of Pelagius, of which the latter himself wholly disapproved. Moreover, Jerome, by his passionate and overbearing temper,[3] by his reproachful abuse of the bishops of this country, may have rendered himself hateful to many, who now sought to take their revenge on him. But whatever the truth may be with regard to those violent proceedings said to have taken place in the cloisters at Bethlehem after the triumph obtained by Pelagius at the council of Diospolis, yet certainly the accounts of them, all of which may in the end be traced to the testimony of Jerome, which deserves but little confidence in matters so nearly concerning himself and his personal enemies,[4] are not sufficiently distinct and well authenticated, to enable us correctly to judge what was here his own fault, and what the fault of his adversaries. One thing we may confidently assert, that it was quite foreign from the disposition of Pelagius to intermeddle with such

[1] Anathematizo tanquam stultos, non tanquam hæreticos. It is evident that the synod here proceeded in a very superficial way, with little regard for rigid and precise dogmatic notions. It is not clear, indeed, what it was that Pelagius really condemned. If he meant to condemn those who taught that there were sinless men, the purport of his declaration may have been, that the question did not relate to a doctrine, but to a fact. A false doctrine — he must have meant, in this case, to say — could only arise when it was asserted that such persons had so lived *without grace*. Otherwise, to affirm, as a matter of fact, this which was contrary to experience, ought not to be called false doctrine, but foolishness. But if we suppose this, Pelagius could not be exonerated from the charge of surrendering his own convictions, or of contradicting himself. Or perhaps he meant to condemn those who taught that men could lead sinless lives without the help of divine grace. But when we consider what a broad conception Pelagius connected with the term grace, it may easily be explained that he meant to say: Those who declared grace could be dispensed with in order to a sinless life, deserved to be styled fools and madmen for teaching a doctrine so perfectly absurd.

[2] It is very possible that, as Augustin remarks, (de gestis Pelagii, § 57,) in a brief transcript of those proceedings, he may, not without good reasons, have left out the express condemnation of those propositions of Cœlestius.

[3] Palladius, who to be sure belonged to a party hostilely disposed to Jerome, represents another as saying of him (hist. lausiaca, c. 78): Τοσαύτην ἔσχεν βασκανίαν, ὡς ὑπὸ ταύτης καλύπτεσθαι τῶν λόγων τὴν ἀρετὴν χάριν δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μὴ ἅγιος ἀνὴρ εἰς τοὺς τόπους οἰκήσει, ἀλλὰ φθάσει αὐτοῦ ὁ φθόνος καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ.

[4] See the conclusion in Augustin's book de gestis Pelagii, and three letters of the Roman bishop Innocent.

business. Had it been possible really to bring any such accusation against him, his enemies assuredly would not have long delayed to produce the more definite testimony as to facts which the Roman bishop Innocent demanded.

The verdicts of these two councils were now made the most of by the party of Pelagius, to justify their own orthodoxy. Their opponents, it is true, did not allow themselves to falter at these decisions; yet they took different measures according to their different turns of mind. The violent Jerome did not hesitate to fix a suspicion of Pelagian heresy on the synod itself.[1] Augustin, on the other hand, endeavored to show, in his work de gestis Pelagii, that the synod had only suffered itself to be deceived by the ambiguous explanations of Pelagius, but that, by the anathemas which it prescribed to him, it had in reality condemned his peculiar doctrines. Here, we must admit, he went on the erroneous supposition, that, as Christian truth is but one, and the doctrine of the church but one, therefore the doctrine of grace held by himself must have been the same with that of the whole Oriental church.

As a counterpoise to the authority of these Oriental church assemblies, it was sought, moreover, to gain the acquiescence of the Roman bishop Innocent. Three letters were therefore addressed to him from the North-African church, in the year 416;—one from a synod held at Carthage; the second, from one held at Mileve in Numidia; the third, from five North-African bishops, of whom Augustin was one. In these letters, they accused Pelagius and Cœlestius of maintaining free-will in a way that excluded grace, and of denying grace in the peculiar Christian sense, since they did not place it in an inward actuation and communication of the divine Spirit; but only understood thereby, either the gifts and powers bestowed on man by creation, or the outward revelation by the law, or the forgiveness of sin. They were also accused of denying the necessity of baptism in order to the salvation of infants. At the same time these bishops sent him a book of Pelagius, in which they had marked several passages, which he was requested to notice.

In the mean time, Pelagius and Cœlestius also sought to justify themselves before the Roman bishop. Pelagius wrote him a letter, in which he defended himself against both the charges; namely, that he asserted a free will standing in no need of grace,[2] and that he denied the necessity of baptism in order to the salvation of infants.[3] With this letter, he sent a confession of faith, in which he fully unfolded his orthodoxy on those points which had no connection with this controversy. On the matters in dispute, he declared himself with less distinctness, and also indulged himself a good deal in special pleading, for the purpose of setting the doctrine of his opponents in an unfavorable light; attacking, though without naming him, Jerome in particular, who, in-

[1] He styles it (ep. 81), synodus miserabilis.

[2] Liberum sic confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus, nos indigere Dei semper auxilio.

[3] Respecting his doctrine concerning the baptism of infants, see below. The fragments of this letter may be found in Augustin. de gratia Christi, c. 30, 32, et 33, and de peccato originali, c. 17 et 21

deed, by his exaggerations in controversy, and his arguments, which were often spun out and lost in mere play and sophistry, exposed many a weak point to his adversaries.[1] Pelagius, on this occasion also, asserted a free-will constantly standing in need of the divine assistance; and he charged his opponents with maintaining partly the Manichean doctrine, that certain men (those who do not participate of grace) cannot avoid sin, partly the Jovinian, that certain men (the predestinate) are by nature incapable of sin. He himself taught, on the contrary, that man is always capable both of sinning and of not sinning.

The Roman bishop, Innocent, received those letters from the North-African church, before the letter and confession of faith sent by Pelagius could reach him. Innocent, as may be gathered from his letters, was, on the doctrine concerning the relation of nature to grace, a decided opponent of the Pelagian system: it would seem also, that he penetrated more deeply than others into the original grounds of this whole matter of dispute.[2] Still, it cannot be inferred, however, from any declarations of his, that he entirely agreed in his system with Augustin. On the contrary, an intimation is given, that, inasmuch as he held the communications of divine grace to be dependent on the worth of individuals, he accordingly differed from Augustin in an important point.[3] Yet, at all events, the heretical matter in the Pelagian doctrines first attracted his notice; and of any difference between his own views and those of the North Africans, he may, perhaps, not have been conscious.

[1] Pelagius says accordingly, he abhorred the blasphemies of those who taught that God had commanded men to do impossibilities, and that God's commands could not be fulfilled by individuals, but only by all, collectively and in common. This sarcasm is aimed against the doctrine held alike by Augustin and Jerome, that human nature, in its present state, is not able to fulfill the divine law,—especially in the form in which it had been expressed by Jerome, when he said, that as at present everything good among men was in some respect or other defective or partial, so they mutually supplied each other's deficiencies by means of the predominant virtues in individuals. See Hieronym. l. I. adv. Pelag. f. 496–97, T. IV. ed. Martianay. Again, Pelagius said, "we condemn those who affirm that the Son of God was necessitated to utter what was false by the power of the flesh; and that, on account of his assumption of human nature, he could not do all which he willed." In one respect, so far as it regards the last proposition, this charge was unjust. Jerome, for instance, had asserted — citing as his authority the passages in Matth. 26: 39; John 5: 30 — that Jesus, in speaking as a man, had not made himself independent of God, nor ascribed to himself any self-sufficiency grounded in human nature; while, on the contrary, the Pelagians would fain claim for themselves an independence and self-sufficiency, which Christ himself had never thought of asserting. But the objection with reference to the first of those propositions was just; for, citing the passage in John 7: 10, which Porphyry had seized upon as a ground for accusing Christ of fickleness of purpose, he said in justification of Christ: Omnia scandala ad carnem esse referenda, which were either, like many of the sayings of Jerome, sounding words without any reasonable meaning, or must have been intended to mean that the weakness of the sensuous nature even in Christ rendered it necessary to deviate from the strict law of veracity. L. c. f. 519, 20, 21.

[2] He perceived (see below) that this dispute was connected with a different way of regarding the relation of God's providence to creation, Epistola ad Concil. Carthag. § 3. Ergo eris tibi in providendo præstantior, quam potest in eo esse, qui te ut esses effecit? Et cui putes debere, quod vivis, quomodo non putas illi debere quod quotidianam ejus consequendo gratiam taliter vivis?

[3] Innocent. ep. ad Concil. Carthag. § 7. Of the Pelagians: Quis tantus illorum pectora error obcœcat, ut si ipsi nullam Dei gratiam sentiunt, *quia nec digni sunt nec merentur* etc.? To be sure, Augustin would have no difficulty in explaining this according to *his own* sense, by simply supposing the *dignitas* and the *mereri* to be qualities depending on the communication of grace.

Moreover, the North-African church had already conciliated his favorable regard by appealing to his decision on such a matter of dispute. After having bestowed praise, then, on the North-African bishops, because, as in duty bound, they had betaken themselves to the church of Peter, to which all the great concerns of entire Christendom should be ultimately referred, he assured them of his full acquiescence in their condemnation of the Pelagian doctrines.

But soon after, in the year 416, Innocent died; and his successor Zosimus had already been invested with the episcopal dignity, when the letter of Pelagius arrived at Rome. Zosimus, in all probability, had not the same doctrinal system as his predecessor. Perhaps, as his name might indicate, he was of Oriental descent; and his dogmatic tendency on the controverted points may have been akin to that of the East; all which seems, in fact, to be shown in his first letter on this subject to the North-African church. Hence his sentence would turn out to be a very different one from the former. Neither were there wanting in Rome individuals who were friendly to the Pelagian doctrines, and who contributed to dispose his mind to look upon them with favor. While Innocent was living, such individuals would, of course, keep their opinions to themselves.[1] At present, they could more openly avow themselves.

Under these more favorable circumstances, Cœlestius himself appeared in Rome. He handed over to the Roman bishop a confession of faith, which was well suited doubtless to make a favorable impression on one who was not aware of the more profound connection and coherence of individual doctrines with the whole system of Christian faith, and hence was in no condition to form a correct judgment concerning the importance of the controverted points. He, too, first unfolded at large the pure doctrines on matters which had no connection whatever with the dispute, and then, as before, sought to reduce the disputed matters to mere questions of speculative controversy, such as related to the propagation of sin, which was connected with the question concerning the origin of souls. "If some questions have been started which do not concern the faith, and respecting which multitudes have differed, it had never entered his thoughts to establish anything, as the founder of a new doctrine; but he would very cheerfully allow himself to be corrected, where he had erred as a man, by the judgment of the Roman bishop."[2] At the same time, he maintained anew, that the acknowledgment of the necessity of infant baptism, which by the rule of the universal church must be imparted for the forgiveness of sin, was altogether independent of those questions, because our Lord had resolved that the kingdom of heaven may be bestowed only on the baptized; and because the powers of nature did not suffice for this, it must be imparted by grace. But, by so doing, he meant in nowise to approve the doctrine of a natural propagation of sin; for sin, as it con-

[1] Innocentii epistola ad quinque episcopos, § 2.

[2] Præter fidem quæstiones. Si forte ut hominibus quispiam ignorantiæ error obrepsit, vestra sententia corrigatur.

sisted in a determination of the will, could not be derived from nature.[1] The point of view in which Cœlestius placed this matter, certainly appeared very clear in the outset to Zosimus; for it seemed sufficient to him that free-will and grace should be equally maintained, and all the rest pertaining to the relation of these two to each other seemed to him to belong among the idle questions of the schools. Cœlestius had several audiences with the Roman bishop himself, and always explained himself to the satisfaction of the latter. Add to this, that the two bishops, Heros and Lazarus, by whom the complaints had been brought against Pelagius at the council of Diospolis, were well known to him as turbulent, mischievous men; and accordingly the whole affair would the more readily appear to him as a mere ebullition of passion, the less he understood of its real nature. Besides, Pelagius had accompanied his letter to Rome with a letter from the bishop Praylus of Jerusalem, by whom he was completely justified.

Accordingly Zosimus wrote to the North-African bishops on the affair of Pelagius and Cœlestius two letters, which must have struck these bishops with some surprise, expressing as they did a judgment so entirely different from that of his predecessor. He reproaches them for not having entered into a careful examination of this matter, and for having so easily given credit to the charges of trifling and mischievous men. He gave the most decided testimony to the orthodoxy of Pelagius and Cœlestius. Of Pelagius' letter he said, it agreed wholly with the oral declarations of Cœlestius. "Would that some one of you," he writes to the bishops, "had been present when the letter was read! How rejoiced and surprised were all the pious men who heard it! Scarcely could some refrain from tears to find that men so thoroughly orthodox[2] could yet be made objects of suspicion. Was there a single passage in the letter, where grace or the divine assistance was not mentioned?"[3] It would appear, then, that Zosimus, when he heard the words grace and divine assistance so often repeated, had never even thought of any different determination of the conceptions associated with those words, and that it seemed to him in the highest degree unjust that those who expressed themselves after this manner should be accused of denying grace. He gave the North-African bishops to understand, that they had gone over the limits which should be assigned to the doctrines of faith, and raised a controversy on questions which had no connection whatever with the faith. He had reminded Cœlestius, he wrote, and the priests from various countries who were present, that such knotty and moot points and such foolish disputes had sprung from that pestilent contagion of an idle curiosity, then spreading on all sides, which led each man to misemploy his mind and his uncontrolled power of speech in affecting to know more than holy scripture revealed. He entreated them, in the name and authority of the apostolic see, that they would submit their reason to the Bible,

[1] See Augustin. de peccato originali, c. 5, 6, et 23

[2] Tales etiam absolutæ fidei.

[3] Estne ullus locus, in quo Dei gratia vel adjutorium prætermissum sit?

as it was explained according to the tradition of the fathers. In his first letter, relating only to Cœlestius, he decided that either an accuser must appear in person at Rome, within the space of two months, who could show that Cœlestius thought differently from what he had expressed in his own declarations, or that for the future no one should presume to call in question his orthodoxy after such manifest proofs of it.

It may be easily understood, that a man who could so express himself must have differed widely from the doctrines of Augustin, although he did not precisely agree in all respects with the Pelagian system, nor perhaps accurately understand it; and, in fact, may not have had any exact knowledge of doctrinal matters at all. Nothing is easier than to suppose that Zosimus was one of those Roman ecclesiastics who sought to make themselves familiar only with the liturgical forms and practical business of the church, but took no interest in theological studies. And in this case it would admit of being readily explained, how, without any independent theological judgment of his own, he was liable to be governed by the influence of others; as, at present, by the influence of the Pelagian party existing in Rome.[1]

The North African bishops, accustomed already, in less important matters, to assert their independence in opposition to the arrogant claims of the Roman bishops to a supreme judicial authority, had no inclination to sacrifice a doctrinal conviction of so much weight to themselves, to the arbitrary decision of a man in whom the inherited authority of a successor of the apostle Peter was to supply the place of a theological judgment resting on its own independent grounds. Accordingly they addressed to the Roman bishop, in the name of a council assembled at Carthage, a letter, in which, probably with all professions of respect, they protested against his decision.[2] They gave Zosimus to understand, that he had too easily allowed himself to be deceived by the vague declarations of Cœlestius. The decided language of these bishops, combined with many other powerful influences from without, had already produced such an effect, that Zosimus began to assume another tone, although he was quite careful not to recede in the least from his claims to supreme judicial authority. In a second letter, he praised, indeed, anew, the decisive authority of the apostolic chair, and defended himself against the reproach of lightness and overhaste in his investigations and decisions; yet he already ceases to make further mention of what he had said in his earlier letters in favor of Pelagius and of Cœlestius; and, in compliance with the request of the Africans, he suspended the final decision of the matter until after further examination. The North African bishops, however, were not at all inclined to wait for a foreign decision. They anticipated this by a decis-

[1] See the edict of the emperor Honorius, hereafter to be cited.

[2] It is to be lamented that this letter has not reached us; and we can only surmise its contents from the answer given to it by Zosimus. Zosimus mentions in his letter an *obtestatio*, which the North-African bishops had sent to Rome. Many learned men have supposed, that by this was meant the letter sent at an earlier period by the bishops to Innocent; but it is much more probable that the *obtestatio* contained in the later letter of the Africans, which is lost, ought here to be understood.

ion on their own part. At an assembly held at Carthage, in the year 418, they drew up nine canons, in which the doctrines relating to the moral condition of human nature, concerning grace and free-will, and concerning baptism, were defined and settled in a way opposed to the system of Pelagius. In this document were expressed the doctrines of the corruption of human nature by the sin of the first man; of death, as the punishment of sin; of grace, as an inward communication of the divine life, from which alone all truly good actions could spring. The fourth canon asserts: "Let him be accursed who says, the grace of God, by virtue of which we are justified through Christ, refers merely to the forgiveness of past sins, and not to assistance to secure us against falling under sin for the future." Can. 5: "Who teaches that this grace helps us to keep from sinning, *only so far* as it opens our minds to a knowledge of the divine commands, so that we are made acquainted with what we must strive after and what we must avoid; but that it does not bestow on us a disposition to love, and a faculty to practice, such commands. For whereas the apostle says, 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth,' it would be very impious to believe, that we have the grace of Christ in order to that which puffeth up, but not in order to that which edifieth; while, in truth, both are the gift of God, not only that we know what we must do, but also that we love it in order to do it; that so where love edifieth, knowledge may not puff up." Furthermore, in the sixth canon the tenet was condemned, that grace merely renders more easy the fulfilment of that which could also be fulfilled without it. In opposition to this view, it was alleged that Christ had not said, "Without me ye would find it more difficult to do anything; but without me ye can do nothing." John 15: 5.

But as the Roman bishop had so preponderant an influence in the Western church, and as his influence could effect so much even at the imperial court, it became necessary for the Africans to secure betimes their ground in that quarter, and to endeavor to gain over the supreme civil power against Zosimus. According to Augustin's principles, — as we have already explained them in the history of the Donatist controversy, — no hesitation ought to be felt, but it should rather be considered a duty, to call upon the civil power to repress unchristian errors. The connection of Augustin with a count Valerius may doubtless have contributed to procure the interposition of the civil power in this present case; as, in fact, Augustin himself, in a controversial tract relating to these matters, which he dedicated to Valerius, intimates that the latter had deserved well of the truth for his exertions in this cause.[1]

[1] De nuptiis et concupiscentia, l. I. § 2: Profanis istis novitatibus, quibus hic disputando resistimus, tu potestate curando et instando efficaciter restitisti. By this Augustin drew upon himself from the Pelagian Julian the deserved reproach, that, as his party could not maintain their cause by reasons, they sought to supply this defect by a resort to outward force. Quam nihil habeant, quod vi qua proteruntur rationis opponant, ut alia eorum scripta, ita hi testantur libelli, qui directi ad militarem virum (quod etiam ipse profiteri potest) aliis magis negotiis quam literis occupatum, impotentiæ contra nos precantur auxilium. Augustin, however, does not deny that he had applied to the civil power in aid of this object; he only thought he had no reason to be ashamed for so doing. He speaks of it with confidence and assurance, as if conscious of hav-

Accordingly, from the year 418 and onward, there appeared several edicts, couched in a style more theological than imperial, against Pelagius and Cœlestius, and their adherents.[1]

The bishop Zosimus was not decided enough in his theological views and character to be able to maintain his ground against such authorities; and besides this, he was, no doubt, closely pressed at home by a powerful anti-Pelagian party, which had long maintained itself in the conflict with the other side. Constantius, a man of some rank, who had left the post of Vicar of Rome (*vicarius urbis*), and become a monk, stood at the head of the former party.[2] Cœlestius was now to appear before the Roman bishop, and sustain a new examination; but he doubtless foresaw the result, and hastily left Rome. Upon this, Zosimus issued a circular letter (tractoria), in which he pronounced sentence of condemnation on Cœlestius and Pelagius; adopted the decisions of the council of Carthage against the Pelagian doctrines, and declared himself on the doctrines of the corruption of human nature, of grace, and of baptism, in accordance with the views of the North-African church. Not without reason might the Pelagians accuse Zosimus and the Roman clergy, who had before shown themselves so favorable to the cause of Pelagius, of denying the convictions they had previously avowed, no matter whether it was ignorance, the force of authority, or the fear of man, which had chiefly contributed to produce this change.[3]

When thus, through the authority of the Western emperor and of a Roman bishop wanting in independence, Pelagianism had been condemned, the circular letter of Zosimus was sent to the whole church of the West, and all bishops were required to subscribe it, in its condemnation both of the doctrine, and also of the persons, of Pelagius and Cœlestius.[4] Those bishops who declined were to be deprived of their

ing done nothing but what was right: "Non impotentiæ contra vos precamur auxilium; sed pro vobis potius, ut ab ausu sacrilego cohibeamini, Christianæ potentiæ laudamus officium." Opus imperfect. l. II. c. 14.

[1] Two of these edicts, one of them addressed to the bishop Aurelius of Carthage, seem to have been issued at the request of the North-African bishops. Moreover, the remarks of the Pelagian Julian presuppose that such a law had been enacted in answer to the petition of the North Africans: but he imagines he can interpret it to the advantage of his party; as may be gathered from the words of Augustin l. III. c. Julian. c. I. § 3. Sane, ut dicis, si pro vobis potius ab imperatore responsum est. But then, it cannot possibly be conceived, how Julian could have given any such interpretation to one of the laws which has come down to us. It is very probable, therefore, that the law intended is one which has not reached our times.

[2] Prosper, in his chronicle, under the twelfth consulate of Honorius, says: Constantius servus Christi ex vicario Romæ habitans, et pro gratia Dei devotissime Pelagianis resistens, factione eorundem multa pertulit. Julian says to his opponents, (opus imperfect. l. III. c. 35:) Cur tantis totam Italiam factionibus commovistis? Cur seditiones Romæ conductis populis excitastis? And even though this must be considered as the accusation of a passionate opponent, yet there may be some truth lying at the bottom here.

[3] Julian accuses Zosimus of prevarication. Augustin. c. Julian. Pelagian. l. VI. § 37. He says of the Roman clergy: Eos jussionis terrore percussos non erubuisse prævaricationis crimen admittere, ut *contra priorem sententiam* suam, qua gestis catholico dogmati adfuerant, (since they were present at that assembly held under Zosimus, which had declared so favorably to the cause of Pelagius and Cœlestius,) pronuntiarent, etc Augustin. contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum, l. II. § 5.

[4] Marius Mercator, in his commonitorium super nomine Cœlestii, says of this circular: Per totum orbem missa subscriptionibus sanctorum patrum est roborata.

places, and banished from their churches;[1] a sentence which was rigorously executed, particularly in Italy, where Pelagianism had many adherents, and in North Africa.

Eighteen bishops of Italy who met this fate complain, not without reason, in a letter composed by the bishop Julian, of Eclanum, and addressed to the bishop Rufus, of Thessalonica, that, without the convocation of a synod, signatures were extorted, separately and individually, from the ignorant bishops, of whom there were so many at that time in the Western church.[2] Several bishops in the department of Aquileja, from whom their metropolitan Augustin, the bishop of this town, demanded their subscriptions, sent to him a covertly Pelagian confession of faith,[3] drawn out in detail, declaring that their conscience did not allow them to condemn Pelagius and Cœlestius, persons who were absent, and whom they had not heard in their own defence;[4] and they appealed to a general council. But many, who had resigned their places for the sake of their convictions, afterwards testified repentance, and were accordingly restored again to their spiritual charges;[5] though the sincerity of their repentance may well be questioned. On the other hand, the bishop Julian, of Eclanum in Apulia, a man whose scientific attainments and pious life had acquired for him universal respect,[6] distinguished himself by his zeal and courage in standing up for the defense of what he deemed to be Christian truth. In predominantly leaning to the side of the practical understanding, his intellectual bent resembled that of Pelagius and Cœlestius. He unfolded their doctrines in the most systematic form. He appears to have been a more passionate man than his predecessors; but we should not forget the oppressed condition of his party. In spite of the imposing authority which the superiority of his intellect had procured for Augustin in the Western church; in spite of the authority which the bishops of Rome derived from their outward position; in spite of the imperial verdict of condemnation, Julian, the banished bishop, in various writings, defended his principles with a freedom reckless of consequences, and in a spirit and style of language which would have well befitted the leader of a dominant party. By his zeal, his scientific gifts, and his exemplary life, he was enabled to secure adherents to his prin-

[1] See the letter of the bishop Aurelius of Carthage to the bishops of two North African provinces, in which letter he calls upon those who had not given their signatures at the council of Carthage, to do it now, so that no room might be left for suspicion against any one: Quo cum in supradictorum hæreticorum damnatione omnium vestrum fuerit integra subscriptio, nihil omnino sit, unde ullius vel dissimulationis vel negligentiæ vel occultæ forsitan pravitatis aliqua videatur merito remansisse suspicio.

[2] *Toto penitus occidente* non minus stultum quam impium dogma esse susceptum et simplicibus episcopis sine congregatione synodi in locis suis sedentibus ad hoc confirmandum subscriptionem extortam. The words cited in Augustin's letter of refutation, addressed to the Roman bishop Boniface, contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum, l. IV. § 20.

[3] To be found, along with some others, in the appendix to the tenth volume of the Benedictine edition of Augustin.

[4] Metuimus in absentem et nobis inauditorum capita dictare sententiam, nisi cum præsentes fuerint confutati.

[5] Marius Mercator. Commonitorium super nomine Cœlestii, c. 5.

[6] Even Augustin esteemed him highly when a young man. See his ep. 101 to Julian's father, the Apulian bishop Memorius.

ciples. A person who belonged to the party of his adversaries reports that in a time of famine he devoted his entire property to deeds of benevolence. To be sure, in the judgment of his opponents, there could be no honest intention in this act of a heretic: it was only a means to gain himself followers.[1]

With deserved indignation, showing the sentiments of a noble mind, Julian rebukes the cowardice of those of his own faith who supposed, as he expresses it, that true discretion consisted in purchasing, by the servility of a degenerate soul, the insecure repose of a moment.[2] He says of them, that, in the worldliness of their own spirit, they accused of contention and obstinacy those who preferred to suffer any evil, rather than to give up their convictions. Had there been a frank and manly bearing among the bishops, he thinks public opinion would as certainly have declared against the delusion of the Traducianists, as invincible reason destroyed it. In order to the defense of truth, science and courage (scientia et fortitudo) must be united; neither is of any avail without the other.[3]

Not without reason might Julian complain of the oppressive measures against the adherents of the Pelagian doctrines; not without reason might he complain that Pelagian and Cœlestian had been coined into heretical names wherewith to terrify the ignorant multitude, and that the latter were constituted judges on points which they were not competent to understand.[4] He demanded, on the contrary, that wise and judicious men should be chosen out of all ranks and professions, whether ecclesiastics or civilians, to investigate the question; such as, though few in number, might yet be distinguished for reason, scientific cultivation, and freedom of spirit.[5] He complained that the guidance of the church had been wrested from reason, in order that a doctrine which recommended itself to the people might have liberty to spread everywhere without check or hindrance.[6] He objects to his opponents, that they used every means to prevent freedom of inquiry, by calling in the secular power; for they felt themselves obliged to resort to force, because they were deserted by reason.[7] Augustin, on the other hand, proceeding on his own principles of ecclesiastical law, which we have already explained, and his idea of the church, appealed to the authority of the church, which had already decided the question, and to the legitimate power of the magistracy, which is bound to punish the propagators of error in the same manner as other evil-doers. "Wouldst

[1] See Gennadius de V. J. c. 45. That Julian acted as the organ of a party, is seen from opus imperfect. l. I. c. 51, where he says, it had been entrusted to him by sanctis viris nostri temporis confessoribus (these of course were the confessors of Pelagianism) to write against Augustin.

[2] Nihil magis cautis convenire consiliis, quam degeneris animi famulatu emere vel infidam momentorum quietem.

[3] Opus imperfect. c. Julian, l. V. c. 1, 2.

[4] Quod Cœlestianorum vel Pelagianorum nomine homines terreamus, l. II. c. Julianum, § 34. That it was endeavored to stir up against them homines de plebeila fæce sellulariorum, milites, scholasticos auditoriales, nautas, tabernarios, etc. § 37.

[5] Paucitas quam ratio, eruditio libertasque sublimat, c. Julian. l. II. § 36.

[6] Eripiuntur ecclesiæ gubernacula rationis, ut erecto cornu vclificet dogma populare, c. Julian. opus imperfectum, l. II. c. 2.

[7] Quod omnibus opibus negationem examinis a mundi potestatibus comparatis; intelligitis enim, agendum vobis vi esse, cum deserimini rationis auxilio. L. c. c. 103.

thou have no fear of the magistracy," says he to him, "then do what is right. But there is nothing right in maintaining a heretical, in opposition to the apostolic doctrine. The heresy which the bishops have already condemned needs no longer to be examined, but should be checked by the power of a Christian magistracy."[1] Julian constantly made his appeal to "reason," which alone should examine and decide on all questions. But this reason assuredly had to do only with universal conceptions. From mere reason it was impossible to understand what was meant by original sin, the need of redemption, and redemption itself. The subject-matter of these conceptions could be understood only from the actual experience of the soul. Had Julian consistently followed out his "reason," he must have gone a great deal farther in his negations. Augustin could oppose to him the consciousness of the Christian church, which was not first made to be such by this or that bishop, but which was found already present by all as the one which existed from the beginning. And the objection that the doctrine was a *popular* one, and agreeable to the people, he does not repel, but admits the statement to be true; contending that it is not so much an objection as a commendation, that the doctrine which responds to the *consciousness of the Christian church* should be distinctly marked. "Such a people," says he, "Ambrose did not *make*, but he *found*. We admit our doctrine is a doctrine of the people; for we are the people of Him who was for this reason called Jesus, because he redeemed his people from their sins."[2] And Julian himself, on another occasion, agrees with Augustin in attaching importance to the popular consciousness, when he appeals from the authority of the church, and from what appeared to him to be an arbitrary imposition of doctrinal subtileties, to the same consciousness;[3] though not indeed to the peculiar subject-matter of the Christian consciousness, but to the foundation of the universal consciousness of God; which itself, however, without the influence of Christianity, could not have been so clearly developed. He who on other occasions was so used to refer to the learned and to the more cultivated minds, referred also to the simple, who, being occupied with the cares of business, had received nothing from the schools, yet by faith alone had sought to attain to the church of Christ. He advised them not to allow themselves to be disturbed by dark questions; but, while they believed God to be the true Creator of men, to believe without wavering also, that he is a good, a true, and a just being; and, while they held fast their conviction of this Trinity, they might admit and approve every thing which they heard agreeing with this idea; while they should let no force of argument deprive

[1] Vis non timere potestatem? bonum fac. Non est autem bonum, contra apostolicum sensum exserere et asserere hæreticum sensum. Damnata ergo hæresis ab episcopis non adhuc examinanda, sed coërcenda est a potestatibus Christianis. L. c

[2] Tales populos non *fecit*, sed *invenit* Ambrosius; fatemur dogma nostrum esse populare, quia populus ejus sumus, qui proterea est appellatus Jesus, quia salvum fecit populum suum a peccatis eorum. L. c. c. 2.

[3] Thus, therefore, against the doctrine of absolute predestination, and for the acknowledgment of free self-determination.

them of this, but might repudiate every authority and every party which sought to convince them of the contrary.[1]

The principles of Pelagianism rigidly carried out, would have gone to the extreme of denying altogether man's need of redemption; consequently, of making Christ wholly superfluous; hence, of giving an entirely new shape to the church doctrine concerning Christ. Yet, though these principles were not unfolded with this rigid consistency, they could not fail, if but applied, so *far* as they were unfolded, with a clear consciousness of their import and with logical closeness, to beget a theory of the person of Christ of a peculiar stamp, and corresponding to the principles themselves. This connection, however, never betrayed itself in the way in which Pelagius and Cœlestius were accustomed to present their scheme; for only the disputed questions respecting the character of man were deemed of importance by them: on all other points they adopted the common doctrines, receiving them without alteration, and without examining how far they harmonized with their fundamental positions. Yet we have seen already, in the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia, how closely his peculiar views of man, the relation of which to the (in many respects) kindred Pelagian views we shall consider more at large hereafter,—how closely his doctrine of human freedom was connected with his peculiar notions respecting the character and work of Christ. A trace of this connection we perceive in Julian of Eclanum, who objects to his opponents, that, if they did not suppose a human nature in Christ subjected to the seductions of sense, and to temptation, as in other men, but derived every thing of a moral nature in him only from a natural necessity, they could not suppose in him any true human virtue, nor recognize him as a moral example for mankind.[2] The same connection also would be very apparent in a man who, near the commencement of the fifth century, was called a follower of the Pelagian doctrines, if indeed he was rightly so named. We mean *Leporius*, a monk and presbyter in the south of France.[3]

Leporius is said to have been condemned in his native country, on account of his Pelagian tenets, and, in consequence of this, to have emigrated with several of his followers, in 426, to North Africa. But at Carthage he was convinced by several bishops, chiefly perhaps by Augustin, that he was in an error. The bishops by whom he had been convinced, commended him to the paternal gentleness of their Gallic colleagues, in a letter accompanying the recantation of Leporius. In this recantation, he calls God to witness, that he had supposed his error to be the truth; that a well-meant zeal, though without knowledge, had

[1] Simplices, qui aliis occupati negotiis nihil de eruditione ceperunt, sola tamen fide ad ecclesiam Christi pervenire curarunt, ne facile obscuris quæstionibus terreantur, sed credentes, etc. Nec hoc eis ulla vis argumentationis evellat, sed detestentur omnem auctoritatem atque omnem societatem contraria persuadere nitentem. C. Julian. l. V. § 4.

[2] Ut omnis virtutum pulchritudo, quam in se Christus expresserat, indebitis naturæ ejus laudibus vacuata flaccesceret, cunctoque veritatis suæ splendore nudata sacrum magisterium mediatoris offeret irrisui. Opus imperfect. l. IV. c. 50.

[3] He is called a Pelagian by Cassian, de incarnatione Christi, lib. I. c. 4, and Gennadius, de V. J. c. 59.

deceived him. This introduction is suited to inspire confidence in the sincerity of his recantation; but, from many things which he says in this document, it is difficult to believe, that a man who, in his earlier doctrine concerning the person of Christ, discovers a tendency of mind so near akin to that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, would now pass to a mode of expression so opposite, and pushed even to the extreme of crassness, as exhibits itself in many passages of this recantation. But perfectly ignorant as we are of what, in the meanwhile, had been working within the breast of this individual, we can come to no further determination on this subject.

In the above-mentioned recantation drawn up by Leporius, no traces are to be found of *Pelagian* doctrines; but the heretical matter in his doctrines would seem, according to this, to have consisted simply in a view of Christ's person agreeing, in all respects, with the principles of the Antiochian school. Like Theodore, he opposed the confounding of the predicates of the two natures. "It was not God himself who was born as man, but a perfect man was born with God." On the other hand, he now said, in his recantation: "I believe thoroughly that God is unable to do only what he does not will to do. If God willed to be born, as he assuredly did, I firmly believe also that he could be born; since God's essence is subject to no limitation." Like Theodore, he had distinguished from each other the different senses in which Christ is called Son of God according to the two natures, the proper Son of God according to his divine, and the adopted Son of God according to his human nature.[1] He likewise supposed, as did Theodore, a progressive revelation of the deity, in the human nature associated with it, up to the time of Christ's resurrection.[2] He conceived of Christ, in his temptations and sufferings, as a man left to himself, so that by his efforts, his obedience, his merits, his constancy,[3] he achieved for himself that higher state which began with his resurrection. He also maintained with Theodore, that omniscience was not to be ascribed to our Saviour as man, and that the ignorance which he professed with respect to the time of the final judgment was to be understood in the literal sense.

If we might believe, then, that account which represents Leporius to have been a Pelagian, it might very easily be explained how he must have evolved his doctrine concerning the nature of Christ out of his doctrine concerning man. But the singularity in this case would be, that the bishops of Carthage, who looked upon the opposition to everything Pelagian as so important, should have required no recantation from Leporius on *these* points. We might from this circumstance be led to conjecture, that the Pelagianism with which he was charged had been imputed to him only by inference. Or we must suppose that two epochs are to be assumed in the history of the progress of Leporius in forming his doctrinal system, which Cassian

[1] Filius Dei proprius — et adoptivus.

[2] As may be gathered from the antithesis in the recantation: Nec quasi per gradus et tempora proficientem in Deum, alterius status ante resurrectionem, alterius post resurrectionem fuisse credamus.

[3] Laborem, devotionem, meritum, fidem.

and Gennadius have neglected to notice; — the first, when he was a Pelagian; next, when he was induced to subscribe the circular letter of Zosimus, and no longer appeared as so open an advocate of Pelagianism. But his Pelagianism, which had been merely suppressed, had subsequently led him to the peculiar doctrines which he maintained concerning the person of Christ, which he supposed he might teach, without infringing on the doctrines of the church, since, in fact, previous to the outbreak of the Nestorian controversies, a great deal on this subject was still vague and undefined.

Among the zealous defenders of the Pelagian doctrines, deserves to be particularly mentioned, *Annianus*, deacon of the church at Celeda (perhaps in Italy[1]). By the decision of Zosimus, already mentioned, he was most probably obliged to resign his spiritual charge; but he continued to exert an active influence in favor of the principles of the persecuted party, to which he gloried in belonging.[2] He believed that he was contending for the cause of morality, which, by the doctrines of the Traducianists, was exposed to the utmost peril,[3] — and for the cause of moral freedom, the recognition of which distinguished Christianity from Paganism, where sin was palliated by charging it on natural necessity and fate.[4] Believing that he found in the prevailingly moral interest evinced by Chrysostom, in the manner in which he attacked the excuses plead by moral remissness, in the manner in which he stood up in defence of free-will along with grace,[5] a great deal which, being akin to his own views, admitted also of being opposed to the principles of the Traducianists and the new Manicheans,[6] he translated the Homilies of Chrysostom on the gospel of Matthew,[7] and his Homilies in praise of the apostle Paul, into Latin; and accompanied these translations with dedications to his Pelagian friends, in which he very plainly avowed his own principles.[8]

Various offshoots from the Pelagian party continued to propagate themselves in Italy, down to the middle of the fifth century; and the Roman bishop, Leo the Great, had occasion once more to remind the bishops, that no ecclesiastic belonging to the Pelagian party could be reädmitted to the communion of the church without a very distinct recantation, and without expressly subscribing all the decisions of the church in opposition to its doctrines. As late as the close of the fifth century, an aged bishop named *Seneca* appeared in Italy, who ven-

[1] See Hieronym. ep. 202 ad Alypium et Augustinum (Aug. epp.), where he is cited as a friend of Pelagius and author of a violent controversial tract.

[2] In the dedication to Orontius, one of the deposed Pelagian bishops: Inter has, quas pro fidei vobiscum amore perpetimur tentationum procellas.

[3] Per occasionem quarundam nimis difficilium quæstionum ædificationi morum atque ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ satis insolenter obstrepitur.

[4] Ingenitæ nobis a Deo libertatis decus, cujus confessio præcipuum inter nos gentilesque discrimen est.

[5] See below, the development of his system.

[6] Non enim est in alterutro (doctrine concerning grace or free-will) aut incautus aut nimius, sed in utroque moderatus. Pro evangelica perfectione nobiscum pugnare videtur. Videtur non tam præsentes informasse discipulos, quam nobis contra veræ fidei oppugnationem auxilia præparasse.

[7] Only his translation of eight homilies has come down to our times.

[8] See opp. Chysostomi ed. Montfaucon. T. II. et T. VII.

tured publicly to defend doctrines akin to Pelagianism, and, in fact, to excommunicate a presbyter, who contradicted them. It is impossible, however, from the letter, written in passion, which the Roman bishop Gelasius issued against him, to determine with certainty whether he really stood in any outward connection with the Pelagian party, or whether perhaps, as an unlearned man (if what Gelasius says is true), and without knowing anything about Pelagius, while supposing himself to be perfectly orthodox, he had been forced, in opposing the doctrine of original sin in its stiffest form, and the doctrine of the damnation of unbaptized infants, so revolting to all sound feelings, to hazard many assertions closely bordering on Pelagianism.[1]

If now we glance back at the result of these disputes in the Western church, it certainly cannot be denied, that as well here as in the doctrinal controversies of the Oriental church, it was no free development of the opposite sides which had brought about that result; but Pelagianism had succumbed to an outward force, which hindered it from freely expressing itself. At the same time, however, a great difference is manifest between the course of these disputes, and of those in the Oriental church. It was not the shifts and intrigues of a theological party, which, mixing up secular and spiritual interests, contrived to connect itself with the court, that led to this issue; but it was the superior intellect of an individual, actuated solely by zeal for what he considered to be sacred truth, which, controlling the minds around it, succeeded by their means to make the civil power subservient to his own convictions. And although a few men of independent minds were obliged to yield to force and to numbers, yet the doctrine which in this case gained the victory was not, as so frequently happened in the Oriental church, a doctrine forced upon the natural development of the church by the secular power; but that doctrine conquered which had on its side the voice of the universal Christian consciousness, since this declared itself against the Pelagian tendency; — the doctrine conquered which found a ready point of union in the whole life and experience of the church, as expressed in its prayers and in all its liturgical forms. Hence also it followed, that although Pelagianism had been conquered rather by suppression than by free evolution, yet there was no violent reaction on *this* side; as we always see in the Eastern church, on the contrary, a violent reaction called forth by the forcible imposition of doctrines. But, for this very reason, the system of Augustin, as will hereafter appear, could not so easily succeed in establishing its claims to validity on *another* side of it, where this system itself came in collision with a higher inward power, with a conviction hitherto dominant in the great majority of minds, and which in fact struck its roots in the depths of the Christian life and consciousness.

We will, then, in the first place, before proceeding further to develop the history, bring more distinctly to view what has just been stated, by

[1] See the documents in the appendix to the tenth volume of the Benedictine edition of Augustin.

contemplating more nearly the inner relation to each other of the conflicting views which here present themselves, and the manner in which the conflict was carried on between them. And first, in respect to the importance of the disputed questions of which we here speak, in their bearing on the Christian system of faith; Pelagius, it is true, and especially Cœlestius,[1] sought to lower the importance of the points in dispute, as if all differences here might be reduced to mere diversities of speculative opinion, which had nothing to do with faith. But to this course they were led by their relation to the dominant party in the church; since for the present their only anxiety was that they might be allowed freely to express their own peculiar principles, as others were allowed to express the opposite ones. For a different course was pursued by the ardent and untrammelled bishop Julian of Eclanum, who, after being spurned from the dominant church, had no further cause to seek after a reconciliation of differences. He denounces[2] in the strongest terms those of his party who, in yielding from outward motives to the party in power, consoled themselves with the reflection,[3] that this dispute had nothing to do with the essentials of faith, but related merely to obscure questions in which faith was but slightly concerned. He maintained, on the contrary, that the highest object of Christian faith itself, the doctrine concerning God, was essentially concerned here; for the Traducianists[4] and the Catholics did not agree even in their doctrine concerning God. The God of the Traducianists was not the God of the gospel; for since they taught that human nature is, from the birth upwards, tainted with sin, and since they declared concupiscence itself to be sin, they denied either that God is the creator of man's nature, and made Satan its author, and consequently fell into Manichaeism, or they made God himself to be the author of sin; and in teaching that God was a being who punished unavoidable sin, and who arbitrarily assigned the destinies of woe or of bliss, they impinged upon his moral attributes of holiness and justice. On the other side, Augustin did not concede to Cœlestius, that this dispute was so unimportant in its bearing on doctrines; for as the acknowledgment of the doctrine of a Redeemer and a redemption, in which consisted the essence of Christianity, presupposed the acknowledgment of a need of redemption, hence this doctrine was closely connected with the doctrine of the corruption of man's nature, and accordingly with the doctrine of the first sin and its consequences; and the former fundamental doctrine, without this presupposition, lost its significance. On the contrast, therefore, between Adam and Christ, rested the essence of Christianity.[5] Among the Pelagians, accordingly, the predominant polemical interest was the in-

[1] See above, his trial at Carthage, and his letter to the Roman bishop. Pp. 640, 645.

[2] Opus imperfectum Augustini contra Julianum, l. V. c. 2 et seq. and l. VI. init.

[3] Ejusmodi opinionem hactenus super nostro fuisse certamine, ut ad quæstionem involutam magis quam ad summam spectare fidei crederetur.

[4] As he denominated the defenders of the doctrine of original sin, accusing them of maintaining that sin was propagated by generation, the propagatio peccati per traducem.

[5] In causa duorum hominum, quorum per unum venumdati sumus sub peccato, per alterum redimimur a peccatis, proprie fides Christiana consistit. Augustin. de peccato originali, § 28.

terest in behalf of the universal idea of a religious moral sense, which may continue to exist, at least for a time, even when the characteristic peculiarity of Christianity is dissolved, although without the influence of this latter even that universal material would not have been *so* defined; while, with Augustin, the predominant interest was in behalf of that which constitutes the more peculiar essence of the Christian consciousness.

As, in this controversy, several matters, standing closely connected together in the Christian system of faith, were brought into the discussion, the question now forces itself upon us, whether perhaps all the individual differences which here presented themselves to view might not be reduced to one fundamental difference in the mode of religious apprehension, from which, as the original source, all the others proceeded. But if, in examining doctrinal controversies generally, we should ourselves distinguish what is set forth with clear consciousness by the contending parties as the fundamental point of difference, and the still more general and more recondite opposition, to which this fundamental difference admits of being reduced, though the contending parties, who have not traced the opposition to its ultimate grounds, are not conscious of any such thing, — it is of the more importance to make a distinction in the present case, because the convictions of those who defended the Pelagian doctrines had grown out of a practical interest, while they stood on the common ground of a system which had been handed down to them, and against which they had no intention whatever to contend. Furthermore, we must distinguish what is original and what derived in the genetic development out of the life within, out of the Christian consciousness, and what stands in the same relation of original and derived in the speculative conceptions of the understanding.

If we are contented to receive as true what was constantly expressed with clear consciousness by both the parties themselves, it must seem that the dispute properly started from the different modes of contemplating human nature in its present condition, or, more particularly, from different notions with regard to the relation in which the moral condition of the later race stands to the sin of the first man; for everything else that came into the discussion, the different notions respecting man's need of help, respecting the nature of the redemption, respecting the work of Christ and the operation of Christianity, respecting the object and the effects of baptism,— all this was closely connected with the fundamental difference above mentioned. Augustin, in fact, was continually falling back upon the position, that man found himself in a state of corruption; and, on the other hand, this was the point to which the denial of the Pelagians particularly referred. Moreover, in the development of the religious consciousness, this will constitute the most original and the most important difference of all, namely, in what relation man places himself to God and Christ, whether in the relation of one who needs help and redemption, or not; and in what degree of strength this consciousness manifests itself.

At the same time, however, we meet with many disputed points which do not admit of being thus traced back to this fundamental

difference. On the contrary, differences of the two systems in individual points are to be be met with, from which *that very disputed point itself* which was prominently set forth by the *disputants* as the most *universal of all* admits of being derived.

Accordingly we find here, in the first place, a different mode of apprehending *one conception* of great importance on account of its bearing on the system of religion and morals, which did not proceed from the different modes of apprehending the present state of human nature, but rather lay at the foundation of these different views themselves. We mean the different ways of apprehending the doctrine concerning the freedom of the human will. In the Pelagian system, moral freedom is apprehended as a freedom of choice; as the faculty of deciding at each moment alike between good and evil; of choosing one of the two for its determinations. This is the fruitful root, which, according to the different bent of the will, produces good or evil.[1] On the other hand, Augustin says, such an indifference, such an equipendency between evil and good, from whence man is able at each moment alike to decide in favor of the one or the other,[2] is a thing utterly inconceivable. Man is already determined within himself by his disposition, before he proceeds to act. Evil and good cannot spring from the same root. The good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor the evil tree good fruit. The root from which all good proceeds is love to God; the root of all evil is love to self. According as man is predominantly actuated by love to God, or love to himself, he brings to pass that which is good or that which is evil.[3] That definition of free-will, he maintains, cannot apply to God nor to holy beings.[4] It, in fact, presupposes a corruption of the moral powers, and loses its applicability the more in proportion as man advances farther in moral development, in proportion as he approaches to true freedom. At the highest point of moral advancement, freedom and necessity meet together;[5] the rational being acts with freedom, in determining himself according to the inward law of his moral nature. Since evil is that which is at variance with the original essence of the rational creature; that which is not grounded in nature, but which contradicts nature; it follows that that which, in the Pelagian definition, is regarded as the characteristic mark of moral freedom, already presupposes a corruption of the moral nature, as sin exercises over it a power of attraction which it ought not to exercise.

With this difference was connected still other important differences.

[1] The words of Pelagius in the first book of his work de libero arbitrio: Habemus possibilitatem utriusque partis a Deo insitam, velut quandam, ut ita dicam, radicem fructiferam, quæ ex voluntate hominis diversa gignat, et quæ possit ad proprii cultoris arbitrium vel nitere flore virtutum vel sentibus horrere vitiorum. Augustin. de gratia Christi contra Pelagium et Cœlestium, § 19. With this, Julian agrees in several passages cited by Augustin, Opus imperfectum, l. V. et VI.

[2] As Augustin aptly describes it in his work against Julian: Libra tua, quam conaris ex utraque parte per æqualia momenta suspendere, ut voluntas quantum est ad malum, tantum etiam sit ad bonum libera. Opus imperfectum, c. Julian l III. c. 117.

[3] Comp. Augustin. l. c. de gratia Christi, c. Pelag. et Cœlest. § 21: Aliud est caritas, radix bonorum, aliud cupiditas, radix malorum; tantumque inter se differunt, quantum virtus et vitium.

[4] C. Julian. opus imperfect. l. VI. c. 10.

[5] The beata necessitas boni, as opposed to the misera necessitas mali.

If we look, not at the connection of the genetic development of the Christian life, but at the connection of thought, we shall be obliged to say: Proceeding on the above-stated more ideal and material[1] conception of freedom, Augustin must believe that he found in the actual appearance of human nature an opposition to the freedom which was so apprehended, inasmuch as this true conception of freedom is in this case nowhere applicable. Man uniformly finds himself in a state contradicting this freedom, in a condition of bondage to sin. Thus, this determinate conception of freedom leads Augustin to the presupposition of a corruption of human nature, and of an original moral condition which preceded it. And cohering also with this is the thought, that, when once this original freedom had been disturbed by the first freely chosen aberration from the law of the original nature, a state of bondage followed after the state of freedom. As human nature, evolving itself in conformity with its condition by nature, surrendering itself to the godlike, becomes continually more confirmed and established in true freedom; so, in surrendering itself to sin, it becomes continually more involved in the bondage of sin, to which Augustin frequently applies the words of Christ: "He who commits sin is the servant of sin." Evil is its own punishment, as goodness is its own reward. On the other hand, Pelagius and his adherents found no cause, inasmuch as they proceeded on that more formal and empirical conception of freedom, to suppose any corruption of the moral nature, and any different original condition of it. With the essence of freedom, the possibility of evil as well as of good is for them, in and of itself, already supposed. This possibility belongs to the essence of human nature, and is hence something inalienable. The question, Whence comes sin? is therefore not to be entertained. That man, who, having it at each moment in his power to choose the good as well as the evil, chooses the evil, has no other cause for this than his momentary self-determination, else he would not be free. When, therefore, even the Pelagians were constrained by an outward authority to adopt the opinion of an original moral state, of a first man and of a first sin as a fact, yet it is clear that this opinion could stand in no inner connection with their anthropological system as a whole; that they, on the contrary, remained indifferent to it; for, according to their presupposition of moral freedom apprehended as above described, the moral condition of human nature could suffer no essential change: the same faculty of choice between good and evil continued still to exist.

In connection with this stands another doctrinal conclusion. Pelagius places human nature, furnished by God as its creator with the moral faculty, in the middle between good and evil; but Augustin considers human nature either as existing in its original state, in communion with the original source of goodness, freely serving it as its natural organ; or estranged from the higher power of goodness, whose organ human nature was destined to be, and enslaved by the foreign power of evil. The moral faculties of man point, according to Augus-

[1] As distinguished from "formal"

tin, to the original fountain of good, from which alone all goodness can flow,— to God, communion with whom is the supreme good of beings endowed with reason, and without whose communion nothing exists but evil. The following antithesis, therefore, presents itself: Life in communion with God, the divine life, the supremacy of goodness, nature subordinated to grace; and, on the other side, estrangement from God by a bent of will fallen from the supreme good,— self-love, sin. The Pelagian idea of freedom, on the contrary, admits of no such divine principle of life transforming and ennobling man's nature, nor of any systematically grounded opposition between nature and grace. God has provided human nature with all the capacities and powers requisite to the fulfillment of its destination, and so also with moral powers for the practical exercise of all goodness. This unchangeable faculty is the work of God alone. It belongs only to man, that he should by his will apply these powers bestowed on him by his Creator, and thereby become what God has destined him to be. The ability is from God; the act of willing and being, from man.[1]

But Augustin does not suppose, like Pelagius, that man, after having been once endowed by the Creator with reason and free-will, the capacities for the knowledge and practical exercise of goodness, was then wholly left to himself in the application of them; but he supposes man also, in this latter respect, to be still in absolute and constant dependence on God as the sole original source of all being, all truth and goodness. The capacities of the rational creature are not anything complete and self-sufficient by themselves, but only organs to receive, to appropriate, and to reveal what is communicated to them by fellowship with that absolute source of truth and goodness. Just as the eye stands in a certain correlation to the sun, so reason stands in correlation to God.[2] By this principle he was necessarily led to conceive that *all* rational beings, and not man alone, are dependent on grace (gratia, the inward revelation and communication of God, the community of the divine life), in order to the attainment of their destined end. And it follows from this, that, according to Augustin, this dependence does not first proceed from the vitiation of man's moral nature, but was originally implanted in this, in like manner as in the nature of all the rational creatures of God. God is the absolute spirit, whose will is law,—without whose fellowship, without whose support and assistance, no creaturely spirit, whether angel or man, can persevere in goodness, in the sound and healthful development of his essential being, which is akin to the divine. Had not such support and aid been bestowed on the angels and on the first man, their apostasy from God

[1] Pelagius, quoted by Augustin de gratia Christi, c. 4: Primum illud, id est posse, ad Deum proprie pertinet, qui illud creaturæ suæ contulit: duo vero reliqua, hoc est, velle et esse, ad hominem referenda sunt, quia de arbitrii fonte descendunt.

[2] E. g. Augustin's words: Sicut corporis oculus non adjuvatur a luce, ut ab eadem luce clausus aversusque discedat, ut autem videat, adjuvatur ab ea, neque hoc omnino, nisi illa adjuverit, potest; ita Deus, qui lux est hominis interioris, adjuvat nostræ mentis obtutum, ut non secundum nostram sed secundum ejus justitiam boni aliquid operemur. De peccatorum meritis et remissione, l. II. § 5.

would have involved no guilt. They would have wanted the requisite means for persevering in the original state.[1] It was first to be made manifest, in the development of rational creatures, what the free-will was capable of doing by itself; in order that, if it should show itself worthy of such a reward, the higher power of grace might supervene, to ennoble rational creatures, and conduct them onward to their perfection. Thus the angels, forasmuch as they remained faithful by their free-will to the divine grace, attained to that higher measure of grace, by virtue of which they were made secure against ever falling,—to the immutability of the divine life,—to that fulness of love which admits no intrusion of the selfish principle. To the same dignity the first man would also have attained, had he fulfilled that condition, and remained true to God by the bent of his free-will.[2]

Thus we arrive here at a difference which is not to be traced to different notions respecting the empirically given, the present condition of human nature, but which precedes it; although this difference was made more prominent by the more speculative and systematic mind of Augustin, than it was by the Pelagians, who did not lay so deep the foundations of their theory; — a different view of man's relation to God in the original state itself, inasmuch as man, even in this state, was dependent on God's grace, which he could appropriate with his own free-will, and through which alone he could fulfill all goodness.[3] The different way in which the present state of human nature was regarded, originated in a different mode of apprehending the relation of the rational creature to God; of the natural to the supernatural. While the rigid prosecution of the Pelagian principles to their consequences left no foothold whatever for the recognition of anything supernatural; in the system of Augustin, on the contrary, the point of union for the supernatural element is given from the outset. According to his conception, such is the nature of the rational spirit, that it can find nowhere, but in surrendering itself to a supernatural, godlike element, its true life, the realization of its destiny. And his views in this respect correspond to that which was expressed by the older church-teachers concerning the relation of the image of God to likeness with God.[4] Now from these views, as its

[1] Si hoc adjutorium vel angelo vel homini, cum primum facti sunt, defuisset, quoniam non talis natura facta erat, ut sine divino adjutorio posset manere si vellet, non utique sua culpa cecedissent, adjutorium quippe defuisset, sine quo manere non possent. Augustin. de correptione et gratia, § 32.

[2] Deum sic ordinasse angelorum et hominum vitam, ut in ea prius ostenderet, quid posset eorum liberum arbitrium, deinde quid posset suæ gratiæ beneficium. The end which the good angels attained by the persevering bent of their will — donec istam summæ beatitudinis plenitudinem tanquam præmium ipsius permansionis acciperent, id est, ut magna per Spiritum Sanctum data abundantia caritatis Dei, cadere ulterius omnino non possent, et hoc de se certissime nossent. And of the first man: In quo statu recto et sine vitio, si per ipsum liberum arbitrium manere voluisset, profecto sine ullo mortis et infelicitatis experimento acciperet illam merito hujus permansionis beatitudinis plenitudinem. L. c. § 27, 28.

[3] Augustin. de correptione et gratia, § 31. Habuit primus homo gratiam, in qua si permanere vellet, nunquam malus esset, et sine qua etiam cum libero arbitrio bonus esse non posset. Liberum arbitrium ad malum sufficit; ad bonum autem parum est, nisi adjuvetur ab omnipotenti bono.

[4] See above, vol. I. p. 613.

foundation, resulted the doctrine of Augustin, that since man, by his free-will, became estranged from God, the original fountain of all good, this free-will, left to itself, was now only active to sin; and that he needed a new supervenient grace, in order to be brought back to goodness; so that it was at this point the question arose which came into discussion in the dispute between the two parties.

But we may reduce this difference again still farther back to a difference in the mode of apprehending the relation of the creation to the Creator, although this difference did not actually come into discussion in the controversy. Pelagianism was based on the view, that when God had once created the world, and provided it with all the powers requisite for its preservation and development, he permitted it to go on with the powers bestowed on it, and according to the laws implanted in it; so that the continuous operation of the divine agency was with reference only to the preservation of the powers and capacities, but not to any *concursus* in order to their development and exercise. Augustin, on the other hand, conceives God's agency of preservation as a continual creation, and the life and activity of the creatures, collectively and individually, as depending on the almighty and omnipresent agency of God, and conditioned thereon; standing in absolute dependence upon it at each moment.[1]

Although this difference was not generally brought to notice and dwelt upon in this controversy, yet Jerome perceived that the whole matter was to be reduced to this; and he laid it as a charge against the Pelagians, that they denied the absolute dependence of the creature on the Creator; that they placed man on a level with God by this independence which they attributed to him in reference to his actions; and opposed to them the words of Christ in John 5: 17, respecting God's agency in the creation, which is never at rest, but always putting forth.[2] And, in a certain sense, it may unquestionably be affirmed, that not only in its development under the form of conceptions,

[1] E. g. Augustin's words: Deus, cujus occulta potentia cuncta penetrans incontaminabili præsentia facit esse quicquid aliquo modo est, in quantumcunque est, quia nisi faciente illo non tale vel tale esset; sed prorsus esse non posset. De civitate Dei, l. XII. c. 25. Compare what has been said above with regard to Augustin's doctrine of creation and preservation. See p. 476.

[2] Hieronymus in epistola ad Ctesiphontem: Istiusmodi homines per liberum arbitrium non homines propriæ voluntatis, sed Dei potentiæ, factos se esse jactitant, qui nullius ope indigent. Sciamus nos nihil esse, nisi quod donavit, in nobis ipse servaverit. Joh. 5: 17. Non mihi sufficit, quod semel donavit, nisi semper donaverit. Audite, quæso, audite sacrilegum, (now if the succeeding clause was really said of the Pelagians, it would follow, that even the Pelagians themselves had brought this disputed point more clearly to consciousness:) Si voluero curvare digitum, movere manum, sedere, stare, etc.; semper mihi auxilium Dei necessarium erit? This antithesis is also distinctly set forth by Orosius: Non in solo naturali bono generaliter universis unam gratiam tributam; sed speciatim quotidie per tempora, per dies, per momenta, per ἀτόμας et cunctis et singulis ministrari. Dicit enim scriptura, "qui facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos." At tu forte respondes: *Ordinem suum composita bene natura custodit; ac per hoc Deus, elementariis semel cursibus constitutis, facit inde quæ facit.* Quid ergo de illa sententiæ parte, quæ sequitur, opinaris? "Dat pluviam super justos et injustos." Utique qui dat, cum vult dat, et ubi vult dat, vel dispensando dispositam constitutionem, vel effundendo propriam largitatem. — See Orosii apologia de arbitrii libertate, ed. Havercamp. p. 607. Compare also the language of the Roman bishop Innocent cited above, p. 646.

this difference is the most original one, but that we have also presented here the most original, fundamental difference, as it respects the position of the religious consciousness; for the shape which the religious consciousness takes in relation to God as Redeemer, certainly presupposes the shape which the same consciousness takes in relation to God as Creator. The general consciousness of absolute dependence on God is the most original of all, and the whole diversity of religious life depends ultimately on the fact how that consciousness has unfolded and shaped itself.

This difference in fundamental ideas, if it was expressed and applied with clear consciousness, must have had for its consequence an important difference in the views entertained respecting the progress of humanity, and respecting the nature of revelation and redemption; but it was very far from being the case, as has been said, that Pelagius, Cœlestius, or Julian, were distinctly and fully conscious to themselves of the principles lying at the basis of their tenets, and of all the consequences which flowed from them.

From what has been said, it follows that the views entertained by Augustin and by the Pelagians respecting the state of the first man, the character of the first sin and its consequences, must have widely differed from each other, although both parties professed to derive their views from the same source of information,—the narrative in Genesis; and, moreover, both parties agreed with each other in their principles of interpretation, and in the mode of applying these principles, and more particularly in the literal method of exposition. Such an opposition as is supposed in the system of Augustin between the original nature of the first man while as yet disturbed by no moral schism, and the nature of his posterity involved in this schism, could not appear in the Pelagian system; for, according to the latter, human nature has, in fact, in its spiritual and moral capacities, ever continued to be the same. All men find themselves, till they have personally sinned, in the same innocence in which Adam lived before the first transgression. The Pelagians, like the older, particularly the Oriental church-teachers, with whom they, in fact, more especially coincided, compare the state of the first man with that of an innocent, inexperienced child; only with this difference, that, as a thing necessary in order to his preservation, his spiritual and corporeal powers were already unfolded to a certain extent. From this, the Pelagian Julian would also explain the first transgression, and — as the interest of his system required, in order to be able to represent the supposition of such mischievous consequences of it to entire humanity as the more untenable — would make it to appear an altogether trivial matter, the disobedience of a thoughtless child, easily exposed to be carried away by the allurements of sense. God gave the first man a command, for the purpose of bringing him to a consciousness of his moral capacities and of his freedom. This command was a simple one, as the powers of the infantile age demanded: he required of him a proof of childlike obedience.[1] But, inexperienced and thoughtless, as he had not yet

[1] Interdictu unius pomuli testimonium devotionis expetitur.

learned to fear, nor seen any example of virtue,[1] he allowed himself to be enticed by the agreeable aspect of the forbidden fruit, and to be determined by the persuasion of the woman. This excitement of concupiscence was, in itself considered, nothing wrong: it belongs to man's sensuous nature, which he has in common with the brutes, and it moreover proceeds from the Creator himself.[2] It was only the act of allowing the will to be led wrong, and, in compliance with the solicitations of sense, transgressing the divine command, which is to be called sin. Augustin, on the other hand, conceived that there was this great difference between the state of the first man, and all that followed him, that he lived in undisturbed communion with God, for which he was destined; that, by this circumstance, all the powers of his nature were enhanced; the higher and the lower working together in perfect harmony. The human body was not, it is true, as yet equal to the glorified body which we are to receive after the resurrection; but, inasmuch as no schism as yet existed in human nature, it was, without resistance, the subservient organ of the soul, governed and directed by the Spirit of God; and man, if he had remained true to the divine will, would have passed immediately, without the violent transition of death, to a higher, unchangeable, and imperishable existence. Thus, according to the views of Augustin, the importance of the first transgression did not lie in the outward character of the act, in itself considered, nor in the kind of object to which it referred. Augustin, as a moral teacher, generally possessed this great merit, as we have already remarked on other occasions, that he took his stand against the quantitative estimation, which contradicts the true standard of morality, and gave prominence rather to the essential thing of the disposition. The magnitude of the guilt consisted precisely in this, that man, when he was not as yet living in the moral bondage under which his posterity suffer, transgressed with free-will the law of God. The explanation of the fact from the solicitations of sense, Augustin could not admit. Such a temptation implied already the inward corruption: such a conflict between the flesh and the spirit could not arise in that seat of peace. The will of man, subordinated to the divine will, kept even the senses in obedience as organs subservient to the soul. It was only after man, by the inward act, by the opposition of self-love, of self-will against the divine will, had fallen from the latter,— and so, in consequence of this, the cause of all other discord had made its appearance,— that the seductions of sense could lead him astray to transgression of the divine law.[3] Hence it was that the discord now extended itself into all parts of human nature; hence all physical and moral evils, and death as the punishment of sin. All this was transmitted from the first man to his posterity. As, in the first man, the love of self, which appeared in opposition to the divine will, is the source and principle of all sin,— so is it also in the case of the whole race. First from this proceeds concupis-

[1] Rudis, imperitus, incautus, sine experimento timoris, sine exemplo justitiæ.
[2] Contr. Julian. opus imperfect. IV. 38.
[3] In paradiso ab animo cœpit elatio, et ad præceptum transgrediendum inde consensio. Augustin. c. Julian. l. V. § 17.

cence, striving contrary to the law of reason; and, on account of this conflict, which the Pelagians regarded as something inseparable from the human organism, and therefore, in itself considered, excusable, Augustin called it sinful. It was not sense, in itself considered, but the power which sensuous desires, of whatever kind, exercised over the spirit of man, destined for a higher kind of life, the conflict between the sensual and the spiritual, which appeared to him to be a consequence of that original schism, and as something sinful,— it was this that he understood under the term "concupiscence."[1] But his elevated mind, longing after the free life of the spirit, was also inclined to see in every sensual desire affecting the man, in so far as it reäcted upon the soul, disturbing and checking it in its pure spiritual life, a mark of that self-procured bondage.[2] As Augustin started from the ideal of a reason ruling over sense, and, in everything that stood opposed to this natural supremacy, beheld a manifestation and a result of that internal schism, it was accordingly an unjust charge laid against him by the Pelagians, when they accused him of holding, like a Manichaean, that the flesh and its affections are sinful in themselves, and proceed from an evil principle; whereby we will not deny that in the way in which Augustin defined the boundaries between the purely natural and the sinful, the influence of the ascetic tendency in the moral teaching of his time, and the reaction of his noble spirit, as it strove after perfect purity, against that power of sensuality from which he had had to suffer most, and with which he had been forced most to contend, allows itself to be recognized. To Julian, who derived the power of the sinful desires from nature, which man had in common with the brutes, Augustin replied, that man, in the following respect, could not be compared with the brutes: in the case of the latter, there could be no conflict between the flesh and spirit; but man was bound to govern his sensuous nature by the spirit. That, through the power of his sensuous impulses not dependent on his reasonable will, he had come to be on a level with the brutes, is the very consequence of that first schism between the human and the divine will.[3]

But now Augustin supposed, not only that this bondage under the principle of sin, by which sin is its own punishment, was transmitted by the progenitor of the human race to his posterity; but also that the first transgression, as an act, was to be imputed to the whole human race, — that the guilt and the penalty[4] were propagated from one to all. This participation of all in Adam's transgression, Augustin made clear to his own mind in this way: Adam was the representative of the whole race, and bore in himself the entire human nature and kind in the germ, since it was from him it unfolded itself.[5]

[1] Not the sentiendi vivacitas, but the libido sentiendi, quæ nos ad sentiendum, sive consentientes mente, sive repugnantes, appetitu carnalis voluptatis impellit. C. Julian. l. IV. § 65.

[2] Quis autem mente sobrius non mallet, si fieri posset, sine ulla mordaci voluptate carnali, vel arida sumere alimenta, vel humida, sicut sumimus hæc aëria?

[3] Fatere secundum Christianam fidem, etiam istam esse hominis pœnam, quod comparatus est pecoribus insensatis et similis factus est iis. Carnis concupiscentia homini est pœna, non bestiæ, in qua nunquam caro adversus spiritum concupiscit. Opus imperfect c. Julian. IV. 38.

[4] Propagatio reatus et pœnæ.

[5] E. g. de peccatorum meritis et remis-

And this theory would easily blend with Augustin's speculative form of thought, as he had appropriated to himself the Platonico-Aristotelean Realism in the doctrine of general conceptions, and conceived of general conceptions as the original types of the kind realized in individual things. The construction of the passage: Rom. 5: 12,[1] which allowed him to find here a confirmation of his theory, was certainly one already prevailing in the Roman church. But, at all events, the influence of Augustin's peculiar philosophical form of thought, as well as the influence of exegetical tradition and of his own narrow principles of exegesis, on the formation of this doctrine, should not be rated too high; for, as we have before remarked, his whole mode of apprehending the matter had a still deeper ground in his Christian consciousness.

Pelagius and his followers, on the other hand, denied all those physical and moral consequences of the transgression of the first man on the entire race. The imputation of another's guilt conflicts, according to them, with the justice of God; the propagation of guilt conflicts with the idea of sin and of free will; sin is not a thing of nature, but only self-determination of the free will; hence it cannot be transmitted from one to another. "Even the individual," says Julian, "cannot, by means of a simple transgression, suffer a change in his moral nature; he retains the same freedom of the will; the past sin no longer injured the first man when he had repented of it. How, then, was it possible, that the entire human nature should be corrupted thereby?" The proposition of Augustin, that sin punished itself by moral bondage, that sinfulness was at one and the same time the fountain of other sins and the penalty of sin, this proposition was so far from being intelligible to Julian, that he looked upon it as blasphemy, — as if God punished sin by plunging men into other sins.[2] The Pelagians would only admit that Adam had injured his posterity by his example; and in this way they explained all those passages in the New Testament which speak of a connection between the first transgression and the sins of the entire race.[3] But, as it regards

sione, l. III. § 14. In Adam omnes tunc peccaverunt, quando in ejus natura illa insita vi, qua eos gignere poterat, adhuc omnes ille unus fuerunt.

[1] The phrase, in quo omnes peccaverunt, where he refers the in quo to Adam.

[2] See c. Julian. op. imperfect. IV. c. 35. The deep passage in Rom 1: 28, concerning the action and reaction of moral and intellectual blindness, which Augustin had adduced in proof of his proposition, — this passage Julian was so little prepared to understand, that he did not hesitate to explain away the whole depth of the thought by the supposition of a hyperbolical metonymy. To express his abhorrence of such sins, the apostle had said, as it were: Non tam reos quam damnatos sibi tales videri. Yet Augustin was enabled to show Julian, that the latter himself had been obliged to say something similar to the thought, which in another form he found so revolting, quoting the words of Julian: Justissime enim sibi bonus homo et malus committitur, ut et bonus se fruatur et malus se ipse patiatur. C. Julian. l. V. § 35.

[3] It had been easy for Julian to refute Augustin's explanation of the ἐφ' ᾧ, and to show that it should be understood in the sense of propter quod; but it had been equally easy for Augustin to expose the idleness of that explanation of the whole sense, by which it was made to refer simply to the example given by Adam. C. Julian. l. VI. § 75. The apostle — Julian supposed — mentioned Adam alone, and not Adam and Eve together, though both had sinned, on purpose that men might have their minds directed solely to the effect of a given example, and not to a propagation of sin by generation. C. Julian. op. imperfect. II. 56. It is remark-

physical evils and death, Pelagius and his followers, especially Julian, who explained and unfolded this view, endeavored to show, that all this had from the beginning been implanted by the Creator in the essence of man's physical organization, and that, by the destination and historic development of human nature, it could not be otherwise. Pelagius understood those passages in the Epistle to the Romans which speak of death as the punishment of sin, as referring to spiritual death.[1]

The question concerning the propagation of a sinful nature would easily connect itself with the question which had been so much discussed since the times of Tertullian and Origen, respecting the origin and propagation of souls. We have seen already how Cœlestius availed himself of this connection for the purpose of removing both the questions from the whole province of matters pertaining to the interest of faith and of church doctrine, and placing them in the category of subjects where a difference of opinion might exist without infringing on the unity of faith. But Pelagius called the doctrine of the propagatio peccati per traducem, which according to his opinion coincides with the doctrine of original sin, where he expresses himself without ulterior motive, something insane.[2] On the other hand Augustin sought, in this case, to separate that which was important as doctrine, that which was securely grounded in the teachings of sacred Scripture and in the connected system of Christian truth, from that which was rather matter of speculation, and on which Scripture gives no certain decision. He was not to be moved from the conviction that sin and guilt had spread from the first man to all, and he was equally sure that every scheme which conflicted with this presupposition could not be otherwise than false. But yet he did not venture to decide, whether *Creationism* or *Traducianism* was to be adopted as the true theory; although he was well aware what advantages the latter theory would give to his own system, and although this same theory, since the time of Tertullian, had by many in the Western church been combined with the doctrine of the propagation of a sinful nature. Probably he was deterred by the apprehension lest he might fall, with Tertullian, into sensuous representations of the nature of the soul, from deciding in favor of a theory which in other respects must have been so inviting to him. On the other hand, he doubtless perceived also the difficulties which Creationism left unexplained in his system of faith. The reason which Jerome advanced in favor of this view, drawn from the never-resting but continually operative creative agency of God, according to John 5 : 17,[3]

able that Pelagius himself explained the *in quo* in the same way with Augustin, but derived from it another meaning in accordance with his own doctrinal system: Hoc est in eo, quod omnes, peccaverunt, *exemplo* Adæ peccant.

[1] On Rom. 5 : 12, Pelagius says: Nunc apostolus mortem animæ significat, quia Adam prævaricans mortuus est, sicut et propheta dicit: Anima quæ peccat, ipsa morietur. Transivit enim et in omnes homines, qui naturalem legem prævaricati sunt. How important he considered it, that the matter should be so understood, appears from a remark on Rom. 8 : 12: Manifeste nunc ostendit, quia non de communi et naturali morte superius fecerit mentionem.

[2] Pelagius says, on Rom. 7, 8 : Insaniunt, qui de Adam per traducem asserunt ad nos venire peccatum.

[3] See Hieronymus contra errores Joannis Hierosolomytani, § 22, vol. II. l. 427, ed. Vallarsi.

appeared to him to be no sufficient evidence; for he could allege, on the contrary, that, in the case of all propagation in nature, the continual creative agency of God was, in like manner, presupposed.[1] Sacred Scripture appeared to him to furnish a certain warrant for no particular scheme whatever; and accordingly he ended with confessing his ignorance, — a confession which to a man of his speculative intellect, must assuredly be an instance of great self-denial. "Where Scripture gives no certain testimony," he argued, "human presumption must beware how it decides either in favor of one side or the other. If it were necessary for man's salvation to know anything on these points, the Scripture would be more explicit on them."[2]

Although the Pelagians denied that there was any such thing as hereditary corruption of human nature, yet they agreed with Augustin in recognizing the maxim of experience, that sin in humanity continually acquired greater dominion; they adopted the opinion of a progressive deterioration of mankind; and upon this they argued the necessity of counteracting influences by the various revelations of God, and of the various means of grace which God had employed. This deterioration they explained, as in the case of humanity at large, so in the case of individual men, from the force of bad customs, by means of which evil had become a second nature.[3] Yet, at the same time, since human nature comes into the world in its original purity, and no foreign principle dwells within it; this phenomenon, of which experience testifies, is nothing but an accident. There may be exceptions from this general rule: persons, who by developing the powers of their moral nature by virtue of their free will, have lived to the end in perfect holiness. In his public declarations (see above), Pelagius, it is true, would never express himself distinctly on this point; but in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, he says, remarking on the passage in 5: 12 the word "all" is to be understood here as referring only to those who had sinned like Adam, and not to such as Abel, Isaac, and Jacob: the apostle says *all*, because, compared with the multitude of sinners, the few righteous amount to nothing. In his work on the free will, he cited many examples of men and women from the Bible; and, availing

[1] De anima et ejus origine, l. I. § 26. Ipse quippe Deus dat, etiamsi de propagine dat.

[2] De peccatorum remissione, l. II. § 59. A young man in Mauretania Cæsariensis, Vincentius Victor, was displeased with this confession of ignorance on the part of so eminent a church teacher as Augustin. He wrote against him a work, in which, professing with his limited understanding to comprehend everything, he uttered many absurd and obscure things; and he had the boldness to apply to Augustin the words of Ps. 48: 13, according to the Vulgate: Homo in honore positus non intellexit; comparatus est pecoribus insensatis et similis factus est illis. Augustin says to him, in the work which he composed in refutation of this production, de anima et ejus origine (l. I. § 26): Istum autem non ego vicissim, quasi rependens maledictum pro maledicto, pecoribus comparo; sed tanquam filium moneo, ut quod nescit, se nescire fateatur, neque id, quod nondum didicit, docere molatur.

[3] E. g. Epistola ad Demetriadem, c. 8 Longa consuetudo vitiorum, quæ nos infecit a parvo, paulatimque per multos corrupit annos, et ita postea obligatos sibi et addictos tenet, ut vim quodammodo videatur habere naturæ. Accordingly they explained the passage concerning the law in the members (Rom. 7) as referring to this influence of bad habits. See the words of Pelagius in Augustin. de gratia Christi, § 43, and of Julian in the opus imperfectum, l. I. c. 67. On Rom. 7: 20, Pelagius says: Non ego, qui invitus, sed consuetudo peccati, quam tamen necessitatem mihi ipse paravi.

himself of the already predominant superstitious veneration of Mary, he concluded with the example of her whom it was a necessary part of piety to regard as sinless.[1] In other times, he thought, when the number of mankind was already large, it would doubtless have been impossible to enumerate the sins of every individual; and we should not be authorized therefore to infer their non-existence from their not being mentioned. But the case was different with the first beginning of the human race, when there were but four individuals in existence: and then the book of Genesis mentions the sins of three among the four; but none of the fourth, namely, Abel. Hence it may be inferred that he was without sin. By this conclusion we should abide, and not assert what is not asserted in the sacred Scriptures,[2] — a way of reasoning quite characteristic of Pelagius!

True, according to what has been above remarked, the fundamental principle of Pelagianism would necessarily lead to the theory of a development of humanity according to the laws lying within it, to the exclusion of everything supernatural, but Pelagius and his friends ever remained strangers to this further extension of their principles. Although the doctrine of a supernatural communication of the divine life, or of grace, in the specific sense of the word, had, in the system of Pelagius, no such point of union as was offered it by the system of Augustin through his mode of apprehending the original condition of human nature, and its condition as fallen; yet that doctrine could join on, even in the Pelagian system, with the recognition of a moral degeneracy of human nature in general, and with the idea that human nature, as a thing created, could and should arrive at a degree of completeness and perfection beyond the measure of the capacities originally implanted in it by the Creator, by free manifestations of the divine love. Just because this notion taken in that peculiar sense was one foreign to the spirit and inner connection of the Pelagian system, it was here applied in a sense so uncertain and general, and even referred to that which Augustin would have reckoned with natura; as everything which is a communication of the love of God is designated by this term, and the name is applied, moreover, to the spiritual and moral powers bestowed on human nature by the Creator. Both these are reckoned by the Pelagians under "grace," — as well those gifts of God embraced in the connection of nature, as those that went beyond it. Thus they applied the notion grace to all the revelations of God in the Old and in the New Testament, in the law and in the gospel. Sometimes, too, they referred it solely to that which has

[1] Augustin. de natura et gratia contra Pelagium, § 42. Quam dicit sine peccato confiteri necesse esse pietati. As, however, he could not prove from any declaration of Scripture that those whom he named were to be represented as saints, he had recourse to the singular argument: De illis, quorum justitiæ meminit (Scriptura sacra) et peccatorum sine dubio meminisset, si qua eos peccasse sensisset. § 43.

[2] Certe primo in tempore quatuor tantum homines fuisse referuntur: peccavit Eva, Scriptura hoc prodidit; Adam quoque deliquit, eadem Scriptura non tacuit; sed et Cain peccasse, ipsa æque Scriptura testata est; quorum non modo peccata, verum etiam peccatorum indicat qualitatem. Quod si et Abel peccasset, et hoc sine dubio Scriptura dixisset, sed non dixit, ergo nec ille peccavit, quin etiam justum ostendit. Credamus igitur quod legimus, et quod non legimus, nefas credamus adstruere. De natura et gratia § 44.

been bestowed on mankind by Christ; as when Pelagius said, that the power of free will is in all, Christians, Jews, and Pagans; but that in Christians alone it is upheld by grace.[1] They supposed, in reference to the above-mentioned counteracting influences of the divine means of salvation against the moral degeneracy of mankind, different stages of righteousness: first, the knowledge of God from reason and the law of right living, as it was written, not in letters, but on the heart, — the stage of righteousness according to nature (justitia ex natura); next, the *revelation* of the positive law, designed to rekindle again the light of nature, which had been darkened by corruption, — righteousness under the law (justitia sub lege). But when the custom of sin became predominant, and the law was inadequate to remove the evil, then came Christ himself to heal the malady now become as it were desperate; and that, not by means of his discipline alone, but by his own intermediate interposition. Justitia sub gratia from this time onward.[2]

The Pelagian Julian defends himself against the charge that a self-sufficiency of the reason, excluding the need of a revelation, is assumed by his party. He says, on the other hand, that although God as the Creator of the world might have been known by natural reason, yet the latter was in no wise capable of arriving, by itself, at the knowledge of the mysteries of faith, as for example, the doctrine of the Trinity, of the resurrection, and many other similar doctrines.[3] But he asserts, that between the revelation of God in the sacred Scriptures, and the eternal truths which he had implanted in reason, there can be no contradiction; that, in particular, the sacred Scriptures can contain nothing which conflicts with the ideas of a holy and just God, which are inseparable from the very sense of a divine being. From the sacred Scriptures, therefore, nothing can be proved which is opposed to these universal and eternal ideas of reason; much rather must all the difficulties and obscurities in single passages be so explained as to harmonize with those ideas of God which flow from the clear, collective contents of the sacred writings, and with those rational ideas.[4] Yet, in this fundamental principle, there was, in

[1] In omnibus est liberum arbitrium æqualiter per naturam; sed in solis Christianis juvatur a gratia. Augustin. de gratia Christi, § 33.

[2] De peccato originali, § 30.

[3] Opus imperfect. c. Julian. l. III. c. 106. It is well to notice the vague conception which Julian had of the cultus Dei, — how the ethical and dogmatic elements, the moral act and a theoretical knowledge of certain isolated maxims of faith, are here placed together, without a hint of any inward connection between the two, of any central point in the inner life, out of which both proceeded. As Augustin's conception of "grace" was alien from him, it was necessarily the case that the conception would also be foreign from him of any such higher unity as a divine principle of life bestows, in giving a new shape and direction to the entire religious and moral consciousness. Julian's words are: Cum enim cultus Dei multis intelligatur modis, et in custodia mandatorum, et in exsecratione vitiorum, et in ordine mysteriorum, et in profunditate dogmatum, quæ de Trinitate, vel de resurrectione, multisque aliis similibus fides Christiana consequitur.

[4] In the first book of the opus imperfectum, Julian says: Nihil per legem Dei agi potest contra Deum legis auctorem. By this unum compendium, every assertion which conflicted with the recognition of God's holiness or justice could be at once set aside. Correct interpretation must serve to solve any such apparent contradiction; for wherever anything really contradictory appeared, it ought to be rejected as not belonging to the sacred Scriptures.

itself considered, no essential difference between Julian and Augustin; for the latter, too, would not admit that there was any real contradiction between faith and reason (fides et ratio). At the same time, the Pelagians would not have consented to the principle of Augustin respecting the way in which faith precedes reason, and the latter is evolved out of the former.

Pelagius and his followers, in their doctrine concerning grace, were particularly strenuous only in maintaining an *opposition* to any theory *which impaired the freedom of the will.* They supposed all operations of grace to be conditioned on the bent of the free will, and all means of grace to be effectual only according to the measure of the different tendencies of will; they denied all constraining influences of grace on the free will. Augustin, on the other hand, reckoned it as necessary to the conception of grace, that it should exclude all merit; and with this belonged, in his own view, all conditioning of grace on the different states of recipiency on the part of man. Just as soon as the whole was not referred to God's efficiency alone, — just as soon as anything was made to depend on the different ways in which men stood related to the efficiency of God, — the idea of grace is annihilated; for that which is bestowed on the ground of merit is no longer grace. *This* point of the opposition, namely, to any and every theory which impaired the free will, was the only one which the Pelagians here brought prominently to view; but, in fact, their opposition doubtless carried them still further. They were in strictness really inclined, whenever they designated the supernatural by the term grace, to understand thereby simply outward revelations, communication of certain specific knowledge which transcended the powers of natural reason. More foreign to them was the notion of an internal communication of divine life, of an internal influence of God on man's will and consciousness. Although, among their manifold and vague declarations respecting the term grace, they also said a great deal which bordered on that last-mentioned character of the Augustinian conception, and although they never stood forth in a distinct and clearly conceived opposition to it; still, however, the thought may have floated before them, that, by the concession of any such internal influence of God whatever, the free will of man would be impaired. Had they believed, that they might really agree with Augustin in acknowledging this character without altering their difference in respect to the doctrine of free will, it would in truth have been so natural for them distinctly to express this, as Augustin often attacked them on this very point, that, even though they acknowledged a supernatural revelation and communication of knowledge, we must

Ambigua quæque legis verba secundum hoc esse intelligenda, quod absolutissimis scripturæ S. auctoritatibus et insuperabili ratione firmatur. In another passage, Secundum id, quod et ratio perspicua et aliorum locorum, in quibus non est ambiguitas, splendor aperuerit. In another place, l. II. c. 144, he makes the recognition of the Scriptures as holy, to rest, not on outward tradition, but on their agreement with reason and with the essence of the Christian faith, and on the morality of their contents: Sanctas apostoli esse paginas confitemur, non ob aliud, nisi quia rationi, pietati, fidei congruentes erudiunt nos, et Deum credere inviolabilis æquitatis, et præceptis ejus moderationem, prudentiam, justitiam vindicare.

suppose they denied *this peculiar characteristic.* But in such cases they always retreated under the cloud of a multitude of vague references to the means of grace, by which the free will was upheld, for the purpose of showing, by this exuberance of expressions, how very far they were from denying "grace." "God upholds us," says Pelagius,[1] "by his instructions and his revelation; by opening the eyes of our heart; by revealing to us visions of the future life, that we may not be carried away with the things of the present; by discovering to us the arts of the adversary; by enlightening us by means of various and ineffable gifts of the heavenly grace."[2] The passage in Philipp. 2: 13, "It is God that worketh in us to will and to do," Pelagius[3] explains as meaning only, "He works in us to will what is good and holy, when he consumes what is offered to our earthly desires by the greatness of the future glory and the promise of rewards, when he excites the prayerful will to longing after God by the revelation of his wisdom, when he counsels us to all goodness." Thus Julian also says, that God helps by commanding, blessing, sanctifying, chastising, inviting, enlightening.[4]

On the other hand, Augustin sets forth prominently only that one character on which all depends. The revelation of the law can, in itself considered, give man no help, as he wants the power to fulfill the law. The revelation of the law could only serve to awaken in him the feeling of the need of the grace, whereby alone he could acquire the power to fulfill the law. Love is the fulfilling of the law; but the love of God comes not from the law, but is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost.[5] Only *in so far* could Augustin apply his conception of grace, which he dènominated the peculiarly Christian conception, to all that the Pelagians said concerning revelation and divine instruction, as these terms were supposed to denote, not merely the conception of an outward revelation and outward instruction by the written word, but an internal revelation by the inward working of God on the inner life and consciousness of man, a living knowledge and recognition of the matter revealed, proceeding out of a new divine life.[6]

Connected with this difference in respect to the *doctrine concerning grace*, was another in respect to the *doctrine concerning Christ* as the Redeemer of mankind, and respecting the redemption. The *negative* reference of the work of redemption must, it is true, in the Pelagian system, have been restricted to a narrow compass; since no such corruption of the entire human nature, as, according to Augustin's doctrine, flowed from the transgression of the first man, was here admitted. But still, even in this system, the redemption might be held as set over against the above-mentioned gradual deterioration of man,

[1] In Augustin. de gratia Christi, § 8.

[2] Dum nos multiformi et ineffabili dono gratiæ cœlestis illuminat.

[3] L. c. 11.

[4] Opus imperfect. l. III. 114. Præcipiendo, benedicendo, sanctificando, coërcendo, provocando, illuminando.

[5] Proinde per legem gratia demonstratur, ut lex per gratiam compleatur.

[6] Hæc gratia, si doctrina dicenda est, certe sic dicatur, ut altius et interius eam Deus cum ineffabili suavitate credatur infundere per se ipsum. De gratia Christi, c. 14.

and the force of habit; and in this case the Pelagians needed only to adopt here, as they did elsewhere, the views peculiar to the Oriental church. In the latter, redemption was contemplated, not alone as a restoring of the *corrupted* human nature to health and freedom, but still more as an *exalting*, *ennobling*, and *transfiguring* of the imperfect, limited human nature to a condition beyond the point at which it was placed by the original creation, and beyond the powers which were then bestowed on it. And so the Pelagians did actually suppose, that the human nature which God created good originally was by Christ made still better, — raised to a higher stage of advancement, which consists in Sonship to God; furnished with new powers; and assured of a state of felicity resulting from adoption into the kingdom of God, to the attainment of which the powers of nature are inadequate.[1] At the same time, however, this notion of the exaltation and renewal of human nature through Christ, could not, in the Pelagian system, be apprehended in all its depth; and, as we have seen, the idea of a communication of divine life through Christ had no place in this scheme of doctrine.

In the Pelagian system, Christ appears as the divine teacher, who reveals truths to the knowledge of which human reason could not by itself have attained. In his precepts and life, he revealed the most perfect system of morals; he gave to all the most perfect pattern of holiness.[2] As the Pelagians held that Adam had injured his posterity by the first example of sin in humanity, so now they opposed to this the perfect example of virtue given by Christ.[3] But we must allow, that, according to the Pelagian system, no exclusive merit could really be pointed out as belonging in this case to Christ; for, according to this system (see above, p. 672), there were, even before Christ, persons who perfectly kept the moral law. The Pelagian Julian, therefore, found no other way of getting along here, than by supposing a difference of degree; maintaining that Christ, though he had not given the first, had yet presented the highest pattern of righteousness,[4] — a mode of expression to which none but such illogical thinkers as the Pelagians could have resorted. And even in this case, in order to come at any clear and distinct meaning, it is necessary to suppose that the Pelagians would have distinguished between sinlessness and moral perfection, and that, according to the Pelagian doctrine, there was something still more perfect than the mere fulfillment of the law, namely, works of moral perfection which exceed the letter of the law, — something more than the ordinary[5] human virtue, — such per-

[1] The words of Julian are: Christus, qui est sui operis redemptor, auget circa imaginem suam continua largitate beneficia, et quos fecerat condendo bonos, facit innovando adoptandoque meliores. Augustin. c. Julian. l. III. § 8.

[2] Exacta in Christo justitiæ norma resplenduit. Opus imperfectum, l. II. § 188.

[3] Sicut ille peccati, ita hic justitiæ forma.

[4] Justitiæ forma non prima, sed maxima; quia et ante quam verbum caro fieret, ex ea fide, quæ in Deum erat, et in prophetis et in multis aliis sanctis fulsere virtutes.

[5] Similar to that distinction of the ancients between ἀρετὴ θεῖα and πολιτικὴ, which indeed will not harmonize at all with the essential character of Christianity, since it is at variance with the principle of *divine humanity*.

fections as they imagined Christ alluded to in the evangelical counsels (consilia evangelica). Furthermore, Christ created, and made known to those who believe on him, a state of perfect blessedness, respecting which they would have known nothing by the light of natural reason, and to which it is impossible to attain, except by the new means of grace which Christ has bestowed. In addition to these positive works of Christ, he also secured for the great mass of mankind, very few indeed being excepted, the forgiveness of their sins. By all these provisions, Christ supplied many new motives to moral effort, bestowed on men a new power to gain the victory over the impulses of sense and the allurements of sin. These new motives are, for example, the hope of eternal blessedness on condition of obeying Christ's commands; the example of Christ stimulating to imitation; gratitude for the obtained forgiveness of sin; and, above all, gratitude for the great work of the Son of God in becoming man and giving his life for men. It would be wronging the Pelagians to affirm that they proposed fear of punishment and hope of heavenly rewards as the only motives to goodness; as it might be supposed they did from some of their assertions. Julian expressly mentions the return of love, enkindled by the revelation of the love of God; and gratitude, — as incentives to new moral efforts; he describes a stage of Christian attainment proceeding from such motives, at which Christians do good from pure love to God and for goodness' sake, — not for the sake of any outward reward, — where they feel themselves happy in the practice of good works even under sufferings. "The fulness of the divine love, which gave things their existence," says Julian, "revealed itself in this, that the Word became flesh and dwelt amongst us. When God required an answering love on the part of those created in his own image, he showed how he had done everything out of his ineffable love towards us, that so we might finally love him in return, who evinced his love to us in that he spared not his only Son, but gave him up for us; promising us that, if from henceforth we would obey his will, he would make us joint-heirs with his only-begotten Son.[1] This love to God enkindled in our hearts is of such effect, — as Julian, who was himself conscious of a willingness to suffer for the cause of Christ, rightly explaining and applying the passage in Rom. 5: 3, remarks,[2] — that we not only rejoice in the hope of future blessings, but, in the possession of virtue, are cheerful amidst sufferings; that we consider the wrath of our persecutors rather as trial of our patience than a disturbance of our joy; that we not only refrain from sin for the sake of reward, but even count freedom from sin as a reward in itself."

It is clear from what has been said, that, so far as justification is understood in its objective and judicial sense, the Pelagians certainly acknowledged this;[3] as also the sanctifying influence which faith in the forgiveness of sin obtained by Christ must, through the awaken-

[1] Opus imperfect. I. 94.
[2] L. c. l. II. c. 166.
[3] As Julian declares, opus imperfect. II. 165: Justificatio per peccatorum veniam.

ing of trust and love towards God, exercise on the heart of man, and so on the whole direction of his life.[1]

But, although the Pelagians set forth clearly and distinctly the outward connection between Christ and believers, founded on what he had once done and obtained for mankind, and secured to them for the future; still the *inward communion* with Christ was placed by them, as it could not fail to be according to the fundamental principles of their theory, far in the background. Augustin ever urges it as an objection to their scheme, that they made the grace of Christ consist solely in the bestowment of forgiveness; that they left man, after he had obtained this, to his own free will, and did not acknowledge, that even now his entire inner righteousness or sanctification is only the work of Christ, — that the new principle of divine life which is the spring of all goodness in believers flows from the union with him by faith. The inner connection between Christ and believers, the thence resulting justification or sanctification of man having its foundation in Christ,[2] — this it was which Augustin distinctly held forth in opposition to the Pelagians. Only justification in that Augustinian sense was the subject of discussion in this controversy, and thus this controversy became one and the same with that concerning grace.[3]

Augustin represents the process of development of the moral and religious life to be as follows: He distinguishes, according to Paul, the letter of the law, which killeth, and the spirit which maketh alive.[4] By mere knowledge of the law as an imperative letter, disciplinary grace, from which even the first motions towards goodness proceed, leads man to the knowledge of his sins, to a consciousness that by his own power he cannot fulfill the law; hence springs the feeling of the need of a Redeemer, and so, faith in him. By faith, man not only obtains forgiveness of sin, but also enters into the fellowship of the divine life with the Redeemer; he attains to the grace whereby his soul is healed from the malady of sin. With the health of the soul is restored back also the free will, — as contradistinguished from that which till now was bound in the service of sin. The will is once more the servant of righteousness with free love. The divine life, which takes a specific form in man, reveals itself in works of love. This is the spirit of the law, which makes alive; the love shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost.

We have already remarked that Pelagius sided, for the most part, with the doctrine of the Greek church. Now to what distinguished this above that of the Western church belonged the more historical

[1] Julian (opus imperfect. II. 227), rightly explaining the sense of the apostle Paul says: Eo debetis servire Deo fidelius quo liberalius. Peccatum quippe dominabatur vobis, cum reatuum impendebat ultio; postea autem quam gratia Dei beneficia consecuti estis et depositis reatuum ponderibus respirastis, ingenuo pudore commoniti debetis gratiam referre medicanti.

[2] This is what Augustin understands by the term justificatio, a word which he does not take in the same sense with the Pelagians.

[3] Augustin. de gratia Christi, § 52. Eam esse gratiam Dei per Jesum Christum, in qua nos sua, non nostra justitia justos facit.

[4] As for example, in the noble work de spiritu et litera.

mode of apprehension, the separation of the several stages of development through which the kingdom of God had passed; while in the Western church there was more disposition to confound the Old and New Testaments with each other, and to overlook the distinctions. Pelagius, who here inclined to the Oriental point of view, placed this in connection with his doctrine of a progressive deterioration of human nature; for with this he now made the several steps in the divine education of man, the various counter operations through the divine revelation, also to correspond. Thus he distinguished three grades of righteousness. 1, righteousness in the state of nature; 2, righteousness under the law, and 3, righteousness under grace. But now his error consisted in not perceiving how the true "justitia" can be only one, that imparted through Christ. Every other must serve only as the preparation for that one final work. Augustin, on the other hand, pointed to this one thing alone. He perceived everywhere only the same source of true sanctification, — grace, which is obtained through faith; if not faith in the Saviour already manifested, yet faith in him as promised, — and the same necessary fundamental condition of its appropriation, the consciousness of the need of redemption. "Even under the law," says he, "there were those who stood, not under the terrifying, convicting, punishing law, but under that grace which fills the heart with joy in what is good, which heals it, and makes it free." [1]

Augustin was thus led to give prominence to the principle on which the essential character and unity of everything Christian reposes, namely, the divine life that springs from the consciousness of redemption; and to mark with more precision the specific peculiarity whereby the Christian life, Christian virtue, is distinguished from all other. In the Pelagian system, on the contrary, there was nothing which enabled one rightly to understand either the essential nature of regeneration as the separating line betwixt two opposite positions of the moral life, or the nature of the new Christian life grounded therein. While Augustin thus pointed out the common centre of the religious and the moral element in Christianity, and took his stand in opposition to the separating of the doctrinal from the ethical element, in opposition to the isolating and to the making outward of the ethical; the Pelagians fell into this very error, which is necessarily involved in the principles of their scheme. From what has been said, the great merit of Augustin is clearly apparent in bringing forward a system of ethics reduced to a central point, belonging in common to it, and to the Christian scheme of faith. Augustin, in this respect, as also in others hereafter to be mentioned, had, by his systematic method of apprehending Christianity, a more important influence on the history of the development of the system of ethics in this period, than Ambrose of Milan, who is not to be compared to him for systematizing skill and intellectual depth; though he acquired great

[1] De peccato originali, § 29. Non sub lege terrente, convincente, puniente; sed sub gratia delectante, sanante, liberante.

celebrity in the history of this science by his work De officiis, in three books.[1]

But there was something of error attached to those truths which Augustin placed at the head of all others. In precisely pointing out the peculiar principle of the Christian life, and marking the opposition between that which is Christian and that which is not Christian, since his eye was fixed exclusively on the extreme points of this opposition, he paid less attention to the manifold intermediate shades and points of transition in practical life, the various combination of the factors, by which the conduct may verge even to the non-Christian position. And hence he was the means of bringing into vogue an unduly rigid and partial method of judging the point of ethical development before the appearance of Christianity. He very justly distinguishes the patriotism of the ancients from that which is to be called "virtue," in the genuinely Christian sense, and which depends on the disposition towards God (virtus from virtus vera); but then he goes so far as to overlook altogether what bears some relationship to the divine life, in such occasional coruscations of the moral element of human nature, and to see in them nothing but a service done for evil spirits or for man's glory.[2] He contributed greatly, on this particular side, to promote in the Western church the partial and contracted way of judging the ancient pagan times, as opposed to the more liberal Alexandrian views of which we still find traces in many of the Orientals in this period, and to which Augustin himself, in the earlier part of his life, as a Platonist, had been inclined. Still, the vestiges of his earlier and freer mode of thinking are to be discerned in his later writings, where he searches after and recognizes the scattered fragments of truth and goodness in the pagan literature (see below), which he uniformly traces to the revelation of the Spirit, who is the original source of all that is true and good to created minds; though this is inconsistent with *his own* theory respecting the total corruption of human nature, and with the *particularism* of his doctrine of predestination.

The Pelagians appealed particularly to the splendid examples of virtue among the Pagans, as proving what could be done by the moral power of human nature left to itself, in opposition to the tenet of man's moral corruption. Augustin maintained, on the contrary, that as there is no neutral ground between good and evil; as love to God is the spring of all that is truly good, and self-love the principle of sin; as that victorious principle of goodness which overcomes the opposing selfishness of man's nature can proceed only from faith; so everything which has not its root in faith is, of course, sin; and he

[1] This work is rather a collection of practical rules for the clergy (hence its original title, De officiis ministrorum), drawn from certain general maxims, than a systematic development of Christian ethics. But the work is entitled to the merit of having been the first to apply the formal principles of ethics, as treated by the ancient writers, to the Christian system of morals, in that peculiar modification of them which they receive from the Christian point of view.

[2] Qui exhibuerunt terrenæ patriæ Babylonicam dilectionem, et virtute civili non vera, sed veri simili dæmonibus vel humanæ gloriæ servierunt, Fabriciis videlicet, et Regulis, et Fabiis, et Scipionibus et Camillis, etc. C. Julian. l. IV. § 26.

refers for proof to a passage of Scripture which before his own time had been misapprehended in the same way, and which afterwards very generally received this false application, — the declaration of the apostle Paul in Rom. 14: 23, "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin" (omne quod non ex fide, peccatum).[1] From this Augustin argued, that the so-called virtues of the Pagans were but seeming virtues. This proposition appeared so absurd to Julian, who overlooked the principle of morality, its internal unity and religious foundation,[2] that he could not sufficiently express his surprise at it, and drew from it the strangest conclusions. "If," said he, "the chastity of the Pagans were no chastity, then it might be said with the same propriety, that the bodies of unbelievers are no bodies; that the eyes of the Pagans could not see; that the grain which grew in the fields of Pagans was no grain."[3] Augustin replied that moral goodness could not be contemplated in this isolated way; but that, in the estimation of moral worth, the question turned on the whole unity of the inner life, from which men's actions proceed. He referred to Matth. 6: 23, and said, The eye of the soul is the whole bent of the inner man.[4] He who seems to do a good action, but in doing it does not propose to himself the end which true wisdom prescribes for all human activity, sins by having the tendency of his inward being estranged from that which constitutes man's highest good.[5] If all actions are not judged according to this principle of temper and disposition, then what really proceeds from a sinful disposition may appear to be a virtue, and sins may seem to be conquered by sins; but virtue can never be realized in this way.[6]

Julian betrays his own want of a profound understanding of the principles of ethics when he adduces this remark of Augustin in evidence against him, and observes that, "if sin is overcome by means of sin, how much more may sin be overcome by virtue, and how much more must it be possible to lead a sinless life."[7] He took no account here, then, of the difference betwixt a *true victory* over sin, and a mere outward check placed against certain outbreaks of the evil, or the exchanging of one kind of sin for another kind, while the sinful bent of the will continued to be the same. All true virtue, ac-

[1] The Pelagian Julian seems to have rightly perceived, from the connection of the words in this passage, that it referred to an entirely different matter, and simply respected actions done contrary to one's own conviction of duty. See Augustin. c. Julian. IV. § 24.

[2] In other respects, Julian was well aware that the morality or immorality of actions must be judged, not by the outward act, but by the direction of the will. Hoc operatur foris jam ipsa justitia, quam intus voluntas sancta concepit et peperit. Opus imperfect. I. 79. But it might be true at the same time, that, while he regarded the virtues as being inner tendencies and properties of the soul, he might still not be aware of their higher internal unity, nor perceive their inmost root in the one essence, which is the moral disposition.

[3] C. Julian. IV. § 27.

[4] Oculus intentio, qua facit quisque, quod facit, l. c. § 33.

[5] Quidquid boni fit ab homine, et non propter hoc fit, propter quod fieri debere vera sapientia præcepit, etsi officio (opificium, the outward action) videatur bonum, ipso non recto fine peccatum est. L. c. § 21.

[6] Compare what Schleiermacher says (p. 21) on the conception of virtue, in opposition to such a superficial view of the matter.

[7] L. c. § 28.

cording to Augustin's doctrine, proceeds from Christian love, which refers everything to God; nothing but the acts of this love is truly moral, and all the cardinal virtues must therefore be reduced to love, and have this for their animating principle.[1] In whatever exhibits itself as virtue without this ethical principle, Augustin recognizes, indeed, various natural gifts and qualities proceeding from the Creator, and also to be ascribed to his grace, but nothing which answers to the Christian idea of virtue.[2]

But now, although Julian made no difference between that which was virtuous on pagan and on Christian principles, it was the more inconsistent that he nevertheless assumed here a different relation to the attainment of happiness, appropriating the recompense of the kingdom of God only to the virtue united with Christian faith, not to that which exists without it. The difference he made was between what is good after a fruitful, or an unfruitful manner;[3] so that this distinction would be one not developing from within, grounded in an inward necessity; but only one coming from without, accidental, arbitrary. Augustin very justly exposed this inconsistency, and observed that whatever is truly good can never be unfruitful, that the result must necessarily correspond to the intrinsic character and quality of human actions.

Yet the Pelagians might have been able, on their own principles, to make out a distinction between the ethical standing ground in Christianity and that in Paganism, if the systematic apprehension of the ethical element, in its connection with the religious, had not lain too remote from their ordinary habits of thinking; for as they derived the existence of peculiar motives and a peculiar direction of moral conduct from the nature of Christian faith, they needed only to carry out and apply this principle still further, in order to find such a difference; and indeed Pelagius himself remarks, that love, which does everything for the glory of God, is a thing to which the ancient world was a stranger.[4]

As, according to the system of Augustin, the higher life derived through grace has to run through many stages of development, and various operations of grace were necessary, in order to bring to perfection this higher life which grace had first awakened; so there resulted various designations of grace, referring to these various operations. In so far as grace, preceding all merit in man, first attracts the corrupt will of him who is like all others in a state of alienation from God, and with an inner irresistible necessity produces in him the first motions to goodness, awakens him to a feeling of the need of redemption, and to faith, it is called *prevenient*, *preparing* grace (gratia præveniens, præparans). It now proceeds

[1] Quæ per cæteras virtutes omnes diffunditur dilectio Dei et proximi. De diversis quæstionibus octoginta tribus. Qu. 61, § 4.

[2] Dona Dei, sub cujus occultissimo judicio, nec injusto, alii fatui, alii tardissimi ingenii nascuntur, alii natura lenes, alii levissimis causis ira facillima ardentes, alii ad vindictæ cupiditatem inter utrosque mediocres. C. Julian. l. IV. § 16.

[3] Fructuose and steriliter bona.

[4] Sufferunt et philosophi, sed non in caritate. Nos vero non ut laudari, sed ut ille quem sustinemus proficiat [to the honor of him whom we bear] (perhaps bear within us, represent) diligentes sustinere debemus (for assuredly we have no reason for supposing these words to be an addition of Cassiodor's). On Ephes. 4 : 2.

to create in him, by faith, a free will to that which is good (gratia operans); but this is not a change whereby man lays aside at once his entire nature, and is raised above all conflict with sin. There still ever continue to remain in him two principles in conflict with each other: in so far as he is born of God, lives in fellowship with Christ, he sins no more; but in so far as he bears within him the old nature, derived from the first fallen man, sin still continues cleaving to him.[1] Hence he ever continues to need the grace which upholds the restored free will, coöperating grace (gratia coöperans), to bring forth that which is good, and to be carried victoriously through the struggle with sin.[2] Although Augustin referred the explanation of the fact that grace, although it had the power, yet brought no one in this present life to a state of perfect sinlessness, to God's incomprehensible counsels, still he offered the following as reason which appeared to him not improbable. Sin must still remain in man, in order to admonish him to humility, to warn him against pride; for till man has attained, as he will first do in the life eternal, to an intuition of God, of his highest good, so that in comparison with it he counts himself as altogether nothing; till he is so filled with its spirit, that not barely from rational conviction, but also with unchangeable love, he prefers this highest good to his own self,[3] — till the man has attained this mark, he remains ever exposed to the danger of pride, which may so much the more easily fasten on the self-contemplation of the rational spirit, because this is, in fact, far loftier than all else in the earthly creation.[4] For this reason, man must guard against this by constantly struggling with himself. To this Julian might object, that Augustin reasoned in a circle, when he said man must still continue in sin in order to be preserved against sin, viz. the sin of pride.[5] But Augustin, in reply, appealed to experience, — to the fact that the apostle needed to have the thorn left in his flesh as an admonition to humility. He uses an illustration drawn from the healing art: "As if the ulcer were not painful, and the operation of the knife painful also, so that one pain is cured by another. Had we not learned this by experience, but only heard of it in some country where operations of this sort were unknown, we should doubtless ridicule the idea, and perhaps say in his own words: It is most absurd that pain should be necessary to stop an ulcer from being painful."[6]

[1] See e. g. de perfectione justitiæ hominis, § 39.

[2] Coöperando perficit, quod operando incipit. Ipse ut velimus operatur incipiens, qui volentibus coöperatur perficiens. De gratia et libero arbitrio, § 33.

[3] Quamdiu non videt sicut videbit in fine summum illud et immutabile bonum, in cujus comparatione se spernat, sibique illius caritate vilescat, tantoque spiritu ejus impleatur, ut id sibi non ratione sola, sed æterno quoque amore præponat. C. Julian. IV. 28.

[4] Caetera vitia tantum in malefactis valent, sola autem superbia etiam in recte factis cavenda est. De natura et gratia, § 31.

[5] Absurdissimum quippe et stultissimum putat, peccatum fuisse, ne peccatum esset, quoniam et ipsa superbia utique peccatum est. L. c. § 30.

[6] Quasi non et ulcus in dolore est, et sectio dolorem operatur, ut dolor dolore tollatur. Hoc si experti non essemus et in aliquibus terris, ubi ista nunquam contigerant, audiremus, sine dubio utique deridentes, fortassis etiam verbis hujus uteremur et diceremus: absurdissimum est, dolorem necessarium fuisse, ne ulceris dolor esset. L. c.

As man, then, continues ever to be exposed in this present life, by reason of this unceasing conflict, to the danger of falling again, he accordingly needs, in order to attain salvation, the grace which can enable him victoriously to persevere to the end of the conflict; and, in reference to this, Augustin denominates grace by the title of donum perseverantiæ. This perseverance alone is the certain mark of the elect.

This doctrine concerning grace, with all its determinate forms as here unfolded, stood necessarily connected with the doctrine of absolute predestination. And if this doctrine was so taught and preached, it was liable to the imputations which the Pelagians repeatedly brought against it: that Augustin introduced, under the name of grace, a certain fatalism (fatum); that he absolutely denied the free will belonging to the essence of man's nature; that he annulled all the conditions of a righteous judgment of God. In respect to free will, Augustin ever maintained, that, as the law is not annulled by faith, but only fulfilled by it, so free-will is not destroyed by grace, but the will is only made truly free; and he appealed to the declaration of Christ, that he only whom the Son makes free is free indeed. But here, misled by the ambiguity of the expression, he confounded together two different conceptions[1] — the conception of freedom, as a certain state and stage of moral development, and of freedom as a certain faculty possessed in common by all rational minds. Beyond question, Augustin gave a more profound view of freedom in that former sense (this being connected with his idea of grace as a principle of divine life), than was to be found in the Pelagian system. But it was not so with freedom in the latter sense, which was properly the point in question in this particular controversy. This, Augustin certainly denied to all the descendants of fallen man; for, in fact, he did not allow to all men the ability of attaining to that higher moral freedom. He considered this ability as being, not an inalienable possession of the rational spirit, but a gift communicated, only by a special divine operation, to a certain number of men. In respect to those who belong to this latter class, it is improper to speak of a *free self-determination* in appropriating what is bestowed on them by grace; since their wills are renewed by inner necessity, through the almighty will of God. And as these latter follow an irresistible influence from above, so the great mass of mankind, the servants of sin, follow an irresistible influence of a lower kind. But at the same time Augustin maintained, that by the operation of grace the power of free self-determination was not destroyed; contenting himself here with the idea of a freedom in appearance, of a seeming freedom necessarily forming itself in the consciousness of the creature; inasmuch, namely, as the operations of grace unfolded themselves after the form of the human nature, of the rational human consciousness, in the form of self-determination outwardly and phenomenally presented. Hence man, though determined by a higher princi-

[1] A thing which the Pelagians, too, did not fail to censure. C. Julian. opus imperfect. I. c. 76.

ple, transforming his will with irresistible power, which he follows in harmony with the law of his nature, is yet not conscious of his will having been subjected to constraint. In this sense he said, therefore, that the operation of grace presupposed the free-will belonging to the essence of reason; that, if man were not created in the image of God, he could not be susceptible of grace. Grace can act on man, not on stones.[1]

It was an inconsistency in the Augustinian system, that, while he unquestionably derived the first sin from man's free self-determination, he made everything else depend on an unconditional, divine predetermination. He would have been logically consistent, if, following the principle which had led him to this whole theory, he had derived the conduct of Adam, like all other, from this unconditional predetermination. This inconsistency was clearly exposed by Julian.[2] But still this was a noble inconsistency, which grew out of the victory of his religious, moral feeling over the logical and speculative tendency of his intellect. In this way, he could still hold fast, at one point, to the holiness and justice of God, and to the free guilt of man; could remove the origin of evil from God, and push it back to the originally present, truly free self-determining power of man. And by his supposition of the necessary and incomprehensible connection between the first man and the entire race, this inconsistency is still obviated in his own mind; for as the act of the first man may be considered as the proper act of every man, so, on this ground, the loss of the original freedom is a loss for which all are at fault.

This Augustinian system, which was constructed with so much dialectical art, could be so handled, when set forth with the prudence, wisdom, and dialectic skill of an Augustin, as to avoid the practically mischievous consequences which might flow from it in its application to life. Those who, like Augustin, had come into this system through the whole evolution of their inner life, those in whom it had become wholly fused with the fundamental experiences of their Christian consciousness, those who had already attained to a certain inward peace and stability of Christian life, might doubtless find in this system satisfaction and repose. The life in faith which they possessed — the consciousness of a divine life — raised them above the doubts which might arise from the reflection whether or no they belonged to the number of the elect. But the case was different where this system was taught in a less prudent and skilful manner, or where it came to such as were still involved in many inward conflicts, and were liable to be disturbed by reflection on their own state. Augustin could not fail to meet many such cases in his own experience, and it is remarkable to observe the way in which

[1] Neque enim gratia Dei lapidibus aut lignis pecoribusve præstatur; sed quia imago Dei est, meretur hanc gratiam. C. Julian. IV. § 15. Non sicut in lapidibus insensatis, aut sicut in iis, in quorum natura rationem voluntatemque non condidit, salutem nostram Deus operatur in nobis. De peccatorum meritis et remissione, l. II. § 6.

[2] Opus imperf. VI. 22. Unde tu nosti, illud tantummodo justum fuisse, ut in Adam nisi voluntarium crimen non possit ulcisci, si injustum esse non nosti, imputari cuiquam in crimen, quod fatearis sine voluntate susceptum?

he disposed of them. From such cases he took occasion to unfold his system still further with reference to its practical application.

One of Augustin's doctrinal and polemical dissertations, which referred to these disputes, his letter to the presbyter Sixtus, afterwards Bishop of Rome,[1] having been circulated among the monks of a cloister at Adrumetum, in the North-African province of Byzacene, produced great excitement and agitation in the minds of many of these recluses. This happened between the years 426 and 427. There came forward individuals among them who derived practically mischievous conclusions from Augustin's doctrines concerning grace and predetermination. Of what use, said they, are all doctrines and precepts? Human efforts can avail nothing: it is God that worketh in us to will and to do. Nor is it right to reproach or to punish those who are in error and who commit sin; for it is none of their fault that they act thus. Without grace they cannot do otherwise; nor can they do anything to merit grace. All we should do, then, is to pray for them. Augustin, having been informed of these disturbances by delegates from the cloister, and by a letter from the abbot Valentine, addressed to the monks two books,—*one* in which he more fully unfolded his doctrine concerning the relation of grace to free-will in opposition to Pelagianism (de gratia et libero arbitrio); a second, in which he more distinctly explained that doctrine on the side of its practical bearings, and with reference to those consequences which had been drawn from it (the work de correptione et gratia). According to Augustin's doctrine, unconditioned predetermination is certainly not an arbitrary act of God, whereby he bestows everlasting happiness on men while loaded with all manner of sins; but a necessary intermediate link is the communication of grace. This is the source of divine life in those that possess it; and it must reveal itself by an inward impulse, in the bringing-forth of good fruits. But then, even here, too, no limits can be fixed, where the divine agency commences and ceases, and where the human begins and ends; both proceed inseparably together. The human will, taken possession of by divine grace, works that which is good with freedom, as a transformed and sanctified will; and grace can only work through the will, which serves as its organ. Hence Augustin says: "He who is a child of God, must feel himself impelled by the Spirit of God to do right; and, having done it, he thanks God, who gave him the power and the pleasure of so doing. But he who does not what is right, or does it not from the right temper of love, let him pray God that he may have the grace which he has not yet obtained." By reason of the inner connection which Augustin supposed between the first sin and the sin of all mankind, as it has been above explained, he maintained that the individual cannot excuse himself on the ground of the general depravity, and that his sins are none the less to be imputed to him as his own fault. Furthermore, God by his grace is, beyond question, able to operate on the hearts of men, not only without our exhorting, correcting,

[1] Ep. 194, among the letters of Augustin.

or reproving them, but even without our interceding for them. Beyond question, all these second causes could produce the designed effect on men only under the presupposition of divine grace, which operates through human instrumentality, and without which all human instrumentality would avail nothing, and under the presupposition that the men whom we would lead to salvation belong to the number of the elect. But as God, however, often conveys his grace to men by means of such instrumentality; as no certain marks are given us in the present life whereby it is possible to distinguish the elect from the non-elect; as we are bound, in the spirit of charity, to wish that all may attain to salvation; so, assuming, in the spirit of charity, that God will use us as his instruments to convert and bring to salvation these or those individuals, who at present are living in sin, we are bound to employ all those means that are in our power, leaving the result with God.

The way in which Augustin sought, in these writings, to secure his system against misrepresentation, could not be suited to set those minds at rest, whose Christian feelings had been disturbed by what he had said respecting the relation of divine grace and predestination to the free-will; but such persons must rather have found in this a still further confirmation of their doubts. And as his system of faith, on this side, agreed in nowise with the prevailing doctrinal way of thinking in the Western church; as, in the Pelagian and Augustinian systems, directly opposite tendencies, which on different sides were at variance with the demands of the universal Christian consciousness, stood in conflict with each other; it was natural that an intermediate and conciliatory tendency between these two opposites should make its appearance. This tendency proceeded more particularly from the cloisters of Southern France, Provence, and the adjacent islands. As its representative and most influential organ appears, in the first place, an individual who holds a very important place in the history of Western monachism, and who enjoyed a high reputation in these districts,—*John Cassian*. He probably came from the country bordering on the Black Sea (being one of the so-called Scythian monks), and, after many travels in the East, had at length turned his steps to Marseilles, where he became the founder and abbot of a famous cloister. Without doubt, his early and long residence in the Eastern church had had a decided influence on his doctrinal bent; and perhaps in his predominant practical tendency, in his disinclination to doctrinal speculations which attempted to define too nicely on the questions here brought into controversy; his tendency to give prominence on these questions to the religious, *moral* interest, and to refer everything more particularly to the *love of God;* perhaps in all these traits we may discern the spirit of the great Chrysostom, with whom he long lived in the capacity of deacon, and whose disciple he delighted to call himself.[1] Cassian sought to grasp the doctrines of religion with the heart, rather than with speculative and systematizing thought. He counselled the monks, instead of studying a multitude of commentaries on the sacred scriptures, to aim rather at obtaining purity of heart. Nothing but the darkening of the under-

[1] See Cassian. lib. VII. de incarnatione, c. 31.

standing by sin caused what the Holy Spirit revealed to appear so obscure to men; and it was because men sought not to come to the knowledge of divine things with a purified sense, that so many false doctrines had been foisted upon the holy scriptures.[1] Especially in relation to the treatment of the doctrine of grace, he required that, preserving in simplicity of heart the simple faith of the fishermen, men should not receive it in a worldly spirit, with logical syllogisms and Ciceronian eloquence, but should know that it could only be understood by the experience of a pure life.[2] We might almost suppose that this passage, in the mind of Cassian, contained a reproof of the (in his opinion) too logical tendency of Augustin: it cannot be proved, however, that he meant any such direct personal allusion.[3]

Cassian departed altogether from the Pelagian system by recognizing the universal corruption of human nature, as a consequence of the first transgression, and by recognizing "grace" as well as "justification" in the sense of Augustin. But the whole takes with him a different turn, by its connection with the idea of a divine love, which extends to all men, which wills the salvation of all, and refers everything to this; even subordinating the punishment of the wicked to this simple end. The conflict of the flesh and the spirit is, indeed, a consequence of that original schism; but this conflict is now made to subserve a salutary purpose in the moral education of man, that so the soul, amid its many struggles and efforts, necessitated to strive after moral purity, may thereby be awakened to self-consciousness, and preserved from pride and inactivity.[4] It is, perhaps, with allusion to the Pelagian positions, that he says, in one passage of his institutions and rules of monastic life:[5] "We have to thank God, not only for having endowed us with reason and free-will, and bestowed on us the knowledge of his law or the grace of baptism, but also for the gifts of his daily providence; that he delivers us from the snares of invisible enemies; that he coöperates with us in enabling us to overcome the sins of the flesh; that he protects us, even when we are unconscious of it, from dangers; that he keeps us from falling into sins; that he sustains and enlightens us; that he teaches us to understand the law which he has given to help us;[6] that,

[1] Monachum ad scripturarum notitiam pertingere cupientem, nequaquam debere labores suos erga commentatorum libros impendere; sed potius omnem mentis industriam et intentionem cordis erga emundationem vitiorum carnalium detinere. Institution. cœnobial. l. V. c. 33.

[2] L. c. l. XII, c. 19.

[3] In his work against Nestorius, which he wrote at the commencement of the Nestorian disputes (de incarnatione Domini, l. VII. c. 27), he calls Augustin "magnus sacerdos;"—but this epithet *must* have been given to Augustin after he became distinguished in the Western church; yet it says little, compared with those epithets which he bestows on Hilary, Ambrose, and Jerome.

[4] Collat. l. IV. c. 7. etc.

[5] Institutiones cœnobial. c. 18.

[6] Cassian says here, adjutorium nostrum, quod non aliud quidam interpretari volunt, quam legem;—which words are manifestly aimed against the Pelagians. Tillemont wrongly supposes that he has discovered here something bordering on the Pelagian mode of expression, which Cassian could not have allowed himself to fall into, after the above-named decisions of the Roman bishops against the Pelagians. But this mode of expression is, in its essential meaning, so anti-Pelagian, that Augustin himself might have approved of it. Cassian, in fact, says here that it was only by the inward enlightening influence of grace, the law itself could be any help to man.

by his secret influences, we are punished on account of our sins; that we are sometimes drawn to salvation even against our wills; that finally he draws our free-will itself, prone by its own inclination to what is vicious and wrong, into the path of virtue." Even in these remarks we discern the whole peculiarity of Cassian's form of doctrine on this matter. Isolated Christian experiences lie at the foundation of all which he thus collects together; and moreover all the marks and characters of Augustin's system are to be found here, excepting alone the constraining influence of grace on the free-will. But Cassian brings together isolated facts without logical order, and in a manner quite remote from the systematic development of conceptions, such as we find in Augustin.

In faith, too, he recognizes the communication of divine grace.[1] He constantly affirms the insufficiency of free-will for that which is good, without grace; that, without this, all human efforts avail nothing, all willing and running of man is to no purpose; that it is vain to speak of any proper merit or desert on the part of man, although the operation of grace is ever conditioned on the free self-determination of the human will; that, in many cases, there is moreover such a thing as prevenient grace.[2] He especially labored, in his monastic colloquies, the famous thirteen among his Collations, to unfold and explain what lay scattered in the above-cited passages. Here also he speaks in the same decided and emphatic manner against the two extremes, as well the Augustinian denial of free-will, as the Pelagian infringement of grace. In both these opposite tendencies he sees human presumption, which would explore and define what is unsearchable to human reason. He says here, free-will and grace are so blended and fused with each other, that for this very reason the question has been much discussed by many, whether free-will depends on grace, or grace on free-will; and in answering this question in a presumptuous manner, men have fallen into opposite errors. He affirms that this question does not admit of a general answer suitable for all cases. He controverts as well those who wholly denied a prevenient grace, and made grace always dependent on man's desert, as those who denied to the human will any ability to create the germ of goodness by its own efforts, and who supposed grace to be always prevenient. This question, he thought, could not be settled by general conceptions, formed a priori, respecting the modus operandi of grace; but could be answered only according to the various facts of experience, as they are brought to view in the holy scriptures; though here, from want of more profound reflection, he neglected to consider that this inquiry transcends the limits of experience and of the phenomenal world, the question relating to invisible motives and laws. Would any one assert that the beginning of the good will always proceeds from man, the examples of Matthew the publican and of Paul are against him. Would any one say, on the contrary, that the beginning of the good will is always communicated by divine grace, he must be embarrassed by the examples of Zac-

[1] Collat. l. III. c. 16. [2] Collat. l. IV. c. 4, etc., and other places.

cheus, and of the thief on the cross, whose craving spirits, taking the kingdom of God by violence, anticipated the special call of divine grace. Against those who asserted the last, he endeavored to show that human nature had, by the fall, in nowise lost all its ability for goodness. Men should take heed how they refer all the merits of the saints to God in such a sense as to assign nothing but what is bad to human nature. Through the benevolence of the Creator, the seeds of all virtue were by nature implanted in the soul; but, unless excited by the help of God, they would never germinate and grow up to maturity. Where grace, then, permitted human striving, feeble as it was, to have the precedence,[1] still it should be considered that what grace bestows on man is far beyond all human desert:[2] there is no comparison between the two. He calls it profane to say, that grace is imparted only according to human desert. While Augustin employed the declaration of the apostle Paul in Rom. 11, concerning the unsearchableness of the divine judgments, to prove the doctrine of the secret, unconditioned counsels of predestination; Cassian, on the other hand, referred it to the manifold modes of the operation of divine love, controlling, directing, and bestowing its gifts in wisdom; and this he set over against the dogmatic narrowness of heart — the presumptuous littleness of mind — which would fix and determine everything according to one idea. He who trusted he was able by his own reason perfectly to fathom or to express the ways which God takes for man's salvation, contradicted those words of the apostle, that God's judgments and ways are unsearchable to men. The God of the universe so works all in all, as that he excites the free-will, upholds and strengthens it, not so that he again withdraws from man the free-will which he himself bestowed. If man's reason, and the induction of evidence, seem to have made out anything which militates against these propositions, all this should much rather be shunned, than countenanced to the destruction of faith.

Cassian's opposition to the system of Augustin found great acceptance among the monks and even the bishops of these districts.[3] Doubtless, too, many of the monks had, of their own free impulse, without any influencing cause from without, become opposed to the Augustinian doctrine of election; individuals who subsequently attached themselves to Cassian, as the most important man among them, on account of his theological training; for it may be gathered, from what Prosper reports about them to Augustin, that all did not perfectly agree with Cassian in their views respecting the disputed points, though they agreed in opposing the doctrine of absolute predestination.

When Augustin's work de correptione et gratia arrived in Gaul, these opponents of Augustin's doctrine of predestination —whom for brevity's sake we will denominate *Semi-Pelagians*,[4] a name which came

[1] Ne penitus dormienti aut inerti otio dissoluto sua dona conferre videatur.

[2] Gratia Dei semper gratuita.

[3] See Prosper's letter to Augustin.

[4] The Semi-Pelagians themselves were naturally far from applying to their sect any such name as this, as they wished to have nothing in common with the Pelagians; but their opponents, too, were very far from wishing to designate them by this name, the opponents of Pelagianism not admitting that there was any middle ground. They looked upon Semi-Pela-

into use at a much later period — perceived from it that those practically mischievous consequences which had ever appeared to them the dubious thing in this doctrine had actually been derived from them by those African monks; but they were not at all satisfied with the manner in which Augustin got rid of these consequences; and hence they were only the more fully confirmed in their own persuasions. Besides this Semi-Pelagian party, there was, however, in this part of Gaul, a small party also of enthusiastic admirers of Augustin, and devoted adherents to his whole system of doctrine, to whom, though they perhaps recognized the difference between Semi-Pelagianism and Pelagianism, yet every doctrine which represented the operations of divine grace in man as conditioned on man's recipiency, appeared to be a denial of grace proceeding from impious pride. At the head of this party stood, at that time, an ecclesiastic by the name of *Prosper*, who, induced perhaps by the desolations of war, had left his native country, Aquitania, and settled down in these parts. Amid the great and fearful revolutions of this century, particularly in his own country, by which within a short space of time the lot of whole nations as well as individuals was reversed, he found consolation and repose in entire submission to God's inscrutable decrees, in renouncing all earthly hopes, and relying on God's all-controlling grace; and the great facts of that particular age in the history of nations furnished him with abundant evidence in confirmation of the doctrine of absolute predestination.[1] This Prosper, and his friend Hilary, another warm admirer and zealous disciple of Augustin, gave him, each in a separate letter, an account of these movements among the monks, and begged that he would come to the rescue of the truth now assailed.

In reply to this request, Augustin wrote his two works, De prædestinatione sanctorum, and De dono perseverantiæ. He expresses his astonishment, that those persons were not to be convinced by the many plain and express passages of sacred scripture respecting grace, which is always denied, when it is made to depend on human desert. Yet he is at the same time just enough to admit, that, by acknowledging original sin, the insufficiency of the faculty of free-will for all good, and prevenient grace, they differed essentially from Pelagianism, properly so called. And, considering the great importance which he attached to the other disputed points, we must respect the spirit of Christian moderation

gianism as nothing but a mere offshoot of Pelagianism.

[1] Prosper, and also the author of the work de vocatione gentium, refer to these facts, especially as showing how different tribes of people were led to embrace the faith of the gospel. In the beautiful poem of "A husband to his wife," in which the writer refers to the state of those times as an argument and motive for renouncing earthly things, and which in some manuscripts is ascribed to Prosper, are to be found the feelings and ideas, at least, which characterized his own religious tone of mind. He says of his times, v. 23 (ed. Venet. 1744, p. 450):

Non idem status est agris, non urbibus ullis:
Omniaque in finem præcipitata ruunt.
Impia confuso sævit discordia mundo,
Pax abiit terris; ultima quæque vides.

And after having expressed his resolution to devote himself entirely to Christ, he adds, v. 40:

Nec tamen ista mihi de me fiducia surgit.
Tu das, Christe, loqui, tuque pati tribuis.
In nobis nihil audemus; sed fidimus in te.
Spes igitur mea sola Deus, quem credere vita est.

evinced by him when he added: "We must apply to them the words of Paul, in Philippians, 3 : 15. If they walk according to the measure of their knowledge, and pray to Him who giveth wisdom, he will reveal to them that also which they still want, in order to a correct insight into the doctrine of predestination."[1]

In these two tracts, he lays open his disputed scheme of doctrine, holding to it firmly in all its strictness, in the way we have already described; and we need here only notice what he says new in reference to the scruples professed by the Gallic Semi-Pelagians. These, as Prosper reported to Augustin, had affirmed that even if the doctrine of unconditional predestination were according to the truth, yet it ought not to be preached, because the doctrine could be of no use to any one, and might be mischievous to all. It tempts the pious to feel secure and to be inactive, and leads sinners to despair, instead of allowing them room for repentance. On the other hand, Augustin says: "We might keep silent as to those truths the knowledge of which would only enrich the intellectual insight of those who were capable of understanding them, without exerting any influence on their moral improvement; but the misunderstanding of which would redound to the injury of those who were incapable of understanding them. But it is otherwise with those truths the right understanding of which is subservient to holiness, and the misunderstanding of which leads to all mischief. And among these latter truths is to be reckoned the doctrine of absolute predestination. It is only when misconstrued and falsely applied, it can become practically injurious. But the doctrine of divine foreknowledge is liable to the same misconstruction; as, for example, when it is so conceived as to lead men to make such statements as the following: "You may live as you please, yet that and that only will happen with you which God foresaw." In *preaching* the doctrine of predestination, all that is necessary is simply to keep it ever in mind, that the preacher of the gospel is addressing either those who are already partakers of the redemption, or who are yet to become partakers of it, consequently the elect; so that the reprobate must be considered as those who are without the church, and be spoken of only in the third person. With great adroitness and skill, he showed how the doctrine of predestination should be used only for the purpose of exciting believers to an unshaken trust and confidence in God himself and in goodness, and at the same time to humility; — and how, on the other hand, everything should be avoided which, through misconstruction, might lead to false security or to despondency. The doctrine of predestination, if rightly presented, would, beyond question, contribute much to the furtherance of genuine Christian piety. "This doctrine," he concludes, "should be so set forth that he who properly receives and appropriates it will glory, not in that which is of man, hence not in that which is his own, but in the Lord; and even this, to glory only in the Lord, is, like all the rest, a gift of God, and indeed, *the* gift of God, without which all other gifts are nothing." As Augustin's opponents could often cite against him,

[1] De prædestinatione sanctorum, c. I.

and that not without good grounds, the authority of the older divines; so, on the other hand, he himself appealed, not without reason, to the original and common expression of the unalterable Christian consciousness; as, for example, in the church prayers for the conversion of unbelievers, for the perseverance of believers to the end, in which prayers the assembled church were wont to join by saying, Amen. But at the same time, in interpreting these expressions of the Christian consciousness, as well as many passages from the older divines, he was led, by the influence of his own doctrinal system, to introduce more into them than they really contained, when he would find in them testimony in favor of the doctrine of a grace which is conditioned on no sort of recipiency on the part of man, and of a predestination connected with this notion of grace.

These writings made, and indeed were calculated to make, no other impression on the Semi-Pelagians than Augustin's earlier productions. Hence, Prosper — feeling himself constrained to stand forth in defence of the *conviction* of which his heart was so full, and of *the man* to whom he clung with an enthusiastic attachment,[1] as the triumphant defender of this fundamental truth against the adversaries of the doctrine of grace — wrote, in opposition to those whom he designates as the *ungrateful*, his carmen de ingratis. By this designation, Prosper understands in general all those who considered the operations of grace as in any way conditioned by the free recipiency of man; those who did not refer everything in man to grace alone. Although his attack was directed in this case more particularly against the Semi-Pelagians, yet, in looking at the subject from this particular point of view, Semi-Pelagianism would necessarily seem to coincide with Pelagianism; — and, in truth, he endeavors to show that the doctrines of the Semi-Pelagians led ultimately to Pelagian principles.[2] He complains that his adversaries, who were for the most part rigid monks, misled many through the respect which they inspired by the virtues connected with their Christian renunciation of the world: but, as they looked upon these virtues as being in part their own work, they were but seeming virtues, destitute of the principle of all true goodness, that temper of the heart which refers everything to God alone, and which feels the sense of dependence on him for all things.[3] A deep and sincerely Christian feeling of dependence breathes through this production, imparting to it warmth and vitality; but with all this, the author overlooks in his opponents the

[1] This very fact, that the firm persuasion of man's being nothing through himself, but everything through God alone, had pervaded Augustin's entire life, appears to Prosper the characteristic trait of this great man, the fundamental principle of his peculiar character. This is beautifully expressed by Prosper in his carmen de ingratis, where he says of Augustin, v. 92 (p. 76): —

. . . . Quem Christi gratia cornu
Uberiore rigans, nostro lumen dedit ævo,
Accensum vero de lumine: nam cibus illi
Et vita et requies Deus est, omnisque voluptas
Unus amor Christi est, unus Christi est honor illi.
Et dum nulla sibi tribuit bona, fit Deus illi
Omnia, et in sancto regnat sapientia templo.

[2] As Prosper says himself:

. . . . Ingrati, quos urit gratia . . . . V. 685.

[3] . . . . Licet in cruce vitam
Ducant, et jugi afficiant sua corpora morte,
Abstineant opibus, sint casti, sintque benigne,
Terrenisque ferant animum super astra relictis;

still

. . . . Surgendo cadunt . . . .
Non horum templo est Christus petra fundamentum. V. 775–788.

interest of a morality which would be free, and which assuredly has no less its foundation in Christianity, than the sense of dependence. "Do they perhaps consider it a shame," says he of his opponents, "that Christ will one day be all in all in the redeemed? But if this is, above all things else, great and noble, why are they ashamed in this present vale of sorrow to be mighty through God, and to have in them as little as possible of their own, of that which is a mortal work, which is nothing but sin?"[1]

During this second portion of the controversies proceeding from Augustin, he was himself called away from this earthly scene. The last years of his long and laborious life were set apart for completing the theological works which were partly connected with these disputed points which seemed to him so important. As the multiplied engagements of his episcopal office left him no leisure for this, he, with the consent of his community, made arrangements to have his labors lightened by the assistance of Eraclius, a presbyter educated under his own eye. He was occupied during this time in preparing a critique on all his own writings (his retractationes). What led him to engage in *this* work was doubtless the fact, that many passages from his earlier writings were cited against him, especially by Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians: whence his enthusiastic admirers were embarrassed, since they would not allow that the man whose authority stood so extravagantly high with them could be convicted of any errors. But Augustin himself was far from claiming any such authority for his writings. Such authority was due, according to his judgment, only to the Bible. He says to those extravagant friends, that they labored to no purpose; they had undertaken a bad cause. They would lose their suit, even if tried before himself.[2] He rejoiced in the confession, that he had made some progress in truth, and acknowledged several of his earlier errors as such, which he was not now ashamed publicly to expose in his writings. Unquestionably it was true also, as may be gathered from what has been already remarked, that his mind, more fettered and confined in several respects, now represented as error what at an earlier period had been conceived with more freedom, or that he unconsciously interpreted his earlier views as being in accordance with his present altered way of thinking.

Next, he employed himself on that work which was the last written by him in the Pelagian controversy, the second work against Julian. This it was that occupied him amid the violent political agitations which brought devastation and ruin over this flourishing portion of the world. He had the pain of seeing the misery proceed from a man who had once been one of his most beloved friends. The count (comes) Bonifacius, one of the most distinguished and successful generals of the Roman empire in its decline, had been led by the advice

1 Viles ergo putent se deformesque futuros
Cum transformatis fiet Deus unica sanctis
Gloria: corporei nec jam pressura laboris
Conteret incertos; sed in omnibus omnia semper
Christus erit. Quod si pulchrum et super omnia magnum est,
Cur pudet hac etiam fletus in valle potentes
Esse Deo, minimumque operis mortalis habere,
Quod non est nisi peccatum. V. 964.

2 Frustra laboratis, non bonam causam suscepistis, facile in ea me ipso judice superamini. Ep. 143, § 3, ad Marcellinum.

of Augustin himself, instead of retiring to the monastic life, to the resolution of devoting his powers still further to the defense of the oppressed Roman Christendom against the incursions of barbarian tribes. But, by the intrigues of his rival in military renown, the general Aëtius, he had been afterward drawn into the great mistake of rebelling against the imperial government; and, for the purpose of maintaining himself in this contest, he invited over the Vandals to his assistance from Spain. Augustin availed himself of a favorable opportunity of addressing himself to the conscience of Boniface, in a letter written with true Christian dignity, and with great wisdom (a true model of proceeding in such intricate circumstances). The latter was compelled to find out by bitter experience the truth of that which his old friend had predicted to him. He was carried further than he meant to be, and when he endeavored to retrace his steps, found it to be too late. The Vandals looked upon the flourishing country as their own property, and, from being the allies of Boniface, became his enemies. Augustin's episcopal residence, the city of Hippo, was besieged by them. Amidst these sufferings, and in sight of the new trials which were threatening him, it was Augustin's daily prayer, that God would deliver the city from the enemy, or bestow on his servants the power to endure everything which his will had in store for them; or that he would grant him a release out of the present world. The last event happened. In the third month of the siege, which lasted fourteen months in all, Augustin died, at the age of seventy-six, A. D. 429.

The contest between the Augustinian and Semi-Pelagian party in Gaul still continued, after the death of Augustin. Prosper opposed, it is true, to his adversaries, the decisions of the Roman bishops, and of the emperors; but the Semi-Pelagians felt assured that they were not touched or affected by those authorities, for they in fact were also opponents of the Pelagian doctrines condemned by those decisions. For this reason, Prosper and Hilary sought to establish, in opposition to them, another new church authority. They appealed to the Roman bishop Cœlestin, and entered a complaint to him against presbyters given to disputation and fond of novelty, who propagated false doctrines, and presumed to attack the memory of Augustin. They probably hoped to obtain from the Roman bishop a distinct response in favor of the system of Augustin, against the Semi-Pelagian principles concerning grace and concerning free will; but their expectations were not fulfilled. Cœlestin, it is true, in answer to this application, published, in the year 431,[1] a letter to the Gallic bishops. In this letter, he complains that several presbyters, of whom he speaks with some contempt, had been allowed the liberty to set in agitation certain curious questions.[2] Quite in the spirit of the Roman church

[1] As he himself alleges, he had already on some earlier occasion decided in like manner in a *responsum* to a certain bishop Tuentius, which has not reached our times.

[2] Indisciplinatæ quæstiones. All questions on the subject why God bestowed his grace on some and not on others; all such questions, which were not to be disposed

he considers it a great scandal that presbyters should wish to set themselves up as teachers of the bishops; and he ascribes it chiefly to the fault of these latter, that presbyters presumed to make themselves so important. Doubtless it might be, he says, that some of them had but recently left the ranks of the laity, and hence had not yet become fully aware of what belonged to them as bishops. And he intimates a suspicion, which the accusers of the Semi-Pelagians had probably found it convenient to insinuate, that several among themselves might be inclined to the same errors. He moreover expressed, in strong terms, his respect for Augustin, who, by his predecessors also, had been considered to belong among the most eminent teachers of the church. But notwithstanding all this, the decisions of the Roman bishop were still so indefinite, that the opponents of Semi-Pelagianism could derive from them but little advantage. Cœlestin, indeed, forbore to enter into a particular description of the doctrines of those presbyters against whom he inveighed. What he understood by the expression "curious questions," was left wholly in the dark; and the Semi-Pelagians accused their opponents of this very thing, namely, that instead of holding fast to matters of practical moment, they busied themselves with such questions. He had said, Let the spirit of innovation — adding, if there is such a spirit — cease to attack the ancient doctrine.[1] But still it was left undefined what was to be understood by the ancient and what by the novel doctrines. The Semi-Pelagians, in fact, also asserted, — and they could do it in some respects with even more justice than their opponents, — that by them the ancient doctrine of the church was defended against the false doctrine recently introduced concerning absolute predestination, and against the denial of free will; tenets wholly unknown to the ancient church. As a matter of course, therefore, the Semi-Pelagians might interpret these decisions as being in favor of their own scheme of doctrine; and so, accordingly, they did interpret them.[2] The Vincentius already mentioned, who had been educated at a cloister on the island of Lerins in Provence, which was one of the most distinguished seats of Semi-Pelagianism, seems also to have given the decision this interpretation; and it was, perhaps, at the fiercest stage of this controversy, in the year 434,[3] that he wrote his famous Commonitorium, if not with the single, yet with the special or partial design of applying a principle to the refutation of Augustin's doctrine of predestination which was recognized by Augustin

of by reference to the secret incomprehensible counsels of God, belonged, in fact, according to the judgment of such men as Prosper, to this class; and Cœlestin here speaks at first only in the language of the accusers.

[1] Desinat, si ita res sunt, incessere novitas vetustatem.

[2] Prosper himself, in his book against Collator (§ 3), gives it to be understood that many Semi-Pelagians, by a *maligna interpretatio*, contrived to explain this decision of the Roman bishop to their own advantage. Cœlestin — said they, as it would seem as if we must gather from his language — had by no means approved, by that eulogium of Augustin, all his writings, with reference to the doctrines which they contained; and if he approved the earlier ones, he could not the later, in which Augustin himself set the *novitas* in opposition to the *vetustas*.

[3] See, chap. 42, his own chronological statement.

himself; namely, that the subjective views of a church teacher, however holy and highly gifted, could yet establish nothing in opposition to the ancient and hitherto universally prevailing doctrine of the church; and that such views would ever continue to be nothing more than private opinions (see above, p. 210), unless accompanied by the marks of antiquity, universality, and general consent (antiquitas, universalitas, consentio).[1]

Since Hilary and Prosper had now made a journey to Rome for the express purpose of procuring a favorable decision,—and, we may take it for granted, they would spare no pains to accomplish their object,—we may the more confidently conclude, that the Roman bishop had good reasons for not expressing himself more definitely and decidedly on this disputed question, when he had assumed a tone so entirely different in the Nestorian controversy.[2] The only course which remained for Prosper was to contend against the Semi-Pelagians by means of his writings.[3] This pen controversy could lead to no mutual understanding where the antagonism was so deeply rooted in the inward life and in thought. Prosper now sought, since he

[1] Vincentius enables us to discover his connection with the Semi-Pelagian party, by naming among the false teachers only Pelagius and Cœlestius, but not their pretended offshoots the Semi-Pelagians; and by neglecting to mention Augustin among the many church teachers who are praised by him. Thus now, too, at the end of the second section of his Commonitorium, of which only a small fragment has been preserved, he cites that passage from the letter of Cœlestin to the French bishops. Although he does not explain any further, even in this passage, what Cœlestin meant by the term "novitas," but chooses to leave the more particular application to each individual himself; yet he certainly betrays here the Semi-Pelagian forced by the authority of Augustin to tread somewhat too softly. A person of the same opinions with Prosper would have expressed himself doubtless in this case more strongly and distinctly, and the more, as he must have been aware that his opponents turned the vagueness of that passage to their own account. Moreover, in explaining the phrase, "si ita res est," he discovers the Semi-Pelagian, who considered the charge to be without foundation. Most probably it was from this Vincentius that the capitula objectionum Vincentianarum proceeded, against which a small tract of Prosper was directed.

[2] If the collection of decisions by Roman bishops and North African councils against the doctrines of Pelagius and Cœlestius, which is united in several of the older collections of ecclesiastical laws with this letter of Cœlestin, really belonged to the same, Cœlestin would beyond all question have expressed himself in a more distinct manner: for this collection has manifestly for its object to establish the whole Augustinian scheme of the doctrine of grace in opposition to the Semi-Pelagians; because these accused Augustin of having overstepped the proper limits, and because they, moreover, contrived to interpret the authority of the Roman bishops in their own sense. But the way in which Cœlestin's letter concludes, shows clearly that nothing was to follow after. In this additional clause itself, is exhibited a different tone of language from that which we are accustomed to meet with in Roman bishops; and Prosper, who, as we have remarked, appeals to the letter of Cœlestin, would assuredly not have omitted to mention this clause, if he had known it as one which proceeded from Cœlestin. We cannot doubt, therefore, that this piece is a *later* addition; and from whomsoever it might be that this certainly very old appendix, belonging to the very time of these controversies, proceeded, it still remains worthy of notice that its author professes indeed the doctrine of that grace of God from whose agency nothing is to be excluded, but that he does not, however, declare himself in favor of the doctrine of absolute predestination; but rather expressly avoids the inquiry as unprofitable, when he says: Profundiores vero difficilioresque partes incurrentium quæstionum, quas latius pertractarunt, qui hæreticis restiterunt, sicut non audemus contemnere, ita non necesse habemus adstruere.

[3] His writings against Cassian; liber contra Collatorem; his responsum ad capitula Gallorum; the tract already mentioned against Vincentius; his epistola ad Rufinum.

could not attain his object through his writings, to accomplish what he had vainly endeavored to carry through with the bishop Cœlestin, by means of his successor, Sixtus. He endeavored to prevail on him to finish the work of his predecessors, and annihilate the last remains of Pelagianism. As his predecessors had suppressed the open Pelagians, so Sixtus ought to suppress altogether the concealed Pelagians, since this work had been reserved for him by divine Providence.[1] But neither did he succeed as yet in carrying this point.

The writings of Prosper testify of the endeavor to place the system of Augustin, which was accused of so great harshness, in the most favorable light, to guard it against all the charges laid against it by the Semi-Pelagians, by which the latter were wont to appeal to the universal feeling. These were accustomed to say, for example: According to this doctrine, God has created only a small portion of mankind for eternal happiness, and the rest for damnation; God has predestinated these latter to sin; he is the author of sin; Christ has died, not for the salvation of all men, but only for the redemption of this small and determinate portion of them. On the other hand, Prosper labored with great skill and effect to avoid everything in the exposition of this scheme which might seem repulsive to the Christian feelings; although we must admit he rather concealed all the difficulties by happy turns and forms of expression, than really avoided them in the material contents of the thought. The charge that God was made the author of sin, he evaded, as Augustin had done, by deriving all sin from a free act of Adam.[2] God's predestination and his foreknowledge were by no means to be considered as identical. In reference to that which has its ground in God himself, goodness, as the bestowment of his grace, and just judgment, were undoubtedly both one. But the case was otherwise in reference to sin, which has its ground in the will of the creature; and in relation to this, we can speak only of the divine foreknowledge. But should any be now disposed to find an arbitrary will standing in contradiction with the idea of a holy God, in

[1] Confidimus Domini protectione præstandum, ut quod operatus est in Innocentio cæt., operetur in Sixto, et in custodia Dominici gregis hæc sit pars gloriæ huic reservata pastori, ut sicut illi lupos abegere manifestos, ita hic depellat occultos. — Hujusmodi hominum pravitati non tam disputationem studio, quam auctoritatum privilegio resistendum est. C. Collator. c. 21, § 4.

[2] If indeed Prosper had been disposed to proceed consistently, after the same manner in which he derived his conception of grace, as opposed to the Semi-Pelagian views, from the doctrine of an almighty power of God excluding everything of the nature of conditions, and of an absolute dependence of the creature, he must have come at last to consider all the inward operations of God on human nature as absolutely unconditioned from the first, and at every point of time, and accordingly also as wholly excluding, even in the case of Adam, the free self-determination of the will. See the remarkable passage in the carmen de ingratis, v. 370. We ought not to regard God's agency upon man — says he — as so feeble a thing as that of one man upon another, when by his words he seeks to produce love or hatred or any other affection in the heart of another, so that the speaker is unable really to communicate this affection to the other, but it depends on the other to yield himself to this affection or not. It is not so with divine grace, which is almighty: this employs all subordinate causes only as its instruments, is not dependent on them.

Ipsa suum consummat opus, cui tempus agendi
Semper adest, quæ gesta velit: non moribus illi
Fit mora, non causis anceps suspenditur ullis.
V. 384.

the fact that, of those who stood in the like condition of alienation from him, he rescued some by his grace, and left the others to their merited destruction, Prosper answers: Men's minds would easily be set at rest, were it but held fast as an incontrovertible maxim of faith, that with God there is no place for arbitrary will: nothing he does can stand in contradiction with his holiness and justice: and that no salvation is to be found without the grace of Christ. But as our Theodicee must fail to explain many things which take place in the life of nations and of individuals, while still we are not perplexed or hindered in our faith in God's wisdom and holiness; so here, too, we must cling fast to our faith, although it may be impossible for us to fathom or comprehend the counsels according to which God dispenses that grace. Well for us, could we but acknowledge the limited nature of our present knowledge of divine things.[1] Prosper charged his opponents, as they did him, with attempting, in opposition to the apostle Paul, to explore the unsearchable judgments of God.[2] He said, instead of searching into the deep things of the hidden God, and losing ourselves in a labyrinth of unanswerable questions, we ought rather to employ our thoughts on the ample range of revealed grace, and hold fast to that which the apostle Paul declares: God wills that all men should be saved. This will of God is revealed in the fact of his having provided men with all the means of coming to the knowledge of himself, whether it is revelation by the gospel, by the law, or by the works of creation. But, verily, by all these means, they cannot be led to salvation without the grace which gives them faith. Thus was there here already brought to view, the germ of that distinction between a will of God universally revealed and *conditioned*, and a secret, special, and *unconditioned* will of God; — the former being, in fact, taken up and absorbed by the latter. All these shifts and turns were not strictly peculiar to Prosper; but we here discern in him only the apt and skillful disciple of Augustin, — a disciple who well understood how to seize, to combine, and to distribute the scattered thoughts of his master.

This tempered exhibition, aiming to avoid the repulsive aspects of the Augustinian scheme, which proceeded from Prosper, had manifestly an important influence on the course of this controversy. Out of the germs contained in the writings of Prosper, was formed a still more refined and happily conceived exhibition of this system, executed with great spirit, and based upon conciliatory motives. This is set forth in a work entitled, The Call of all the Nations, (de vocatione omnium gentium,) the author of which is not certainly known.[3] This

[1] Non ergo instamus clausis, nec operta procaci
Urgemus cura, satis est opera omnipotentis
Cernere et auctorem cunctorum nosse bonorum.
V. 754 et seq.

[2] Responsiones ad capitular Gallorum, c. 8. Profitentur sibi scrutibilia judicia Dei et vestigabiles vias ejus.

[3] The comparison of this remarkable work with the writings of Prosper shows, without doubt, a great agreement between the former and the latter in fundamental ideas; and many single thoughts also occur with the same application in the two kinds of writing. But the author seems to be a person who had not previously taken part in these disputes, but who, after they had been going on now for a long time, felt himself called upon to make the experiment, whether he could not by a certain mode of exhibition provide some way for reconciling the opposite views on the disputed doctrines. This does not suit the case of Prosper, who

work evidently proceeded, as the author himself intimates in the introduction, from a person who was seeking to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties so fiercely opposed to each other, — and that certainly with a decided leaning to the Augustinian system of doctrine, for the fundamental ideas of which he labored to procure a more general admission, by exhibiting them in a dress and in a combination peculiar to himself; taking pains to divest them of everything which exposed them to the censures of the Semi-Pelagians, and which served to give those censures a more plausible appearance. That he might more easily effect his object, to act as a mediator, he refrained from all allusion to Augustin, though the authority of that father must certainly have stood very high with him. In general, he was remarkably distinguished for his predominant dialectic method, which was independent of all church authorities.

He endeavored in the first place to show, that an entire harmony subsisted between the doctrines of grace and of free-will, so that the one could not be maintained without the other. Take away the free-will, and no organ would be left for the expression or existence of the true virtues. Take away grace, and the fountain-head would be wanting, from whence everything truly good must flow. He next proceeds to distinguish three different bents of will, and corresponding positions of men. The lowest stage or position is that of a will directed solely to the things of sense (the voluntas sensualis); next follows the will which rises above the things of sense, but is still left to itself, and bent on its own ends (voluntas animalis),— the will which has not, as yet, been attracted and pervaded by the godlike element. The more active man's changeable will, the more easily is it carried away by evil, so long as it is not governed by the unchangeable will of God. The third stage or position is that of a will attracted and actuated by the godlike, — the will which the Spirit of God, with whom the man has come into communion, employs as his organ (the voluntas spiritalis). By virtue of this, man comes to refer himself, his whole life, and every-

from the first had been at the head of one of the two parties. Moreover, it does not accord with the character of Prosper, as it appears in his acknowledged and genuine writings, that the author of the work in question refrains from all violent attacks upon his opponents; that he cites absolutely no authorities, and passes over Augustin in entire silence. To this must be added the difference of style. Now, it is true that ancient manuscripts ascribe the work to Prosper; but, on the other hand, there are still older ones which ascribe it to Ambrose, to whom it could not be ascribed without a sorry anachronism. It is accordingly evident that the authority of manuscripts cannot pass in this case as historical testimony. Owing to its contents, the work obtained a great reputation, — hence, too, the Roman bishop Gelasius cites it among the books of approved orthodoxy. But inasmuch as there was no historical tradition respecting the author's person, Gelasius himself citing it as an anonymous work, men were readily disposed to ascribe it to some approved church-teacher, and it was at least a more felicitous and well-grounded conjecture which made Prosper its author. If we follow the internal evidence, a certain resemblance of thought and expression gives some color of probability to the conjecture of Quesnel, that Leo the Great wrote this book, while he was a deacon. But in this case the fact that the work should still remain anonymous is still more surprising; and it may be asked, whether everything is not sufficiently explained, if we suppose that the book was written by a theologian, unknown to us, belonging to the second half of the fifth century, and who was an earnest student of the writings of Prosper and of Leo the Great.

thing else, to God alone, and loves in all things only the godlike. This will is the incipient germ of all virtue. Here all becomes divine and all human; divine in reference to Him who has bestowed it, human in reference to him who has received it.[1] Grace, which bestows this divine life on man, works upon and within him, not by a compulsory or magical influence, but in a way altogether in harmony with the laws of his nature. The nature of the human will, as such, has not been destroyed by the fall; its form remains the same; and it is simply by appropriating this, that grace works upon him and within him. At first, it operates in various ways, to prepare the will so as to be ready to receive its gifts;[2] for without the coöperation of the will, there can be no virtue.

Now this work distinguishes two kinds of grace; and this distinction itself belongs to the peculiarity of the method whereby the author seeks to banish the appearance of *particularism* from the system of Augustin; although the peculiarity in this case consists merely in the form of expression and the more complete exposition, — the principal thoughts having been presented already by Prosper. He institutes a distinction, to wit, between general grace[3] and special grace.[4] By the first, God leads all men to the knowledge of himself; and thereby he reveals his will, that all men should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. This general grace consists in the revelation which God has made of himself to the rational spirit by the works of creation. The Spirit of God, in whom we live, move, and have our being, fills all things.[5] But the sense and import of this outward revelation of God could still be only understood by man, by virtue of the inner revelation of God in the human heart, only through the consciousness of God in the mind itself. Thus it came about, that the greatest portion of mankind neither understood nor followed this law of God; and by *these* visible testimonies also we must learn, that the letter killeth, and that the spirit only maketh alive. The author recognizes, then, a universal inward revelation of God as the original source of all religion. But in as much as men, by the darkening of their own understandings, became estranged again from this heavenly light shining within them, this sense of God was again suppressed or falsified.[6] It still remains true, that none can attain to salvation otherwise than by that special grace

[1] Omnis actio ad unum refertur, et quod ad unum refertur, utriusque est, quia nec a Deo alienari potest quod dedit, nec ab homine quod accepit. A like sentiment is found in the letter to Demetrias (which, too, was falsely ascribed to Ambrose, but seems to have come from the same author): Implet Spiritus Sanctus organum suum, et tanquam fila chordarum, tangit digitus Dei corda sanctorum. This moral fellowship of man with God is represented, as in the quotation made above from Prosper, to be an anticipation of the eternal life, on earth: Nec dubie ista subjectio jam ex magna parte in illius futuræ beatitudinis est constituta consortio, ubi Deus erit omnia in omnibus.

[2] Ut in eo quem vocat, primum sibi receptricem et famulam donorum suorum præparet voluntatem.

[3] Gratia generalis, generalia gratiæ auxilia.

[4] Gratia specialis, dona, auxilia specialia.

[5] Implente omnia Spiritu Dei, in quo vivimus, movemur, et sumus. Per quæ humanis cordibus quædam æternæ legis tabulæ præbebantur, ut in paginis elementorum ac voluminibus temporum, communis et publica divinæ institutionis doctrina legeretur.

[6] Quod *illuminante Dei gratia* invenerant, obcœcante superbia perdiderunt. Relapsi a superna luce ad tenebras suas. In the letter to Demetrias: In pulchritudine cœli et terræ quædam sunt paginæ, ad omnium oculos semper patentes, et auctorem suum nunquam tacentes, quarum protestatio doctrinam imitatur magistrorum et eloquia scripturarum. Sed quid(quid) illud est, quo

(gratia specialis) by which man's will becomes transformed through faith in Christ into a spiritual will. If we ask why this grace is imparted to some and not to others among the great mass of mankind, who are alike alienated from God, and how this is to be reconciled with God's revealed will that all should be saved ; we can obtain no other answer than that here, as in innumerable other cases, we perceive the fact, without being able to explore the cause; that, as in innumerable other things, knowledge lingers behind faith ; that our knowledge is but in part. We must stand fast by the faith, that God everywhere acts according to his own infinite justice and wisdom ; although the question *how* may be wholly beyond the reach of our penetration. In this very thing it behooves us to show the strength of our faith in God's justice and wisdom, that by these difficulties, which admit of no solution in our present earthly life, we still do not suffer ourselves to be perplexed or disturbed.[1] When we are so disposed as neither to deny the things which are revealed, nor to explore those that are hidden, we find ourselves in the right relation to truth.

While, as we have described, the prudent defenders of Augustin's scheme were particularly interested in carefully guarding against all those conclusions calculated to revolt the religious and moral feelings common to all men, and so easily capable of being shown to be practically mischievous, which had been charged upon the system by its enemies ; so it was natural, on the other hand, that the opponents would be very unwilling to be deprived of an advantage which, on account of the impression it produced on most minds, was so important to them, and, in spite of all these logical distinctions which had been brought to bear against them, would still believe themselves obliged not to give up the defence and justification of these conclusions. When we learn, then, that writers of a decidedly Semi-Pelagian stamp, living in Gaul in the last half of the fifth century,[2] represent those very tenets which were repudiated by the above-named defenders of Augustin's scheme, and called unfair inferences from their doctrine, as the tenets of a newly-risen sect, styled *Predestinatians* (Prædestinati or Prædestinatiani), we might be easily led to conjecture that the Predestinatians, so called, were none other than the defenders of Augustin's doctrine of predestination ; that their opponents in this period, as in earlier times, took the liberty of charging them with their own inferences from the doctrine they taught, as this doctrine itself; and that they invented a distinctive sectarian name for the defenders of such a doctrine, in order that they might stigmatize it as heretical, without seeming to interfere with the universally acknowledged authority of Augustin, and

corporeorum sensuum exteriora pulsantur, in agro cordis, cui impenditur ista cultura, nec radicem potest figere, nec germen emittere, nisi ille summus et verus agricola potentiam sui operis adhibuerit et ad vitalem profectum quæ sunt plantata perduxerit.

[1] Latet discretionis ratio; sed non latet ipsa discretio. Non intelligimus judicantem; sed videmus operantem. Quid calumniamur justitiæ occultæ, qui gratias debemus misericordiæ manifestæ? — Quanto hoc ipsum difficiliore intellectu capitur, tanto fide laudabiliore creditur.

[2] As for example, the younger Arnobius, presently to be mentioned, author of the Prædestinatus. Commentar. in Psalm. 146, f. 327, bibliotheca patrum Lugdun. T. VIII. Nota tibi, Prædestinate, quod loquor — and Faustus Rhegiensis.

thus also convert the detested doctrine of predestination itself into a heresy. This conjecture would seem to be confirmed by our observing that those persons who speak of a heresy of the Predestinatians, in no way distinguish the doctrine of predestination, apprehended according to its original sense, from such extravagant inferences derived from it; but ever speak of the doctrine of absolute predestination, in itself considered, only as a doctrine apprehended in that form in which it appears to them as a Predestinatian heresy.[1] But the mere possibility of such an explanation would still not warrant us in the conclusion, that the fact was actually so. It would certainly not be unnatural to conceive, that all the advocates of the doctrine of absolute predestination would not conduct with the prudence and caution of an Augustin, a Prosper, and the author of the book De vocatione gentium. A doctrine like this might, in its further spread, easily gain fanatical adherents, who, abandoning themselves to a single one-sided direction of religious feeling, would assume an offensive position towards the harmonious sentiment of religion, as it is grounded in the essence of man's nature, and was brought to consciousness by Christianity; and thus suffer themselves to be misled into the error of pushing the doctrine of absolute predestination, in their own statement of it, to that revolting extreme of harshness. Zealots, who were ready to sacrifice to their interest for this single Christian dogma the interests of the universal Christian faith, might, especially by their uncompromising opposition to Semi-Pelagianism, be driven to this extreme, as the like has often happened in other cases. Now an appearance of the doctrine they so detested in this new form would be extremely welcome to the Semi-Pelagians, since they could take advantage of it for the purpose of representing their own inferences from the doctrine as the actual tenets of the party they contended against, and as their prevailing, generally acknowledged principles; and their own interest would naturally prevent them from making the distinction which justice required between the genuine and spurious disciples of Augustin. But, after all, it might still remain doubtful, whether in truth there was a sect of Predestinatians in the sense above described, or whether the existence of such a sect was merely an invention due to the Semi-Pelagian unfairness of inference. The reasons for and against the latter presumption would still continue to counterbalance each other, and we should still want the documentary evidence necessary to establish the existence of such a sect. This evidence, however, has been found, since the publication of a small tract, composed by one of these Predestinatians, in which the mode of thinking and of expression peculiar to these people is very clearly set forth.[2] In this book, the doctrine of absolute predestination is certainly expressed in the sternest asperity, and every possible expression purposely sought after which can grate on the moral feelings. The work not only departs throughout, in style of representation, from the style and method

[1] Thus the two things are put together by Arnobius in Ps. 117, f. 305: Prædestinationem docere et liberum hominis arbitrium infringere, libertatem arbitrii ita excludere, ut peccantes existimet Dei abjectione peccare.

[2] The second book of the work entitled Prædestinatus, published by the Jesuit Sirmond, 1643.

of Augustin, so distinguished for logical skill and a delicate regard to the moral feelings ; but also a difference of doctrine on one point lies at the basis of its whole peculiarity of representation. The principles expressed in it lead to the hypothesis of a divine predetermination, cutting off all free self-determination from the creature, and all contingency. But such delicacy of moral feeling can hardly be supposed in *this* writer, as we find in Augustin, which would lead him to be inconsistent with himself, and make the will of Adam an exception from that principle.[1] He knew of no difference betwixt foreknowledge and predestination. God predestined man to righteousness or to sin ; since otherwise we must suppose that God, without foreknowledge, created men who could act differently from what he pleased. God remains undefeated in his will, while, on the other hand, man is constantly defeated. If, then, you acknowledge that God cannot be defeated in his counsels, you must also acknowledge that men cannot be other than that for which God has created them. Hence we conclude, that those persons whom God has once destined to life, even though they are neglectful, though they sin, though they *will* not, shall yet, against their will, be conducted to life ; but those whom he has predestined to death, although they run, although they hasten, yet labor in vain. He gives the following illustration: "Judas heard daily the word of life ; he daily lived in the society of our Lord ; he daily heard his admonitions, daily witnessed his miracles ; but because he was predetermined to death, he was suddenly overthrown by a single blow. Saul, on the other hand, who daily stoned the Christians, and laid waste their churches, was suddenly made a vessel of election, because he had been predestined to life. Why fearest thou then," he proceeds, "thou who continuest in sin ? If God vouchsafes it, thou shalt be holy. Or why art thou, who livest a holy life, overburthened with concern, as if thy concern could preserve thee ? If God does not will it, thou shalt not fall." Perhaps with reference to the Semi-Pelagian opponents, who were so highly respected as zealous monks, he says : "Wilt thou, who art holy, and takest pains that thou mayest not fall, who busiest thyself day and night with prayer, fasting, reading of the scriptures, and all manner of holy discipline, wilt thou be saved by these efforts of thine ? Wilt thou be holier than Judas ? Cease, O man ! cease, I say, to be careful for thy virtue, and securely confide in the will of God." With a view to extol predestination and the arbitrariness of grace, he depreciates the work of redemption. Human nature was so entirely corrupted by the fall of Adam, that it obtained a restoration by Christ, not in reality, but merely in hope.

The writer who has been the means of transmitting to us this remarkable book, together with a preliminary brief description of the most important older heresies,[2] and a refutation of the book in question, was evidently a Semi-Pelagian ; and expresses with great freedom and

[1] Probably we have here, therefore, a forerunner of the Supralapsarians, afterwards so called.

[2] Among these appear, indeed, the Pelagians ; but the Semi-Pelagians, to whom the author himself belonged, are of course wanting. The Prædestinatians constitute the ninetieth and last heresy.

boldness his own doctrinal views, which differ entirely from those of Augustin. He holds to a prevenient grace only in so far as is meant by it, the grace — preceding all merit on man's part — manifested in redemption, without which no man could obtain salvation.[1] The grace of God, too, bestows immeasurably more than all that we can do, to make ourselves befitting subjects of it; but still it depends on the will of the individual, whether he receives it or not. It is the same as when one distributes alms, and is willing to bestow them on all, if they will but stretch forth their hands to take what is offered. Would a poor man, then, who has run forward, taken the alms and thereby become rich, be able to say: I have become rich by my own labor, because I willed and ran? No. He would be obliged to say: I have received nothing on the score of the desert of my willing or running; but I am indebted for all solely to the grace of him who bestowed his gifts on me. In this sense are to be understood the words of the apostle Paul, in Romans 9 : 16. In opposition to those Predestinatians who had adduced the conversion of Paul as an example of grace operating in a sudden and irresistible manner, he endeavors to show, that for this operation of grace, the way had been prepared, and the necessary conditions provided, in the antecedent bent of the will of Paul; for although he persecuted the Christians, yet that which impelled him to do so was a burning zeal — though a zeal misguided by want of correct knowledge — for the cause of God, 1 Tim. 1 : 13, — not, as the Predestinatians supposed, a spirit of Cain, but a spirit of Elijah, which already contained the germ of the apostolic spirit.[2]

According to the testimony of this Semi-Pelagian, the Predestinatian tract above mentioned was forged under the name of Augustin, and had been already condemned by the sentence of the Roman bishop Cœlestin. The adherents of this Predestinatian doctrine, who are represented as being extremely few in number, are said to have circulated this tract stealthily, as containing a doctrine which all were not able to comprehend, and by means of it to have opened the way for their opinions, particularly among women.

We must admit the transmission of this Predestinatian tract by a Semi-Pelagian writer might once more excite our suspicions of its genuineness, and lead us to surmise that the Semi-Pelagian had himself composed the work which he refuted, for the purpose of confirming the report of the Predestinatian heresy, and of placing that heresy in the most hateful light. But the truth is, that not only the marks of a well-defined, living, and personal character are too plain in this work to admit of any such supposition, but also many passages occur in it, which a Semi-Pelagian, who was aiming to exhibit the doctrine of absolute predestination in a hateful light, would certainly have expressed otherwise.[3] Still, the work is not of that stamp which would lead us to suppose that the author meant to have it considered as a production of

[1] Quin non haberet homo hoc ipsum velle, nisi unigenitus nobis de cœlo veniens, omnibus officinam suæ gratiæ reserasset.

[2] Jam meritis apostolicis plenus, vas electionis erat.

[3] The places where predestination is derived from foreknowledge.

Augustin; and this circumstance again is another mark in favor of its genuineness: it is a proof that the Semi-Pelagian ascribed to the work, in which he had no hand himself, a design not really intended by the author of it. Furthermore, the advocate of the doctrine of absolute predestination was under no necessity of forging writings under Augustin's name for the purpose of supporting that tenet, since he could find arguments enough in Augustin's genuine productions. The Semi-Pelagian interest was opposed to the acknowledgment of this; it was far more inviting to represent the matter as if it was first necessary to forge a tract under the name of Augustin, in order to gain the advantage of possessing in him a direct witness in favor of that doctrine.[1]

Among the distinguished men of the Semi-Pelagian party in the second half of the fifth century belonged *Faustus*, who had been educated as a monk in the cloister of Lerins, and who, in the year 454, became bishop of Rhegium (Reji, Riez),[2] in Provence; a man who, by his practical Christian spirit and his active and devoted zeal, was the means of great good in that whole region, amid the devastating inroads of wandering tribes. He was drawn into a dispute with a certain presbyter Lucidus, who was reckoned among the party of the Predestinatians, and had exhibited the doctrine of absolute predestination in the most uncompromising language.[3] In vain had Faustus attempted by oral argumentations to induce him to recant the errors laid to his

[1] Between the doctrine on these points which is to be found in the commentary of the younger Arnobius, an ecclesiastic who came probably from a cloister of the Semi-Pelagians in Southern France, and the doctrine of the Semi-Pelagian just mentioned, we may certainly discern a very striking agreement. Arnobius, too, represents the grace of redemption generally as being the gratia præveniens, the gratia Dei generalis, antecedens omnium hominum bonam voluntatem. In Ps. 147, f. 327. Moreover, he exhibits the doctrine of absolute predestination only in the form of Predestinatianism, and calls the defenders of it heretics. In Ps. 77, f. 280. The commentaries on Ps. 117, Ps. 147, and Ps. 126, compared with the second and third books of the Predestinatus, prove also that Arnobius had this work before him; but the reasons are less for considering him to have been its author.

[2] This Faustus deserves notice also on account of his dispute concerning the corporeality of the soul. He affirmed, as others before him had already done, (e. g. Hilary of Poictiers on Matth. 5: 8, and even Didymus in his work de Trinitate, l. II. c. 4: Οἱ ἄγγελλοι πνεύματα, καθὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσώματοι, σώματα ἐπουράνια διὰ τὸ ἀπείρως ἀπέχειν τοῦ ἀκτίστου πνεύματος,) that God alone is a pure spirit; in the essential nature of finitude is grounded limitation as by time (a beginning of existence), so also by space; and hence all creatures are corporeal beings, the higher spirits as well as souls. He was led by his controversies with the Arians of the German tribes, who were then spreading themselves in these countries, to unfold these views still farther: for he supposed he could demonstrate that if equality of essence with the Father was not ascribed to the Logos, it would be necessary to regard him as a corporeal being. He found an opponent who surpassed him in philosophical spirit, in the presbyter Claudianus Mamertus of Vienna, a man on whom the speculative spirit of Augustin had exerted a great influence. He wrote against Faustus his work de statu animæ. Here, too, we may perceive indications of the kindred bent of mind among the Semi-Pelagians, and of the opposition of their way of thinking to that of Augustin. So, too, the Semi-Pelagian Arnobius (Commentar. in Ps. 77) couples together the attributes: Solus Deus immensus est et incorporeus.

[3] Faustus says expressly that the council of Arles was called together for the purpose of condemning the false doctrine of absolute predestination. In the letter to the bishop Leontius of Arles, he says: In condemnando prædestinationis errore.

charge. At length, however, he was prevailed upon by the authority of a council held at Arles, in 475, to lay down the required confession in negative and positive propositions.[1]

Commissioned by this council and another held in the same year at Lyons, Faustus now endeavored to expound the correct system of doctrine on the disputed points, in his work De gratia Dei et humanæ mentis libero arbitrio.

Although in this book he adopted the Semi-Pelagian mode of exposition above described with regard to the relation of the free will to grace; yet he unfolded this scheme in a way peculiar to himself. If he did not always content himself with the sharpness and severity of systematic thought, he yet distinguishes himself by the way in which, refraining from every partial exaggeration, he sought to apprehend the supernatural in harmony with the natural, the redemption in harmony with that which belongs to the original creation. "As the same Being," says he, "is both Creator and Redeemer; so one and the same Being is to be adored both in the work of creation and of redemption.[2] Among the attributes which, as expressing the image of God, could not be destroyed in human nature, he reckons preëminently the free-will. But even before the fall, the free-will was insufficient without the aid of grace, and still less can it at present, since sin has entered, suffice by its own strength for the attainment of salvation. It has now lost its original power; yet it is not, in itself, destroyed; it is not altogether shut out from the divine gifts, but only it must strive once more to obtain them by intense efforts and the divine assistance. Like the author of the work De vocatione gentium, he makes a distinction between general grace (gratia generalis),—a term by which he designates the religioso-moral capability, which God has furnished to man's nature, and which, too, has not been

[1] Among the last occurs also the following: Profiteor etiam æternos ignes et infernales flammas factis capitalibus præparatos, quia perseverantes in finem humanas culpas merito sequitur divina sententia. Now, as we may in general infer from the character of the positive propositions which Lucidus was obliged to confess, the character of the opposite ones which he had taught, or, at least, was accused of having taught, so we may in the same way draw some probable conclusion from this proposition. Either Lucidus may have said, in order to set distinctly forth the unconditioned will of God in absolute predestination, that those who died in baptism, and as orthodox members of the Catholic church, though they lived to the very end in wickedness, would still finally be made happy; while those, on the contrary, who among heathen nations had led lives which seemed to be ever so virtuous, would be damned, which indeed was the farthest possible removed from the spirit of Augustin; or he had simply appealed to the fact,—as was done also by other advocates of the doctrine of absolute predestination in this period,—that, while many who had led a virtuous life till near the close of their earthly existence fell at last, because they lacked the donum perseverantiæ, into some grievous sin, died with it cleaving to them, and hence were lost, while others, on the contrary, after a vicious life to the end, still repented on the death-bed, and hence attained to blessedness, as belonging to the number of the elect. The practical Christian zeal of Faustus would necessarily move him to take a position directly opposed to such tenets, as, in fact, he was moved thereby to controvert the efficacy of a death-bed repentance in his letter to Benedictus Paulinus.

[2] II. c. 8. Quum vero ipse sit conditor, qui reparator, unus idemque in utriusque operis præconio celebratur. Jure itaque utriusque rei munus assero, quia scio me illi debere, quod natus sum, cui debeo quod renatus sum.

wholly supplanted by sin, as well as the universal inward revelation of God by means of this universal religioso-moral sense, — between general grace so understood, and special grace, by which he means, all that was first bestowed on mankind through Christianity. But the relation of these two kinds of grace to each other is defined by him quite otherwise than it is in the work above mentioned. Although, as a general thing, the grace of redemption, and in many cases, also, the calling, is antecedent to all human merit, still, the operation of that special grace in man is dependent on the manner in which he has used that general grace; and in many cases the striving and seeking of the man which proceeds from the latter, the self-active bent of the free-will, is antecedent to that which is imparted to the man by this special grace; a thing which Faustus endeavors to show by examples similar to those which the Semi-Pelagians had been accustomed to adduce since the time of Cassian.[1] He denominates the imperishable germ of good in human nature, a spark of fire implanted within by the divine hand, which, cherished by man, with the assistance of divine grace, would become operative.[2] He recognizes, therefore, a preparatory development of the religious and moral nature even among the heathen, and controverts those who were unwilling to allow, that by a faithful use of that general grace, the heathen might have attained to the true service of God. From this it might also be inferred, that Faustus was an opponent of the doctrine which taught that all the heathen would be unconditionally condemned; and that it was his opinion, that the worthy among them would still be led, after the present life, to faith in the Saviour, and thereby to salvation; but on these points, he does not express himself more distinctly.

There is much good sense in the remarks of Faustus, where he compares the two extremes in the mode of apprehending the relation of grace to free-will, with the two extremes in the mode of apprehending the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. As in the doctrine concerning Christ's person some gave undue prominence to the divine, others to the human element; and as the result of so doing, were led into errors which, on opposite sides, injured the doctrine of redemption; so he says it was also with the doctrine concerning human nature.

The moderate Faustus was, moreover, unwilling to be regarded as the antagonist of Augustin. He himself cites from the latter a remark, mentioning him with respect, although not with those *enthusiastic* expressions of reverence which characterize the adherents of the rigid Augustinian scheme.[3] A contemporary of Faustus, who entertained the same views with himself, ventured to speak much more sharply of Augustin. The presbyter Gennadius of Marseilles, a very moderate Semi-Pelagian,[4] had the boldness, in his collection of brief notices re-

[1] Quod aliquoties in dispositionibus nostris, non quidem in vitæ nostræ primordiis, sed duntaxat in mediis, gratias speciales et ex accedenti largitate venientes voluntas nostra, Deo ita ordinante, præcedat.

[2] Hoc in homine ignis interior a Deo insitus et ab homine cum Dei gratia nutritus operatur.

[3] He merely says of him, (II. 7:) Beatissimus pontifex Augustinus doctissimo sermone prosequitur.

[4] He acknowledges a prevenient grace,

specting the church-teachers, to say of Augustin, that by writing so much, he had fallen into several errors of doctrine, and hence, also, had given occasion to the exaggerated statements of the doctrine of absolute predestination.[1]

Yet from this same cloister of Lerins went forth also church-teachers who did not remain true to the Semi-Pelagian tendency which there prevailed, but were led along by the study of Augustin and by the development of their own inward life, to moderate views of Augustin's scheme of doctrine respecting grace, similar to those which are expressed in the book De vocatione gentium. At the head of this party stood an individual whose unwearied, active, and pious zeal, ready for every sacrifice in the spirit of love, and his great and successful labors in a period and under circumstances of universal desolation, had gained for him deserved respect, the bishop *Cæsarius* of Arles,[2] who had been drawn to embrace this doctrine simply by *that* tendency of Christian feeling which led him to refer every thing to God, and to acknowledge his kindness in every blessing; and since in holding fast only to this interest of practical Christianity, he carefully avoided all the excesses which might do violence to any Christian feeling, he could hardly fail, by this means, of contributing the more towards opening the way for the admission of this scheme of doctrine. Besides this, distinguished bishops and clergymen from the church of North Africa, on whose theological culture the spirit of Augustin had exerted an important influence, warm and zealous adherents of his peculiar scheme of faith, had been driven by the persecution of the Vandals, to take refuge in Sardinia and Corsica. Among these, the most eminent was *Fulgentius*, bishop of Ruspe in Numidia, who took up his abode in Sardinia. These persons also contributed, by the weight of their authority, to bring about at last, a decision of the controversy between the Semi-Pelagian and the Augustinian parties. But the impulse whereby

which calls men to salvation; but he attributes to the free-will the capacity of choosing by itself the good, or of following the call of grace. Manet ad quærendam salutem arbitrii libertas, sed admonente prius Deo et invitante ad salutem, ut vel eligat vel sequatur. De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, c. 21.

[1] De viris illustribus, c. 38. Multa loquenti accidit, quod dixit per Salomonem Spiritus Sanctus: In multiloquio non effugies peccatum, Prov. 10, 19. And when he speaks afterwards of an error illius sermone multo contractus, he evidently means the doctrine of predestination, though it cannot be certainly determined, whether by the words "lucta hostium exaggeratus," he means to say that he fell into this mistake by exaggeration in controversy, or that this error was afterwards carried to an extreme by the enemies of Augustin, as he would consider the Predestinatians to be. Still more obscure are the remarks of Gennadius which follow.

[2] He became in the year 501 bishop of Arles, died in 542, at the age of 73. As a bishop he was distinguished for his zeal in the business of religious instruction, and that of such a sort as had for its end the advancement of a vital, practical Christianity. These traits of his character we learn from his sermons, which are to be found partly in the fifth volume of the Benedictine edition of Augustin, partly in the collections of the church fathers, and in part have been published by Baluz. A complete collection, critically compiled, of these sermons, conveying so much important information respecting the character of Cæsarius and his times, — a fact to which the authors of the hist. lit. de la France refer — still remains a desideratum. He is to be ranked along with those other men who knew how to assuage by the glowing zeal of Christian charity, and whatever that can do, even the physical distress of those times of desolation. See his biography by a disciple, at the 27th of August in the Actis Sanctorum.

this whole matter was set in agitation anew, proceeded from two other quarters.

The work of Faustus of Rhegium had found its way among the foreign clergy residing at Constantinople, where it created a lively sensation, — some condemning, others defending it. Certain monks from the districts bordering on the Black sea (Scythian monks, as they were called), who sought to establish their authority everywhere as zealous champions of orthodoxy, fiercely assailed this work also. This was under the reign of the emperor Justin, in 520, and at that time Justinian and Vitalian, men who stood at the head of civil affairs, took a lively part in this as in all other doctrinal disputes. They induced the North-African bishop Possessor, who resided at Constantinople, to propose the matter in the form of a question, to the Roman bishop Hormisdas. The latter replied to the question with a freedom of spirit and moderation, the more remarkable as coming from a bishop of Rome; whether the fact was, that these qualities, which did not so eminently characterize him in other relations, were the cause of his conduct, or that he acted according to the policy of Roman bishops, who were never willing to offend any important doctrinal party. This author — he declared — did not belong to the class, whom men regarded as fathers of the faith.[1] But men should treat him as they should every other ecclesiastical writer; that is, adopt whatever he taught which agreed with pure doctrine, and reject whatever was at variance with it. There was but one foundation, on which every solid structure should be erected; each must take heed for himself, and see whether he built upon this foundation what was valuable or worthless. Nor was it a censurable thing to peruse writings in which errors were to be found. All that deserved rebuke, was, when men sought to propagate those errors. On the contrary it was a laudable diligence, when men searched through many writings, and following the maxim of Paul, examined all things, and held fast that which is good. Often times it was necessary in order to obtain information with regard to that by which opponents might be refuted.[2] For the rest, he went on to say, that various writings of Augustin, and especially his tracts addressed to Hilary and Prosper, were regarded as models of orthodoxy in respect to the doctrines of grace and of free-will, and declared himself ready to transmit to Constantinople specific articles on these points, which represented the doctrine of the Roman church, and which were to be found in the church archives.[3] Those monks, however, were by no means satisfied with this declaration of the Roman bishop; it seemed to them a self-contradiction, to make Augustin's writings a rule of the pure doctrine concerning grace, and yet not condemn the work of Faustus, which

[1] Quos in auctoritate patrum recipit examen catholicæ fidei.

[2] Nec improbatur diligentia per multa discurrens; sed animus a veritate declinans. Sæpe de his necessaria providetur, de quibus ipsi æmuli convincantur, instructio, nec vitio dari potest nosse quod fugias; atque ideo non legentes incongrua in culpam veniunt, sed sequentes. Quod si ita non esset, nunquam doctor ille gentium acquievisset nuntiare fidelibus: Omnia probate, quod bonum est, tenete.

[3] In scriniis ecclesiasticis expressa Capitula. Perhaps those capitula joined with the decretals of Cœlestin.

was opposed to them. They had the boldness to write with great warmth against the decretals of the Roman bishop, not being able to persuade themselves, as they pretended, that they really proceeded from him.

They sent the work of Faustus to those bishops who had been driven from North Africa, at whose head stood Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, and asked them to signify their agreement with the doctrines expounded by themselves, relative to this and to another subject. Fulgentius was thus led to write several works in refutation of Semi-Pelagianism, and in defence of the system of Augustin, in which he explained and unfolded the latter with logical consistency. Moreover, in doing this, he carefully avoided the harsh points of the Predestinatian view of the matter. He severely censured those who talked of a predestination to sin. He spoke indeed of a two-fold predestination (prædestinatio duplex); but by this he understood either the election to eternal happiness of those who were good by the grace of God, or the predestination of those who were sinners by their own choice, to deserved punishment.

In the south of France, also, this subject was agitated anew; and a synod held at Orange (Arausio), in 529, confirmed a scheme of doctrine drawn up by the bishop Cæsarius of Arles, by whom the doctrine of grace was expounded in opposition to Semi-Pelagianism as well as to Pelagianism; and hence also the doctrine of prevenient grace, as the cause of even the *first motions* of all goodness, in the strict sense of Augustin. No man — it was asserted among other things — has anything which can strictly be called his own, but falsehood and sin. But whatever of truth or goodness man possesses, flows from that fountain, after which we must thirst in this wilderness, that quickened and revived by some drops from it, we may not faint by the way. In the spirit of the genuine Augustinian doctrine, it was affirmed that man could not have preserved himself even in his original condition without God's assistance. Conformably to the mild, pious spirit of Cæsarius, this council declared strongly against the Predestinatian extravagances, in such expressions as the following: "That God's power has predestinated certain individuals to sin, we not only do not believe, but if there are any who are inclined to believe a doctrine so monstrous, we condemn them with the utmost abhorrence." A following council at Valence confirmed these decrees; and also the Roman bishop, Boniface II., gave them his approbation, and, in the letter relating to them, he himself declared that those were offshoots of Pelagianism who refused to acknowledge prevenient grace to be the cause of faith, but considered that to be a work of the corrupted nature, which, however, could only be a work of Christ.[1]

Thus had the Augustinian scheme of doctrine concerning grace as the operating cause of all goodness obtained the victory also over Semi-Pelagianism. But still, the predominant practical Christian

[1] Ut ad Christum non credant Dei beneficio, sed naturæ veniri, et ipsius naturæ bonum, quod Adæ peccato noscitur depravatum, auctorem nostræ fidei dicant magis esse quam Christum.

tendency of those from whom this victory proceeded in Southern France, was the cause that among these articles nothing was established on the doctrines of absolute predestination and irresistible grace; while also at Rome there would perhaps be an aversion to express propositions which were abhorrent to the Christian feelings of so many. This latter result of the controversies was important in its influence on the succeeding times; for thus it could happen, that many, although they received the prevailing scheme of grace, yet, on account of the practical objections in their own religious and moral feelings, avoided expressing the doctrine of absolute predestination, which had not been in so many words established by any public determinations of doctrine.

On the development of doctrine in the Oriental church, these controversies peculiar to the West had but little influence, and they excited there but little interest, except where more importance came to be attached to them on account of their connection with other disputes, as in the case of the proceedings with Nestorius. *Theodore of Mopsuestia* alone seems to have taken a lively interest in these controversies. and his participation in them can be rightly understood and judged, only when considered with reference to his peculiar views of human nature, which were closely connected with his whole system of doctrine. And here we have to lament that no information, except of the most vague and indefinite character, has reached us respecting his outward relations with regard to the matter in question.

Julian of Eclanum refers in his writings[1] to his agreement with Theodore. He took pains to visit him, in hopes of being able to unite with him in a system of faith. Theodore himself wrote a work, which was manifestly directed against the advocates of Augustin's system,— "against those who affirmed that men sinned from nature and not with design."[2] This work, as it should seem, was pointed especially against Jerome, whom Theodore represents as the author of that whole new, blasphemous system, according to which, things were asserted of the divine Being, which could not possibly be conceived to be so, even in men of ordinary intelligence and uprightness. Jerome, who resided at Bethlehem, might be far better known by him than Augustin, who lived at so great a distance; and hence he ascribes the spread of all these doctrines to the influence of Jerome on the Western church.[3]

[1] Marius Mercator, in his tract on the symbolum Theodori Mopsuesteni, says, in the prefatory letter addressed to the reader, that Julian in his writings bestows unbounded praise on Theodore. He may have done this in writings that are lost; but it may also be an exaggeration. In what still remains to us of the writings of Julian, there is but *one passage* to be found (in Augustin. opus imperfect. l. III. c. 111) where he names Theodore along with Chrysostom and Basil as witnesses of the truth.

[2] Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας φύσει καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ πταίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Phot. cod. 177.

[3] Marius Mercator (opp. ed. Garnier, f. 97) says, that Theodore's work was aimed against Augustin, and a good deal which Theodore said against his opponents, according to the citations of Mercator in his second excerpt, f. 103, may beyond question apply very properly to Augustin: Quippe qui in divinis scripturis nequaquam fuerit exercitatus, nec ab infantia juxta b. Pauli vocem sacras didicerit literas — which seems not to apply so well to Jerome, who at so early an age had already engaged in biblical studies. Sed sive de scripturæ sensibus, sive de dogmate sæpe declamans, multa frequenter inepta de ipsis scripturis dogmatibusque plurimis imprudenter depromp-

Yet if we follow the account of Marius Mercator, Theodore, at some later period, must have altered his views on these disputed questions; for it is said that he was member of the synod, held in Cilicia, at which the sentence of condemnation on the doctrines of Julian was pronounced after his departure. But it may be asked whether, and how far, the account which comes from so passionate an author, deserves confidence. It is very possible indeed that Theodore, who in the outset had only glanced at the fact that the Pelagian system was opposed to that of Augustin, and in this respect entirely agreed with it, after having become more accurately acquainted with the system of Julian, observed many points of difference between *his own* doctrinal scheme and the Pelagian, as in fact the relation of the doctrine of redemption in the two systems constituted an essential difference between them; yet it may still be a question whether, considering the very imperfect knowledge which Theodore could have had respecting the mode of treating doctrinal subjects in the Western church, it was easy for him to become clearly aware of this difference. The affinity as well as the disagreement between the doctrines of Pelagius and of Theodore will be readily seen from a brief statement of the connection of ideas in the Anthropology of the latter.

Theodore ascribed to man the most important place in the evolution of the universe. He was to be the representative and revealer of God for the entire spiritual and sensible creation, the common bond uniting both worlds; — a theory in which Theodore approximated nearly to the doctrines of the Gnostics, from which otherwise he was so far removed. After having sought, in his exposition of Genesis, to refute the different

sit: nam potentiæ motus nullum contra sinebat effari; sed tantummodo taciti, qui divinarum scripturarum habebant notitiam, detrahebant. Then concerning the present disputed point: Novissime vero in hanc dogmatis excidit novitatem cæt. But, still, it may be certainly gathered from the notice of the contents of the work in Photius, cod. 177, that the book was aimed against Jerome, whom he calls Aram. In this book he very unjustly objects to Jerome the fifth gospel invented by him, (the gospel of the Nazarenes, which he translated;) his contempt of the ancient Greek translators of the Old Testament, and his own new translation, undertaken without any knowledge of the sense of the Old Testament, under the influence of earthly-minded Jews. It is possible, indeed, to reconcile the discrepancy between Marius Mercator and Photius, by supposing the work was aimed at one and the same time against Augustin and against Jerome. But, according to Photius, Theodore represented Jerome as being the inventor of this blasphemous system; and he traced the spread of it in the Western church solely to the influence of the writings of Jerome, which were there circulated. And now on more accurate examination it will be found, that what he says, according to the report of Mercator, admits very well of being applied to Jerome; nay, a good deal, considering the position held by Theodore, admits better of being applied to him than to Augustin. For when Theodore speaks of absurd opinions which that individual had taken pains to circulate even before this controversy, it may well be doubted. whether he could have learned so much in this respect with regard to Augustin. On the other hand, with regard to Jerome, who often, for example, followed the allegorical expositions of Origen, he might very early have learnt a good deal which would appear singular enough to him, judged from his own point of view. What he says respecting the despotic influence of the person, applies very well to the relation in which Jerome stood with those around him. And though Jerome had for many years been engaged in biblical studies, yet the Syrian, who was born in a country where the bible constituted the foundation of the earliest training, might be very likely to make this objection to him, especially as he evidently wrote in a violent passion, and even, according to the quotations of Photius, actually allowed himself in so many unjust accusations, grounded in the perversion of facts.

explanations given of the image of God in man, as partial and failing to exhaust the whole subject, he approves of this *one* view as embracing the whole, namely, that man, as in fact the very notion of an image implies, was destined to manifest God, who was represented by him as by an image, to the entire creation,— a pregnant idea, which it must be allowed he in part reduced too much within the province and calculations of the understanding judging by sense: "Just as a monarch," said he, "after having built a great city, and embellished it with many and various works, when the whole is completed, causes a great and magnificent image of himself to be erected in the centre of the city, that its builder may thereby be known,— and as all the inhabitants must honor this image in order thereby to express their gratitude to the founder; so the Creator, after he had embellished the world with his manifold works, finally produced man as his own image, to bind together all the works of creation by their common reference to man's advantage. The elements, the starry host, and the invisible powers, Heb. 1 : 14, work together for the service of man. Thus man was to form the common bond of union for the whole universe. Both worlds are knit into fellowship by the union of soul and body."[1] Also in his commentary on the epistle to the Romans, recently published, Theodore expresses the view: "that God formed man with a view of uniting the visible with the invisible in one, and made him, as it were, a pledge of harmony in the universe. For the visible serves to promote his advantage, as we learn from experience itself; but the spiritual powers preside over the sensible, guiding them so as to promote our advantage.[2] From the position held by man as God's image in the universe, he explains the different relations of the good and bad angels to man. In like manner as the servants of the king pay all honor and respect to his image, but the insurgents endeavor to tear it down, so the angels maintain this different bearing towards God's image in man.[3] But, although man was furnished by God with all the requisite faculties for attaining and accomplishing this high destination, as, for example, with reason and free will; yet still, he was not directly adequate to accomplish it. Human nature, furnished with these faculties, must, in the first place, in order to be able rightly to employ them, be interpenetrated by a principle of divine life. As when left to itself it is exposed, since it is a finite nature, to fickleness and change, it must first be raised above itself by means of communion with God; its spiritual and moral powers must first receive *thereby* an unchangeable direction. And from man, this new unchangeable direction was to pass over to the whole spiritual creation. Theodore supposed generally, as we have already

[1] See J. Philopon. de creatione, VI. 10 and 17, and Theodoret. quæst. in Genesin I. 20. It is evident from comparing the passages that Theodoret in this place took the greatest part of what he says from Theodore.

[2] Βουλόμενος εἰς ἓν τὰ πάντα συνῆφθαι, πεποίηκε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὥσπερ τι φιλίας ἐνέχυρον τοῖς πᾶσι· χρήσιμα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ φαινόμενα, ὡς αὐτῇ τῇ πείρᾳ μανθάνομεν. Ἑφεστᾶσι δὲ αὐτοῖς αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις, πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμον αὐτὰ κινοῦσαι. Spiceleg. Rom. T. IV. ed. Maji, p. 527.

[3] Οἱ μὲν εὐνοοῦντες ἄγγελλοι τῷ θεῷ προθύμως τὴν διακονίαν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἀποστέλλονται πληροῦσι, διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, ὁ διάβολος δὲ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλὴν πάντα ποιοῦσιν. Philopon. VI. 10.

remarked, two periods of development in the whole spiritual creation, the changeable state of the spiritual creation left to itself, and the unchangeableness of the spiritual creation interpenetrated by a divine principle of life.[1] Hence, at the first stage, the appearance of moral evil, not merely in the human nature, but also in the higher world of spirits;[2] for the capability of being tempted was necessarily connected with mutability. It was first through Christ that human nature was to be exalted to that condition of imperishable, immutable divine life; it was first through Him, indeed, that the image of God in human nature was to become realized in its fullest extent. The first man, therefore, could possess no prœminence in this respect. He was by his own nature created mortal,—as Theodore endeavored to demonstrate from the essential nature of the human organism; but still God threatened the first man with death, and placed before him death in connection with sin, because this was a wholesome and salutary thing for man's discipline. The omniscient God would not otherwise have given him a command which he foreknew that he would not be able to keep. But he permitted sin, because he knew, that this would in the end redound to man's salvation. He proceeded with man, like the wisest and most affectionate father, according to a deeply laid scheme of education. He would lead him, by himself, to the consciousness of his own weakness. He would cause him to come, of himself, to perceive that in his then moral state he was unfitted to sustain an immortal existence, and that this would not make him happy. For this reason death was announced to man by God as the punishment for his disobedience, although God by no means first suspended death over human nature as the punishment of sin; but from the beginning had created it mortal. Man was in the first place to become acquainted with virtue and learn to practice it by self-development in the practical antagonism between good and evil.[3]

Theodore compares the state of the first man, who must be led, by means of a law given to him, to distinguish between good and evil, with the state of all his posterity, to whom laws have been given for the same reason. He compares the sin of Adam with the sins committed by his posterity in the transgression of the law. "The example of Adam," says he, "serves to make clearly apparent the nature of the law. He might have partaken freely of all the fruits, had there not been prescribed to him a law of abstinence; and it was no sin for him to wish to partake of that particular fruit with the rest: but when he received a law bidding him to abstain from eating that fruit, the desire of which however was within him, and when he was restrained by the law, since he held it a sin to eat of what was forbidden,—in *this*, sin found a

[1] Ap. Marium Mercatorem Excerpt. f. 100. Quod placuit Deo, hoc erat in duos status dividere creaturam; unum quidem, qui præsens est, in quo mutabilia omnia fecit; alterum autem, qui futurus est, cum renovans omnia ad immutabilitatem transferet.

[2] He referred to versa multoties decem millia dæmonum, in whatever apocryphal book he may have found this.

[3] Vid. Catena Nicephori, I. f. 98. Ὅτι τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ηὐτρέπιζεν, αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἄῤῥενος καὶ τοῦ θήλεος δείκνυσιν, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τὴν παιδοποιΐαν εὐθὺς καὶ ἐκ πρώτης δεικνύμενον· ὥστε ἡ μὲν πλάσις ἡτοιμάσθη τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ· ἡ δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς δόσις καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον προεγύμνασε καὶ ἐδωκε τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν αὐθαιρέτων ἀγώνων τὴν πρόφασιν καὶ τὸ τῆς θνητότητος οὐμφερον ἐδειξεν.

foot-hold, inasmuch as the law restrained from eating, but Adam would not look to the reverence due to the law, but believed the words of the tempter, and surrendered himself wholly to the desire of eating. And not only was this occasion of sin to him, but we also may learn from it, that it does not become us to follow the enticements of our desires."[1] This passage deserves notice, as clearly showing how Theodore conceived of the origin of the first sin wholly after the analogy of every other sin taking place under the ordinary conditions of human life. It is a characteristic exemplification of that mode of apprehension by the understanding after the notices of sense and experience, which was combined with his systematizing spirit. So he says concerning the necessity of the law in the present life, by means of which the power of discrimination within us is excited and called forth, since we learn what we have to shun and what we have to do, so that also the reason within us is active:[2] "Without the law, there could be no such thing as distinguishing between good and evil; we should, like the irrational brutes, do whatever immediately occurred to us."[3] Death, in the case of all the posterity of Adam, he describes as the punishment of each one's own sin; as in commenting on Rom. 5 : 13, where he says: "Death becomes master of all who have in any way sinned; for although Adam's sin was not the same in kind with the sins of other men, yet the others have not been exempted from death, but in whatsoever way they may have sinned, they have received on this account the sentence of death: for death was not threatened as the penalty of that particular sin, but as the punishment for all sin."[4] The mortal body under the dominion of sensuous wants he regarded as the source of many temptations to sin. In this sense, he explains the words in Rom. 5 : 21, that sin hath reigned unto death.[5] Thus he explains the passage in Rom. 5 : 18: "As Adam's sin made the rest of mankind mortal, and thereby inclined to sin, so Christ has bestowed on us the resurrection, so that we might live in perfect righteousness in an immortal nature free from all sin."[6] Understanding the creation (κτίσις) in Rom. 8 : 19, as referring to the angels who became estranged from man by sin, and reconciled with him again by the redemption, he says: "When, by the pronounciation of the sentence, Adam became mortal, the soul became separate from the body, and the union of the creation into one whole, which was to be brought about through man, was dissolved,[7] the higher spirits were disturbed, and they were not friendly to us, since we were the guilty cause of so great an evil. But when, in the process of time, men, continually degenerating, drew down on

[1] Comment. in ep. ad Roman. p. 516.

[2] Ὅτι ἀναγκαίως μὲν κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον νόμοις πολιτευόμεθα· ὑφ' ὧν ἡ ἔμφυτος ἀνακινεῖται διάκρισις, παιδευομένων ὧν τὲ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἃ ποιεῖν προσήκει· ὥστε καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργὸν εἶναι.

[3] L. c. p. 517.

[4] Οὐ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὅμοιον ἦν τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἶδος τό τε τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, θανάτου γεγόνασιν ἐκτὸς οἱ λοιποὶ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμάρτανον ὁπωσδήποτε τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐδέξαντο πάντες· οὐ γὰρ τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἁμαρτίας τιμωρία ὁ θάνατος ὥρισται, ἀλλὰ πάσης ἁμαρτίας. L. c. p. 504.

[5] Μείζονα περὶ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ῥοπὴν θνητοὶ γεγονότες ἐσχήκαμεν. L. c. p. 506.

[6] L. c.

[7] Ὁ μηχανηθεὶς διὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σύνδεσμος τῆς κτίσεως διελύετο. L. c. p. 528.

themselves the sentence of death,[1] they despaired of us, and conceived a great hatred towards us. Hence, moreover, they were unwilling to do any more for our help, turning their backs upon us as aliens. What took place after this? The Lord announced to them, that he would work out our restoration, awaken us and make us immortal; so that they need not fear any change and dissolution of the common bond of the creation. Thus they were once more made joyful, when they received this promise; when they learned that divine grace would heal the evil brought about by our guilt, and abundantly restore to us what we had lost by our own fault; that then the common bond of the universe would never again be dissolved, and the harmony of creation would remain indestructible. And in this hope — says he — they were ready to do anything for us."[2] If we took all this in an isolated manner, and without reference to its connection with the whole system, we should not perceive here that Theodore entertained any peculiar views, differing from those which generally prevailed, on the connection between sin and death.

From this exposition of the anthropology of Theodore, it is plain, that, in contending against the system of Augustin, he must have coincided in many points with the Pelagians; and in general, it may be said that many points of coincidence are to be found in their respective doctrines of human nature. There were the same views of the original weakness of man's nature, of man's inalienable freedom as opposed to the doctrine of a constraining grace and of predestination, and much that was similar in the way in which the consequences of the first sin were apprehended. But *the great difference* between the two systems was *this;* — that in the Pelagian, the doctrine of a redemption and of a Redeemer had no foothold whatever, while in Theodore's system it had a thoroughly essential one, and indeed constituted the central point of the system. Human nature, nay, the nature of all created spirits, is, according to this system, so constituted from the beginning, that it could no otherwise than by a redemption attain to its final destination. Only in the system of Theodore, the Redeemer does not, as in that of Augustin, appear preëminently as the restorer of corrupted nature, but as the author of a new creation in the world of men and of spirits, whereby the original creation is raised to a higher development, extending beyond the limits of the finite nature. Grace appears here, not so much to heal and restore nature, as to exalt and to ennoble it. Hence Theodore could, without any mention of original sin, claim for children also the fellowship of Christ, in order that their natures might be brought to share in those blessings which can flow only from this fellowship of divine life with him. With this idea was intimately connected, indeed, his peculiar mode of apprehending the person of Christ, of which we have spoken before. Hence, according to his theory, in the case of Christ, as in that of all men and of the whole creation, that

[1] Ἐπέσφιγγον ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἀπόφασιν. This is intended to express the persistency with which they ever continued to make themselves still more worthy of the death which had been once pronounced on them.

[2] Καὶ μὲν ·· ὁ καθολοῦ σύνδεσμος διάλυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιδεχόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ, μενεῖ δὲ ἄῤῥηκτος καὶ τῇ κτίσει πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡ φιλία. L. c. p. 529.

refinement and elevation of nature which was to be first fulfilled in him, must be conditioned on the antecedent free development of that nature. And in this view of the work of redemption, as being preëminently a new ennobling creation, not a healing of corruption, Theodore may in fact have secured a point of union and sympathy, generally, between himself and what belonged peculiarly to the Oriental church doctrine, which in his system was only more distinctly set forth in opposition to other modes of apprehension, and placed on a more systematic foundation in connection with his whole doctrine of human nature.

It is at the same time also noticeable, that while Theodore so zealously contended against the doctrine of a divine causality of evil, and so strenuously insisted on the doctrine of a self-determining freedom as the condition of all development in the spiritual world, still his principle led him to regard sin as a necessary transition point in the development of the spiritual world, while an ultimate universal destruction of sin by the redemption was at the same time grounded in that system; which last result, as we shall see hereafter, Theodore did in fact actually express with clear consciousness.

From the Antiochian school proceeded *Chrysostom;* who differed, however, from his early friend Theodore, in possessing a spirit more practical than systematic; and this difference had also an influence especially on his peculiar mode of apprehending the doctrines of which we are here speaking. We find in him that form of doctrine which chiefly prevailed in the Oriental church, as it existed there at the same point of time that the Pelagian controversy broke forth in the West. But his mild, predominantly practical and feebly systematizing spirit, which was strongly disinclined to all stiff and harsh extremes, could also most readily blend with the Oriental mode of apprehension and genially work upon it. The whole peculiarity of his character, the course of his life and training, would of themselves necessarily keep him at a distance from the system of Augustin. His Christian life and character had not been the result of any such violent crisis as we observed in the case of Augustin; but from his early youth it had harmoniously developed itself under the influence of a profound study of the sacred scriptures, and of pious friends and associates surrounding him with a gentle atmosphere of Christian excitement. By a constantly applied and earnest self-discipline in zealous efforts to attain to the ideal of Christian holiness, as well as by incorporating the holy scriptures into his inner life, and learning to understand them by means of a rich inward experience, by all this he was preserved from the one-sided views of the Pelagian anthropology. He had come to learn from his own inward experience, as well as from a deeper knowledge of scripture, what the essential nature is of that divine principle of life which renovates man's nature. The study of the ancients, and his own free, gentle and amiable temper, however, had also impelled him to search after all the scattered rays of relationship to God in man's nature while yet unrenewed, and to embrace them with love wherever they were to be found. Charity, the predominant element in his heart, caused that he also, in contemplating the course of development of

human nature from the beginning, should look upon the whole, chiefly from that point of view which led him to trace the hand of a paternal disciplinary love; and to this he felt compelled to subordinate punitive justice. The sincere and lively feeling of the need of redemption, which proceeded in his case from the depths of the Christian spirit, led him to recognize the importance of the doctrine concerning grace; but his strong feeling of moral, free self-determination impelled him, too, to set a high value on the free-will of man, as a necessary condition of all the operations of grace. A Christian stoicism, pervaded and ennobled, however, by the spirit of Christianity, and most intimately conjoined with Christian humility, animated and inspired him. Firm and deeply rooted in him was the conviction, to which he remained true under all trials and sufferings, and which formed the great motto of his life, that no power could injure that man who did not wrong himself, did not abandon and betray his own highest interests.

It appeared to the moral zeal of Chrysostom, an object of the highest importance to deprive man of every ground of excuse for failing to put forth moral efforts. His fields of practical labor at Antioch and Constantinople encouraged and promoted in him this bent of mind; for in these great cities he found many who, in the weakness of human nature, in the power of Satan, or of fate, sought grounds of excuse for their deficiencies in practical Christianity.

These motives, from within and from without, had no small influence in giving direction to the development of Chrysostom's habit of thought, especially on these subjects; and with his peculiar style of homiletic composition, calculated upon, and adapted to, immediate practical needs, his mode of exhibiting his thoughts and views depended very much on the predominant interest which he was pursuing for the moment. His essential ideas are as follows:

"The first man lived like the angels, in a state of undisturbed blessedness; — hence he could the more easily lose sight of his dependence on God. God gave him a precept, for the purpose of bringing him to a sense of his dependence. He fell by his own moral negligence. As he had rendered himself unworthy of the undisturbed enjoyment of happiness, he was expelled from paradise, for his own profit, that so he might train and discipline himself in conflict. His earlier state of communion with God, in a life exempt from pain and from care, was a type of the immortality to which he would have passed without a struggle. But now his body became mortal, and accessible to many temptations to sin."[1] In explaining Romans 5 : 19, Chrysostom says: "This passage is not to be so understood, as if by the sin of one, all became sinners; but that the condition of human nature, which to the first man was a punishment, was thus transmitted to all his posterity. But this change redounds only to man's profit, if he is not wanting as it respects his own will. He derives therefrom many calls to despise things perishable, to strive after those that are heavenly, — many opportunities for the development and exercise of the virtues.

[1] Antithesis between the σῶμα θνητὸν and παθητὸν, and the σῶμα ἀπαθές.

The examples of the ancient heroes of the faith prove this." And accordingly Chrysostom here takes occasion to express his favorite maxim: if we but *will*, not only death, but even Satan himself shall never harm us.[1] The sinning of Adam under circumstances so well adapted to facilitate the practice of goodness, as contrasted with the good actions of others performed under hard conflicts, he often brought forward as an illustration of the truth so constantly present to his mind, that every thing depends on man's will, and except through this, nothing from without, whether hurtful or helpful to him, can have any influence upon him.

Chrysostom was deeply penetrated with the feeling of the need of redemption, of the need of a fellowship of life with Christ. With great emphasis he announced the truth, which he found in the epistles of Paul, as well as in his own heart, that justification, by which he understood not merely forgiveness of sin, but also the communication of that more exalted dignity and worth which far transcended the powers of the limited finite nature, by means of the fellowship of life with Christ, was acquired, not by any merit or doing on the part of man, but by faith alone.[2] In the eighth homily on the first epistle to the Corinthians, § 4, he says: "Christ is the Head, we are the body. Can there be anything intervening between the head and the body? He is the vine, we are the branches. We are the temple, he is its inhabitant. He is the life, we are the living. He is the light, we are the enlightened. All this points to union, and leaves no room for the least intervening space." But he felt it to be important also, to set everywhere distinctly forth, that to believe or not to believe depends on man's self-determination; that there was no such thing as a constraining grace, not conditioned in its operations on the peculiar bent of man's own will; but that all grace is imparted according to the proportion of the will's determination. Here, too, he attached the most importance to the practical element,— to counteract as well a proud self-confidence, as moral inactivity and self-neglect. "God draws us to himself, not by force, but with our own free-will,"— says he, in the fifth homily on John, § 4. "Only shut not the door against the heavenly light, and thou shalt enjoy it abundantly." "God comes not with his gifts before our will; but if we only begin, if we only will, he gives us many means of salvation."[3]

Nestorius agreed in his views of human nature more nearly with Chrysostom than with Theodore.[4] During the same time that he was

[1] H. 10 in ep. ad Rom. § 3.

[2] See e. g. H. 7 et 8. in ep. ad Romanos.

[3] Hom. 18 in Joh. § 3.

[4] As may be gathered from the extracts from his writings, and four of his sermons, which Marius Mercator has preserved in a Latin translation, and of which sermons the fourth still remains extant in the Greek original under the name of Chrysostom. See his works, ed. Montf. T. X. His violent enemy, Marius Mercator, acknowledges himself the Anti-Pelagian drift. It may be, that these sermons were, as he supposes, preached in opposition to Pelagian opinions, on occasion of the controversy excited through the banished Pelagian bishops at Constantinople; but we are in nowise under the necessity of supposing this. Though there might be some reference of this sort, yet Nestorius probably had no design of combating the Pelagians, with whose doctrines he was so little acquainted; but rather to shield himself against the charges which his connection with those bishops had perhaps drawn upon him.

involved in the controversy on the doctrine concerning Christ's person, Julian and Cœlestius, with several other bishops of like mind, who had been deposed as Pelagians, came to Constantinople ; and they had sought protection at the imperial court. They had also had recourse to the patriarch. Nestorius was not disposed, like his predecessor Atticus, to whom they had previously applied, to repel them at once, as men condemned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of the West. Probably also the representations which they themselves made of their cause, were calculated to render him favorably disposed towards them, looking at the matter from the position of his own temperate Antiochian Anthropology. Before deciding either for or against them, he wrote to the Roman bishop Cœlestin, and requested of him a precise statement of the erroneous doctrines laid to their charge. He wrote twice without obtaining an answer, as perhaps the pride of the Roman bishop was hurt by the form of his interrogatory ; and this it was, which did so much injury to the cause of Nestorius in his relations with that prelate.[1] At this time, the Marius Mercator, so often mentioned by us, was residing at Constantinople. He was probably a layman from North Africa, who had some time before taken a lively part in the Pelagian controversy,[2] and who was at the same time full of suspicion as to the orthodoxy of the new patriarch, and one of his first zealous antagonists. He was led by these transactions to distribute at court among the bishops and nobles a memorial on the Pelagian matter, which memorial had for its consequence, probably, at a later period, when the authority of Nestorius was on the decline, the expulsion of these refugees. The combination into which the Roman bishop entered with the enemies of Nestorius might perhaps render the latter more favorably disposed to those individuals who had met with persecution from the same quarter. He wrote to Cœlestius a letter of condolence,[3] exhorting him, as a persecuted witness of the truth, to a steadfast confession, and inspiring him with the hope, that the storms which then agitated the church, would also bring about a new investigation redounding to *his own* advantage. Nestorius was, indeed, at the outset, expecting good would result from the council that was to assemble at Ephesus.[4]

These incidents were the occasion which led the Cyrillian party of the council of Ephesus, out of homage to the authority of the Roman bishop, to condemn, at the same time with Nestorius, the two leaders, Pelagius and Cœlestius, and their adherents, respecting whom and their doctrines they doubtless knew little or nothing, and about whom they otherwise gave themselves little concern. But neither did the Orientals wish by any means to be considered as Pelagians. On the contrary, their delegates at Constantinople sought to make the party of Cyrill suspected by the Western agents as men who had received

[1] See above, p. 520.

[2] See Augustin's reply to a letter of his of the year 418, ep. 193 among the letters of Augustin.

[3] Marius Mercator has translated it. See his works, fol. 71.

[4] See above, p. 526.

to their fellowship [1] heretics, Euchites, who taught the same doctrines as Pelagius and Cœlestius.[2]

It continued still to be the prevailing tendency of the doctrine taught in the Greek church, to preserve the medium between two extremes, without entering into any very precise determinations of the relation between free-will and grace. For the sake of illustration, we will here take another example, and bring under one view the doctrines of a distinguished teacher of the Alexandrian church, the abbot Isidore of Pelusium. "By reason of the first sin, the nature of the first man became subject to the dominion of perishable things and to the excitements of sensual pleasure.[3] As in this state he went on propagating his kind, the same condition was transmitted to his posterity, and the evil was still augmented among men through the negligence of each man's individual will. There still remains, however, the seed of goodness [4] in human nature. They who fostered this, distinguished themselves; they who suppressed it, were punished. Even for that which proceeds from our own will, we need the assistance of divine grace. But this is never wanting to any who are only willing to do what belongs to themselves. There may, doubtless, in particular cases, be such a thing as prevenient grace, although, according to the general rule, grace is not prevenient,— but there is no such thing as a constraining, irresistible grace. The assistance of grace is not such as that it may not be forfeited and lost by man's own fault; not such as is bestowed without any efforts of his own. The grace which awakens even those that are asleep, and impels even the not willing, will assuredly not forsake those who choose the good of their own accord. The words of our Lord: 'All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given,' Matth. 19 : 11, are in no wise to be so understood as if the better part were bestowed on many by arbitrary determination; [5] for in that case the kingdom of heaven would not be the reward of conflict." [6]

e. *Doctrine of the Sacraments.*

The history of the doctrine concerning the church, especially among the Latins, we have already unfolded sufficiently at large in the first section. In the Greek church, it is true, the consequences flowing from the confounding together of the visible and the invisible church, of which we spoke in that section, were not in theory so systematically elaborated and carried out, and in individual instances, as in the case of Chrysostom and Isidore of Pelusium, there were gleams of a more

[1] Τὰ αὐτὰ φρονοῦντας Κελεστίῳ καὶ Πελαγίῳ, Εὐχῖται γάρ εἰσιν ἤγουν Ἐνθουσιασταί. It was by no means Pelagians, then, who were meant, but Euchites; described, however, as holding the same tenets with Pelagius, in order to represent them, by a name better known in the West, as heretics. See the letter of the delegates to bishop Rufus, ep. 170 among the letters of Theodoret. T. IV. ed. Halen. p. 1352.

[2] They knew perhaps but little about these latter; they had doubtless only heard that these men taught that believers might attain to perfect holiness, and hence were led to compare the Euchites with them.

[3] Σῶμα ὑνητὸν καὶ παθητόν.

[4] Τὰ εἰς κάλοκαγαθίαν σπέρματα.

[5] Ἀποκλήρωσις.

[6] See l. III. ep. 204, l. II. ep. 2, III. 171, III. 13, III. 165.

spiritual apprehension of the notion of the church. Yet, on the whole, the practical church life was not less governed here than in the West by those principles growing out of the confusion of the visible and invisible church, with regard to the authority of an outward church, of tradition, of councils, and by the notions grounded thereupon respecting the nature and the effects of the sacraments.

The conception of the *Sacraments* would of course be at first extremely vague: for there was not here, as in the case of other doctrines, a certain subject-matter already given in the sacred scriptures, and in the Christian consciousness, which needed but to be more fully developed; but in this case the general conception must first be formed from particulars, by the process of grasping together the common relations of these particulars to the Christian life and consciousness. In addition to this, there were no fixed and settled grounds on which to determine the choice of those objects themselves which were to be brought under this conception; and the difficulty was moreover increased by the ambiguity and vagueness of the term, which had been invented without any definite consciousness of its meaning. The term sacramentum grew out of the translation of the Greek word μυστήριον: it was employed already in the preceding period, by a license allowable in the Latin use of the word, to denote any thing consecrated to a holy use, any thing considered holy and sacred, and then applied sometimes to holy doctrines, sometimes to holy symbols. Already in the preceding period, this designation had been applied particularly to baptism, to the holy supper, and to the rite of confirmation; but we remarked in fact, already in the preceding period, the existence of an inclination to multiply holy symbols in the church life. In this present period, such a multiplication of symbols was promoted, especially in the Greek church, by the prevailing liturgical, and in connection therewith, mystico-theurgical tendency;[1] as we see exemplified in the spurious writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, belonging to the fifth or sixth century. *Augustin* is entitled to the credit of having first introduced into this doctrine, in place of rhetorical exaggerations, a greater strictness of doctrinal phraseology; and by striving to seize it with clearer consciousness in its connection with the Christian spirit, of furnishing a counterpoise to the erroneous magico-theurgical tendency, which had come to attach itself to the apprehension of these doctrines.

Augustin describes the sacraments as being visible signs representing invisible, divine things, by means of which the divine matter is exhibited, as it were, by writing, by outward language. We have in his theory, therefore, the distinction between the invisible divine reality, the invisible divine power, the communication of the divine reality itself, and the sacrament as its outward representative symbol (the res divinæ sanctæ, the virtus sacramenti, and the sacramentum). Without such outward symbols no religious society can subsist, whether growing out

[1] It is easy to see how mysticism, according to the different traits of individuals, may convert the objects of sense into symbols for the expression of its own feelings and intuitions, or even assume an attitude of hostility against all attempts to sensualize the spiritual and divine.

of a true or of a false religion. Hence, such symbols were no less necessary in Christianity than in Judaism. The one thing is the eternal and unchangeable reality; the other, its changeable expression, — just as words and written characters change, although that which they signify remains the same.[1]

It was, therefore, possible for God, without departing from his unchangeable counsels, to allow those external forms to change with the vicissitudes of time, to which they were successively adapted. This was urged by Augustin particularly against the Manichæans, inasmuch as they asserted, that if the Old Testament institutions really proceeded from the same God as the New Testament, they could not have been annulled by him. The outward symbol has no power of conveying to man the divine reality, unless man's inward being is susceptible of communion with God — a position which followed from Augustin's doctrine concerning grace; — and here came in the opposition to the superstitious practices which grew out of the magical effects ascribed to the sacraments, on which side the influence of Augustin, for the promotion of vital Christianity, was felt in the succeeding centuries down to the time of the Jansenist controversies. Nor is the divine substance so necessarily connected with the outward signs, that the grace of God cannot dispense with them.[2] But, in the usual order, the sacraments are the appointed means for the communication of the divine reality; and whosoever despises them, excludes himself, by his contempt of the divine institution, from all participation in the divine reality itself. The sacrament, as a divine ordinance, retains its objective significance, independent of the subjective character of him who receives it, as of him who imparts it, though it redounds only to the condemnation of the individual who administers or receives it unworthily. This position Augustin was led to set forth distinctly in his controversy with the Donatists. In reference to baptism, he often compared it with the sign marked upon the soldiers as an emblem of the imperial service, which remained ineffacible, and remained even with those who were unfaithful to the service; but, in that case, was only a testimony against them, (the stigma militaris, character militaris, hence character indelebilis.) Augustin regarded it as the peculiar mark of Christian freedom, as opposed to Jewish bondage, not only that Christianity, as the religion of the spirit, possessed but a few simple signs, easy to be observed, but also, that in Christianity the sacraments were celebrated with the conscious knowledge of that which they imported, and hence with freedom; while in the Old Testament economy, on the other hand, they were celebrated

[1] Quid enim sunt aliud quæque corporalia sacramenta, nisi quædam quasi verba visibilia, sacrosancta quidem, verumtamen mutabilia et temporalia? — In nullum nomen religionis, seu verum seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilium consortio colligentur. Augustin. c. Faustum, l. XIX. c. 16 and 11. Compare Tractat. 80, in Joannem, § 3.

[2] Quomodo et Moses sanctificat et Dominus? Non enim Moses pro Domino, sed Moses visibilibus sacramentis per ministerium suum; Dominus autem invisibili gratia per Spiritum Sanctum, ubi est totus fructus etiam visibilium sacramentorum. But he pronounces it absurd to assert etiam istam invisibilem sanctificationem sine visibilibus sacramentis nihil prodesse. Quæstionum in Leviticum, l. III. quæst. 84.

with reverential fear and awe, without this accompanying consciousness; — hence, the spirit was subservient to the outward symbols. The understanding of the sacrament is evinced in this, that it reveals to contemplation the love of God, and fires the heart with the love of God and of man. The prophets, who knew how to distinguish the sign from the divine thing signified, and reverenced in the former nothing but the latter, lived, therefore, already in the spirit of freedom.[1]

In respect to the number of sacraments, the way had, in fact, long since been prepared by the existing ideas relative to a particular priesthood, to the outward transmission of the Holy Spirit from the Apostles downwards by the imposition of hands, for apprehending the rite of ordination as holding equal rank with the other three sacraments.[2] The mystical and symbolizing spirit of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings led to the reception of two others besides the four sacraments above noticed, namely, consecration to the monastic life, and the ceremonials at the burial of the dead. Augustin, on the other hand, would be led by his correct views respecting the free spiritual worship of God as opposed to the slavish ceremonial religion in Judaism, to receive but few sacraments; as, in fact, where he speaks of this opposition, he names only baptism and the Lord's Supper,[3] with the additional clause: And any thing besides these, if it is recommended in the holy scriptures. Yet, the conception which he had opened out of the sacrament as a holy symbol, was still not sufficiently precise to exclude the introduction of many other things; and what Augustin found already existing in the general usage of the church, he believed might be derived either from apostolic tradition or the divine institution through general councils, and hence would adopt all such sacred usages and signs into his conception along with the rest. Hence, he sided with the Western church, where the prevailing rule was to allow four sacraments, which, in other respects, too, fell in with his ideas;[4] and in maintaining against the Pelagians,[5] that obedience to the natural instinct is sanctified by the religious and moral reference of the marriage union, he was led accordingly to reckon the solemnization of marriage among the sacraments, which, perhaps, might seem to him to be sanctioned by the use of the word *μυστήριον* in this reference in the epistle to the Ephesians;[6] and,

[1] Posteaquam resurrectione Domini nostri manifestissimum indicium nostræ libertatis illuxit, nec eorum quidem signorum operatione gravi onerati sumus; sed quædam pauca pro multis, eademque factu facillima et intellectu augustissima et observatione castissima, ipse Dominus et apostolica tradidit disciplina. — Quæ unusquisque cum percipit quo referantur, imbutus agnoscit, ut ea non carnali servitute, sed spiritali potius libertate veneretur. De doctrina Christiana, l. III. § 13. Nihil tam pie terret animum, quam sacramentum non intellectum; intellectum autem, gaudium pium parit et celebratur libere, si opus est tempori — The right antithesis to the deification of the sacraments. Expositio epistolæ ad Galatos, c. 3, § 19. Comp. ep. 54, and 55 ad Januarium.

[2] Thus it is placed together with baptism and the Lord's supper, in Gregory of Nyssa, on the baptism of Christ. He who was before *εἰς τὸν πολλῶν, ἀοράτῳ τινὶ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι τὴν ψυχὴν μεταμορφωθεὶς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.*

[3] Ep. 118.

[4] See c. ep. Parmenian. l. II. c. 13.

[5] When these accused him of making marriage itself a sinful thing through his idea of the concupiscentia as springing out of sin.

[6] De nuptiis et concupiscentia, l. I. c. 17.

at all events, the higher Christian conception of marriage lay at the basis of what is there said.

As it respects the *doctrine concerning baptism*, from which, for reasons stated under the preceding period, the doctrine of regeneration was not severed, we must observe that the difference here again became strongly marked, which we discern in the views of the Eastern compared with those of the Western church, with regard to human nature and the doctrine of redemption; namely, that in the Western church, with original sin, the negative effect of the redemption in procuring deliverance from this, and in the Eastern church, on the other hand, the positive effect of the redemption considered in the light of a new creation, were made especially prominent. Thus Gregory Nazianzen[1] calls baptism a more divine exalted creation than the original formation of nature.[2] Thus, too, Cyrill of Jerusalem, addressing the candidate for baptism, says: "If thou believest, thou not only obtainest the forgiveness of sins, but thou effectest also that which is above man. Thou obtainest as much of grace as thou canst hold."[3] This difference would be strongly marked, especially in the case of infant baptism. According to the North-African scheme of doctrine, which taught that all men were, from their birth, in consequence of the guilt and sin transmitted from Adam, subjected to the same condemnation; that they bore within them the principles of all sin,—deliverance from original sin and inherited guilt would be made particularly prominent in the case of infant baptism, as in the case of the baptism of adults; and this was favored by the ancient formula of baptism, which, however, originated in a period when infant baptism had as yet no existence, and had been afterwards applied without alteration to children, because men shrunk from undertaking to introduce any change in the consecrated formula established by apostolical authority, though Christians were by no means agreed as to the sense in which they applied this formula. Accordingly, says Gregory Nazianzen, to children baptism is a seal (a means of securing human nature in the germ against all moral evil by the higher principle of life communicated to it); for adults it is, moreover, forgiveness of sin and restoration of the image degraded and lost by transgression.[4] Hence, he looks upon infant baptism as a consecration to the priestly dignity, which is imparted to the child from the beginning, that so evil may gain no advantage over him.[5] In a homily addressed to the neophytes, Chrysostom specifies ten different effects of grace wrought in baptism; and then he complains of those who make the grace of baptism consist simply in the forgiveness of sin.[6] Indeed, the difference here becomes manifest between the more rhetorical Chrysostom and the systematic Augustin; for the latter would have referred

[1] Orat. 40, de baptismo, f. 640.

[2] Πλάσις θειότερα καὶ τῆς πρώτης ὑψηλότερα.

[3] Cateches. 17, c. 17, 18. Ποιεῖς καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον.

[4] Τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένοις σφραγὶς, τοῖς τελειοτέροις τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ χάρισμα καὶ πεσούσης εἰκόνος διὰ τὴν κακίαν ἐπανόρθωσις. Orat. 40, f. 640.

[5] Μὴ λαβέτω καιρὸν ἡ κακία, ἐκ βρέφους ἁγιασθήτω. L. c. f. 648.

[6] Vides quot sunt baptismatis largitates; et nonnulli deputant, cœlestem gratiam in peccatorum tantum remissione consistere; nos autem honores computavimus decem.

those ten specifications to one fundamental conception, in which they might all be summed up together. But at the basis of this difference lay that other, which has already been noticed, in respect to the general mode of Christian intuition. Hence Chrysostom adds: It is for this reason we baptize also infants, though they are not, like others, stained with sin, that so holiness, justification, adoption, heirship, and brothership with Christ, may be imparted to them through Christ, that so they may be members of Christ.[1]

These words of Chrysostom are, indeed, known to us only in the Latin translation, and through a citation of the Pelagian writer, Julian.[2] But their genuineness is evinced by the fact that Augustin had nothing to object to them on that score, but must seek to deprive Pelagianism of this support by giving the passage another interpretation. And, in truth, this passage strictly accords with the peculiar character already noticed, belonging to the type of doctrine not only of the Oriental church generally, but of Chrysostom in particular. Julian was wrong in explaining the words of Chrysostom wholly according to his own sense, as if Chrysostom had meant to say, that human nature is still born in the same state as it was at first; for this is, in fact, at variance with his doctrine concerning the innocence (ἀπάθεια) lost by the sin of the first man (see above). But if Julian was wrong in this single respect, that he contemplated the words wholly out of their connection with Chrysostom's entire mode of thinking on doctrinal matters, Augustin, on the other hand, manifestly tortured them, when he explained them according to *his* system, as referring barely to the absence of actual, personal sin; for, in this case, the antithesis made by Chrysostom would, in fact, not hold good.

Isidore of Pelusium also replies to the question, why infants, who are without sin, should be baptized,[3] in the following way. Some, who took too narrow a view of the matter,[4] said it was that they might be cleansed from the sin transmitted to them from Adam. This, indeed, he said, was not to be denied, but it was not the only reason. This would still be a thing not so great after all; but there would be besides many other gracious gifts communicated to them, which far exceed any possible attainments of human nature. Infants were not only delivered from the punishment of sin, but, moreover, had imparted to them a divine regeneration, adoption, justification,[5] fellowship with Christ. The remedy amounted to far more than the mere removal of an evil.[6]

Theodore of Mopsuestia seized in this case upon only one side or moment of the Oriental church doctrine, which moment, in infant baptism, was ever made the more prominent one; but the other he dropped entirely, as his system required that he should. It is, according to his doctrine, the same state of human nature, mutable and liable to temptation, in which the first man was created (see p. 715), and in

[1] Hac de causa etiam infantes baptizamus, cum non sint coinquinati peccato, ut eis addatur sanctitas, justitia, adoptio, hæreditas, fraternitas Christi, ut ejus membra sint.

[2] Vid. Augustin. c. Julianum, l. I. § 21.

[3] Epp. V. 195.

[4] Σμικρολογοῦντες.

[5] Δικαίωσις, here used, beyond doubt, in the sense of Augustin, viz., the making just, making holy, by union with Christ.

[6] Νο φάρμακον ἀντίῤῥοπον τοῦ τραύματος.

which all infants are born. Baptism in the case of adults has a two-fold purpose, to bestow on them the forgiveness of sin, and to exalt them by fellowship with Christ to a participation in his freedom from sin, and his moral immutability; which is the passing over from the first portion of the development of life in humanity, into the second, which is fully entered upon only at the general restoration (see p. 717). That which is received at baptism is the principle and pledge of that freedom from sin (anamartesia) which will then first come to be fully realized. In the case of infant baptism, then, the forgiveness of sin, according to Theodore's doctrine, does not properly come into consideration; but its purpose and object is simply the imparting of that new and higher life exempt from sin, of which the entire human nature stands in need. He distinguishes, accordingly, a two-fold meaning of the forgiveness of sin, to the bestowment of which the formula of baptism refers.[1] He supposed, therefore, in this latter respect, the same supernatural communication in the case of infant baptism as in the case of the baptism of adults: though, following out the natural bent of his acute and discriminating understanding, he carefully distinguished here, too, that which is merely the symbol and vehicle, from that which is the working principle, lest that should be ascribed to the magical operation of the water, which could only be ascribed to the agency of the Holy Spirit.[2] The water, he maintained, according to the comparison employed by Christ in his conversation with Nicodemus, stood related to the creative power of God in the new and higher birth, as the body of the mother to the creative power of God in the natural birth.[3]

This mode of apprehension was adopted, as we learn particularly from the explanations of Cœlestius and of Julian, by the Pelagians: though it did not in their system rest upon the same foundation as in the Oriental and in the Antiochian systems. In this way we must understand what Cœlestius says in the creed which he sent to Rome: "Infants must, according to the rule of the universal church, and according to the declaration of the Gospel, be baptized in order to the forgiveness of sin. Since our Lord has determined that the kingdom of heaven can be bestowed only on the baptized, and since the powers of nature are not adequate to this, it must be the free gift of grace."[4] It is

[1] So Theodore, in his address to the neophytes: Renatus, alter factus es pro altero, non jam pars Adam, mutabilis et peccatis circumfusi; sed Christi, qui omnino inculpabilis per resurrectionem factus est. Act. Concil. œcumen. V. Collat. IV. c. 36. Δύο ἀφέσεις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τὴν μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων, τὴν δὲ τὴν ἀναμαρτησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν τελείαν καὶ κυριωτάτην καὶ ἀναίρεσιν ἁμαρτίας παντελῆ. (The ambiguity which is attached to the Greek word ἄφεσις by its etymology here came to his assistance.) Ἤρξατο μὲν ἐμφανίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν οἰκονομίας καὶ ἐν ἀῤῥαβῶνος ἡμῖν δίδοσθαι τάξει. Δίδοται δὲ τελείως καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀποκαταστάσει, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἵνα τύχωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ βρέφη βαπτιζόμεθα.

[2] The water τὸ ἐν ᾧ πληροῦται τὸ ἔργον; the πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὴν οἰκείαν πληροῦν ἐνεργείαν. τούτου γὲ ἕνεκα καὶ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα μετὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν, τοῦδε ὕδατος οὐ μεμνήμεθα, ὡς φαίνεσθαι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν σύμβολον καὶ χρείας τινὸς ἕνεκεν παραλαμβάνεται, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐνεργοῦν ἐπικαλούμεθα.

[3] Ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς φυσικῆς γεννήσεως ἡ κοιλία τὸ φυσικὸν ἐργαστήριόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τικτόμενον ἀποτελεῖται θείᾳ δυνάμει, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τάξει τῆς μητρὸς λαμβάνεται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐν τάξει τοῦ διαπλάττοντος δεσπότου.

[4] Augustin. De peccato originis, c. V.

clear that Cœlestius, in denying that any sinfulness adhered to infants, could understand baptism for the forgiveness of sins in this case only after the same manner with Theodore of Mopsuestia; and, accordingly, he understood also, in like manner with the latter, by the kingdom of heaven, that which transcends the limits of human nature, that which can only be bestowed upon it by a higher communication from God. Thus the Pelagian Julian, though he absolutely denied the possibility of any forgiveness of sins in the case of infants, could still declare that baptism, having been once instituted by Christ, must be acknowledged as universally valid and necessary for every age; that eternal condemnation awaited every one who denied that this rite was profitable also for children.[1]

The grace of baptism, said he, is every where the same; but its effects appear different, according to the different relations and circumstances of the subjects of it. In some, the negative effect, the forgiveness of sin, must precede the positive, the exaltation of man's nature. In infants the effect is only to *ennoble* the nature which remains in its original condition of goodness.[2] Although it would be natural for the Pelagians, according to the principles of their system, to ascribe to baptism, as being an external act, a merely symbolical import, yet in this, as in many other respects, they did not find it possible to disentangle themselves wholly from the church tradition of their period; but they sought to reconcile what they found in that tradition, as they best could, with their own principles, which had arisen in an entirely different way. Moreover, with regard to the relations of the divine matter to the external sign, of regeneration to outward baptism, they had precisely the same notions which were the prevailing ones in the church; for this becomes sufficiently clear from what they taught respecting the effects of infant baptism; and Julian expressed himself on this point with distinctness and precision.[3]

On the one hand, the doctrine which, ever since the time of Cyprian, by the habit of confounding the inward grace with its outward sign in baptism, had become predominant, especially in the North-African church, the doctrine of the damnation of unbaptized infants, appeared to the Pelagians as something revolting, something whereby a tyrannical arbitrary will was imputed to the divine Being. But, on the other hand, they must themselves, however, according to the theory just unfolded, suppose the higher grace of participating in the highest stage of blessedness in the kingdom of heaven was conditioned solely on the obtaining of baptism; and even *they* found this asserted in the words of Christ to Nicodemus, as even *they* made no distinction of the baptism

[1] Nos gratiam Christi, id est baptisma, ex quo ritum ejus Christus instituit, ita necessariam omnibus in commune ætatibus confiteri, ut quicunque eam utilem etiam parvulis negat, æterno feriamus anathemate. Opus imperfect. c. Julian. l. III. c. 149.

[2] L. c. § 151. Quæ tamen gratia, quoniam etiam medicina dicitur, facit alios ex malis bonos; parvulos autem, quos creat condendo bonos, reddit innovando adoptandoque meliores.—Æqualiter cunctis a se imbutis adoptionis et sanctificationis et promotionis dona conferre. L. c. l. II. c. 116.

[3] When he says of baptismal grace: Infusa semel uno virtutis suæ impetu atque compendio diversa et plurima delet crimina. Opus imperfectum, l. II. c. 212.

of the Spirit from the baptism with water. Accordingly they must of necessity affirm, with regard to unbaptized infants, that, although free and exempt from punishment, they were still excluded from that higher state of being, and attained only to a certain intermediate state. This was what Cœlestius really meant to say in the declarations above cited.

And to the same result on this subject must every one have been led, who was inclined to adopt the Oriental mode of considering the effects of baptism, and would consistently follow out the matter to a definite conclusion; unless he supposed a universal redemption or restoration as the final end, to which that intermediate state was destined to prove a point of transition for unbaptized infants. Such an intermediate state Gregory Nazianzen also assigned for those who were unbaptized, through no fault of their own.[1] Augustin himself had once entertained a like opinion.[2] Ambrose of Milan[3] believed, also, that it was necessary to infer from the words of Christ to Nicodemus, that none could enter into the kingdom of heaven without baptism; but it was his opinion, though he had no confidence in it, that unbaptized infants would be exempted from punishment. Pelagius himself shrunk from expressing any decided opinion on this point, though by logical thinking it was absolutely out of his power to avoid that consequence of his principles. He affirmed of unbaptized children, that of one thing he was sure, namely, that they could not, as innocent beings, suffer punishment consistently with the divine justice. But what would become of them, was more than he knew, doubtless because he was of the opinion that no distinct declaration on this point could be found in the sacred scriptures.[4]

But then Augustin could, however, not without good reason, accuse the Pelagians of inconsistency, when they charged the advocates of the doctrine of absolute predestination with imputing arbitrary will to God; while they themselves were still more involved in this error, by supposing that God excluded innocent beings from the kingdom of heaven, which he bestowed on others who were in no respect more worthy of it. The notion, moreover, of an intermediate place between the state of wo and the kingdom of heaven was a thing altogether unscriptural and incredible in itself; for man, being in the image of God, was destined to find his bliss in communion with God, and out of that communion could be no otherwise than wretched.[5] The Council of Carthage, A.D. 418, finally condemned, in its II. Canon, the doctrine concerning such an intermediate state for unbaptized children, on the ground, that nothing could be conceived as existing between the kingdom of God and perdition. But then, too, according to the doctrine of this council, the eternal perdition of all unbaptized infants was expressly affirmed; a consistency of error revolting to the natural sentiments of humanity. It is worthy of notice,

[1] Orat. 40.
[2] See l. III. de libero arbitrio, c. 23.
[3] De Abrahamo, l. II. § 84.
[4] Quo non eant, scio, quo eant, nescio. And perhaps he meant the same thing by his words in the letter to Innocent, bishop of Rome: in perpetuam certamque vitam renasci eum, qui natus sit ad incertam.
[5] Augustinus: Nunquam explicant isti, qua justitia nullum peccatum habens imago Dei separetur a regno Dei. De peccatorum meritis et remissione, l. I. § 58.—Hoc novum in ecclesia, prius inauditum est, esse vitam æternam præter regnum cœlorum, esse salutem æternam præter regnum Dei. Sermo 294, § 3.

however, that this particular passage of the canon is wanting in a portion of the manuscripts.

But such being the prevailing doctrine concerning baptism, reflecting minds must now have been struck with the difficulty of conceiving how a divine influence could take effect in the case of infants devoid of all conscious moral action of their own. Augustin, by means of his correct principles, above explained, respecting the essence of sacraments, might have found out a better way, if he had not been fettered by the authority of the church doctrine. His reply, indeed, explains nothing; but it proceeds from a profound feeling of the essential nature of Christian fellowship. He says: The faith of the church, which consecrates infants to God in the spirit of love, takes the place of their own faith; and albeit they possess as yet no faith of their own, yet there is nothing in their thoughts to hinder the divine efficacy.[1] His scheme, then, amounted to this: that as the child, ere its corporeal and independent existence was fully developed, was supported by the vital forces of nature in its bodily mother, so, ere it came to the independent development of its spiritual being in its own consciousness, it is supported by the heightened vital forces of that spiritual mother, the church; — an idea, which would involve some truth — supposing the visible church corresponded to its ideal,— when applied, without being so literally understood, to infant baptism.

With regard to the *doctrine of the holy supper*, we find in this period almost precisely the same gradations in the notions respecting the relations of the external signs to the things signified, as in the period preceding. In this period, too, the idea chiefly predominant was that of a supernatural communion, in part spiritual and in part corporeal, with Christ, by means of the intimate interpenetration of the bread and wine by the body and blood of Christ; where the view of an, as it were, repeated miracle of the incarnation of the Logos lay at bottom.[2] As in the former period this view was most distinctly expressed by Irenæus and Justin Martyr; so in the present it was most strongly asserted by Cyrill of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Nilus, Hilary of Poictiers, and Ambrose of Milan. Thus Cyrill of Jerusalem declares it to be the purpose of the sacrament of the supper, that we should take within us the body and blood of Christ, Christ himself;[3] that, by the body and blood of Christ passing over into our members, we may become partakers of the divine nature, be sanctified in body and soul.[4] Chrysostom says, that we may be not only united with our Saviour by love, but in our entire nature blended with his body.[5] He contemplates the institution of the eucharist as a proof of the greatest love of our Saviour to men, of his will to be united to them, and to impart himself to them in the most intimate manner, to cause his own body to pass over into their entire nature. He gave himself not only to be seen, but also to be touched and to be partaken of by those who desire him.[6] So Hilary of Poictiers affirms that between Christ and believers there exists not only a

[1] Nullus obex contrariæ cogitationis ep. 98 ad Bonifacium, § 10.

[2] See what is said above, vol. I. p. 647.

[3] Σύσσωμοι καὶ σύναιμοι Χριστοῦ, χριστόφοροι.

[4] Cateches. myst. 4.

[5] Εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνακερασθῶμεν τὴν σάρκα, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα.

[6] Hom. 46 in Joann. § 3.

unity of will, but a natural union (not only per concordiam voluntatis, but also per naturæ veritatem), partly because Christ assumed human nature, and partly because in the eucharist he gives his body, and thereby his divine life residing therein, to believers.[1]

True, these church-teachers sometimes have recourse to figures, for the purpose of describing the efficacy of the consecration at the Lord's supper, which seem to indicate a proper transubstantiation, like the change of the water to wine at the marriage feast at Cana;[2] and they employ expressions which *might* denote transubstantiation.[3] But these terms were also frequently employed to indicate another change to something more exalted, not precisely a transubstantiation; and especially, in the rhetorical language of church-teachers, who would fain set forth in strong light the wonderful nature of the transaction, such expressions should not be too rigidly interpreted. Even in the case of these comparisons, every thing turns upon the point to be illustrated, namely, that by a miracle the substance present becomes something other than it was before, no matter in what particular sense this is to be understood. These comparisons are counterbalanced by others, which totally contradict the notion of transubstantiation; as, for instance, the comparison with the anointing oil used in confirmation, or with the higher consecration bestowed on the water in baptism.[4] The disputes concerning the two natures in Christ gave the first occasion for entering into a more distinct exposition of the conceptions respecting the relation of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ; for those who affirmed the union of two natures unchangeably persisting in their essence, sought to make this clear by introducing the comparison of the Lord's supper. As the symbols of the body and blood of Christ — says Theodoret — remain in their original substance and form, admit of being seen and felt as precisely the same as they were before, but the contemplation of the spirit and of faith sees in them that which they have become; and they are also adored[5] as that which they are to faith.[6] Even

[1] Hilarius de trinitate l. VIII. § 13. Quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est, qui et naturam carnis nostræ jam inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumsit, et naturam carnis suæ ad naturam æternitatis sub sacramento nobis communicandæ carnis admiscuit (he would impart to us the natura æternitatis, his own divine essence, in imparting to us his body in the sacramental form — the same that Irenæus called *ἕνωσις πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν*.

[2] See Cyrill. Cateches. myst. 4. 1, Ambros. de mysteriis, c. 9.

[3] As for example, *μεταβάλλειν*, Cyrill. l.c. Transfiguratio in corpus et sanguinem. Ambros. de incarnationis dominicæ sacramento, l. I. c. 4. § 23; de fide, l. IV. c. 10. § 124.

[4] See Cyrill. Cateches. myst. 3, 3.

[5] See vol. II. p. 364. and Ambros. de Spiritu Sancto, l. III. c. 11. § 79: caro Christi, quæ in mysteriis adoramus.

[6] Theodoret in the second dialogue of his *Ἐρανιστής*: *Μένει ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκείνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται.* Ed. Hal. tom. IV. p. 126. Thus, too, the *μεταβολὴ τῇ χάριτι* is opposed to the *μεταβολὴ τῆς φύσεως*. Dialog. I. tom. IV. p. 26. The first unfolding of views of this sort would be found in Chrysostom, if the fragment of a letter of his to the monk Cæsarius, which portends to have been aimed against the Apollinarists, were really genuine. But this letter was most probably interpolated on occasion of the controversy concerning the two natures. Yet a comparison which Nilus, the disciple of Chrysostom, employs, indicates the same mode of apprehension: As a document, after having been signed by the emperor, is called a *sacra*, so ordinary bread and wine, after the consecration and inward working of the Holy Spirit, is called the body and blood of Christ. Lib. I. ep. 44.

Gelasius, a *Roman bishop* towards the close of the fifth century, explained his views after the same manner.[1]

Gregory of Nyssa might in this respect undoubtedly constitute an exception. While aiming in his catechetical disquisition, (*λόγος κατηχητικὸς,*) c. 37, to explain the way in which bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ, and particularly to solve the difficulty, how the body of Christ, being one, is distributed among so many thousand believers in the world, and still remains one and the same and complete, he is led to an exposition which seems to presuppose a transubstantiation, and which, moreover, was seized upon by the later theory of the transformation of the bread among the Greeks. It was this, — that, in like manner as, during the life of Jesus on earth, the natural means of nourishment, bread and wine, were transmuted into the essence of the body united with the deity, through the power of the divine Logos, but *mediately* by that natural process whereby the means of nourishment are converted into flesh and blood; so, at present, the same effect is produced, bread and wine is converted into the body of the Logos, by the same power of the Logos, only working at present in the way of an immediate miracle. That which was here expressed by him with clear consciousness was only that generally diffused idea of a repeated incarnation of the Logos. Yet *he*, also, was still certainly very far from holding fast, with clear consciousness, the precise notion of transubstantiation; for in his sermon on the baptism of Christ[2] he makes use of comparisons which are grounded on a totally different idea, as, for instance, the heightened efficacy of the consecration of the baptismal water, of the anointing oil, of ordination. It is also deserving of remark, how little, in the case of this theologian, in other respects so systematic, these particular doctrines were carried out in coherence with his peculiar principles; for his ideas concerning the character of Christ's glorified body (see above, vol. II., p. 483–4), would have easily led him to dispose of the difficulty above noticed by him in an altogether different way; but that idea of the repetition of the incarnation of the Logos which had taken possession of his mind did not leave room for him here to think of Christ's *glorified body*.

The idea of a union with Christ presents itself already, under a form in which it appears to be less sensuously apprehended, in the writings of Athanasius. From John 6 : 62,[3] he endeavors to show that according to that passage, the partaking of the flesh and of the blood of Christ was not to be understood in the literal sense. Christ — he says — mentions on this occasion his ascension to heaven, *for the very purpose* of turning away men's minds from sensuous notions, and leading them to the idea of a spiritual nourishment;[4] inasmuch as Christ communicates himself to each after a spiritual manner.[5] The addition, "as the preservative to a blessed resurrection,"[6] shows that he also

[1] De duabus naturis in Christo, adversus Eutychem et Nestorium, in the Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. VIII.: In divinam transeunt, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, substantiam, permanente tamen in sua proprietate natura.

[2] T. III. f. 370.

[3] Ep. IV. ad Serapionem.

[4] The term *πνευματικὸν* is not restricted, indeed, to the meaning "spiritual," but may also denote supernatural as opposed to natural, sensible nourishment.

[5] *Πνευματικῶς ἀναδίδοσθαι.*

[6] *Φυλακτήριον εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς.*

conceived of a higher principle of life being communicated to the body, by means of the contact with Christ.

The doctrine of the North-African church, as we have already described it in the preceding period, we once more meet with in Augustin. He explains the words of institution as follows: that Christ's body was the same thing as the symbol of his body.[1] He says that the expression, to give his body and flesh to eat, contains a bold figure, and that the sense which lies at bottom must be expounded according to the analogy of faith.[2] According to the analogy of the religious use of language, by virtue of which the sacramental sign is substituted for the thing itself, in the same way, for example, as the sacramentum fidei is substituted for faith itself in the case of children who are as yet incapable of faith,—according to this analogy, the symbol of Christ's body is put for the body itself.[3] But although Augustin, in the case of the eucharist, as everywhere else, considered the consecrated outward elements as symbols merely, clearly separating and holding apart the sacramentum and the res sacramenti, yet he at the same time supposed, as in the case of the sacraments generally, so in the case of the eucharist in particular, a divine matter united with the holy symbols, and which is communicated to the believing heart. The res sacramenti is the uniting of the faithful, as members, with their One great Head, and the fellowship, grounded therein, of the faithful with each other, as members of one body; therefore their union into one community of the saints.[4] By the body of Christ in the eucharist, Augustin understands the spiritual body of the members united with Christ as the head. To the question, how Christ, who died and arose again, sits at the right hand of God, and will come again to judgment, can here distribute his body, to this question he gives an entirely different answer from that of Gregory of Nyssa. According to his *spiritual* mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Lord's supper, there could be no difficulty on this point. By pointing to the spiritual sense as the only correct one, he had at once answered the question. On this very account was the transaction called a sacrament, because one thing is presented to the eye of sense, and another thing discerned by the eye of the spirit.[5] Hence Christ said to the Jews, when he should be seen to ascend up where he was before, then they would be obliged to understand that he could only have spoken of a spiritual communication, of a fellowship of divine life.[6] The flesh profiteth nothing; that is, without the spirit. The flesh was only the vessel through which the

[1] Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere: hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui. In the like connection as when he says "Petra *erat* Christus" is equivalent to significabat Christum. C. Adimantum c. 12.

[2] Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum, l. II. c. 9.

[3] See l. III. de trinitate c. X. § 19 et 20, ep. 98.

[4] Hunc cibum et potum vult intelligi societatem corporis et membrorum suorum, quod est sancta ecclesia. — Corpus Christi si vis intelligere, apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus: vos autem estis corpus Christi et membra, mysterium vestrum in mensa dominica positum est, mysterium vestrum accipitis.

[5] Ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur.

[6] Certe vel tunc intelligitis, quia gratia ejus non consumitur morsibus.

spirit wrought, through which Christ communicated himself to us.[1] Christ is eternal life, and in his flesh and blood gives himself. Augustin distinguishes the inward and the outward manducation of the supper, (manducare intus et foris.) The former is the privilege only of believers;[2] but the unbelieving and the unworthy receive nothing but the *sacrament* of the body and blood of Christ.[3]

Next, we find a more spiritual apprehension of this doctrine in those church-teachers on whose theological education the study of Origen had exerted a decided influence; among whom, however, it is evident from what has been said, Gregory of Nyssa[4] must be excepted, although on other subjects he accords very nearly with Origen. Gregory Nazianzen calls the eucharist an archetype of the great mystery of the sacrifice of Christ;[5] the symbol of the sacrifice by which the salvation of mankind had been wrought out.[6] Assuredly, however, he conceived in connection with this a higher divine influence, as is sufficiently evident from looking at the connection of his ideas relative to the priesthood and to sacrifice; and this is confirmed, moreover, by certain individual expressions of his concerning the effects of the eucharist, as when he calls it a sacrifice, by which we enter into fellowship with Christ, into fellowship with his sufferings and his divine nature,[7] — the holy transaction which exalts us to heaven.[8] He accordingly supposes a certain sanctifying influence of the Logos, which, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, becomes united with the symbols of the bread and wine; and in so far then as the outward symbols, as vehicles of this supernatural sanctifying impartation of the Logos, are substituted in place of the real body of Christ, they are called the body and blood of Christ.[9] Eusebius of Cæsarea probably distinguishes, like his teacher Origen,[10] the sensible and the spiritual eucharist. In reference to the former, he says; it is enjoined upon Christians to celebrate the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice by the symbols of his

[1] Si caro nihil non prodesset, verbum caro non fieret, ut inhabitaret in nobis. Caro vas fuit; quod habebat, attende, non quod erat.

[2] Habe fidem, et tecum est quem non vides.

[3] Sermo 235, 272. Tractat. 26, in Ev. Joh.

[4] At the same time, however, this mode of apprehension does not appear, with him, to be an entirely isolated thing, but stands strictly connected with his whole system: for in this is made distinctly prominent the fundamental idea, that as the principle of corruption (*φθορὰ*) was propagated in human nature from the first sin; so, in opposition to this, the principle of incorruption, (*ἀφθαρσία*,) proceeding from Christ, must pervade the *entire* human nature as the first fruits (*ἀπαρχή*) of the new creation. Yet another modification of this idea might, indeed, have offered itself to him, corresponding to that notion of the character of Christ's glorified body, explained above on page 483–4.

[5] Orat. I. f. 38. *Τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον.*

[6] *Τύποι τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας.* Orat. XVII. f. 273.

[7] Orat. III. f. 70. *Δι' ἧς ἡμεῖς Χριστῷ κοινωνοῦμεν, καὶ τῶν παθημάτων καὶ τῆς θεότητος.*

[8] *Ἄνω φέρουσα μυσταγωγία.* Orat. XVII. f. 273.

[9] See ep. 240 ad Amphilochium, among the few letters which are inserted at the beginning of the first volume of his works: *Ὅταν λόγῳ καθέλκῃς τὸν λόγον ὅταν ἀναιμάκτῳ τομῇ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τέμνῃς δεσποτικὸν, φωνὴν ἔχων τὸ ξίφος.* These words, no doubt, admit of being understood, according to the mode of apprehension already noticed, as referring to a repeated incarnation, (*ἐνσάρκωσις*): but we must consider too, that Gregory was much addicted to rhetorical exaggeration.

[10] See vol. I. p. 648.

body and blood.[1] In reference to the latter, he thus paraphrases the words of Christ in the 6th chapter of John's gospel: "Think not that I am speaking of the body which I bear with me, as if this must be eaten. Neither think that I bid you drink my sensible and bodily blood; but know that the very words which I have spoken to you are spirit and life, so that my words and doctrines themselves are my flesh and blood. He who, by appropriating to himself these, becomes, so to speak, nourished with the bread from heaven, will be made a partaker of the heavenly life."[2]

f. *Doctrine of the Last Things.*

In respect to the doctrine concerning the last things, it is to be observed that the notions respecting disciplinary or purgatory sufferings, which in the East and West had already in the preceding period shaped themselves out into different forms from a commixture of Persico-Jewish and Christian ideas, passed over into this period also. It was supposed that the doctrine of a purgatorial fire was to be found in Malachi 3, and in 1 Corinthians, 3 : 12.[3] In connection with the notion of a dead faith, and the confounding together of the conceptions of the visible and of the invisible church, this doctrine, as had happened before under a Jewish-Christian mode of apprehension, that for example of the Clementines, was abused in being made the foundation of the false view, that whoever was a member of the orthodox catholic church, and at the same time led a vicious life, would possess this advantage over the unbelieving, that, although he needed to pass through such a purification after death, he would still in the end attain to salvation. Thus the passage just mentioned in the first epistle to the Corinthians was so misconstrued, that it was supposed it might be affirmed of him who united with the pretended faith in Christ every species of vice, that he built on the foundation, which is Christ. The moral zeal of Pelagius against an error so practically mischievous led him to contend against the doctrine of such an ignis purgatorius, — as may be gathered from his declaration which he made at the synod of Diospolis.[4] Augustin sought to guard this doctrine against such misinterpretations.[5] He considered that passage in the first epistle to the Corinthians as referring immediately to the purification by means of trials in the present life, of those who, though inspired by love to Christ, were still not as yet so penetrated by it, as to have their hearts entirely cleansed from the love of earthly things; for, in order that Christ should really be the foundation, it was required that the love to him should overbalance all other interests, and that the soul should be ready to sacrifice every thing for him.[6] Such a process of purification, continuing to

[1] Demonstrat. evangel. lib. I. c. 10, f. 39.
[2] Theol. eccles. l. III. c. 12.
[3] Vid. Cyrill. catech. 15, § 9: Πῦρ δοκιμαστικὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων before the last judgment. — Pœnæ quædam purgatoriæ. De civitate Dei, l. XX. c. 25· l. XXI. c. 13, 24.
[4] See above, p. 643 n. 2.
[5] In his enchiridion ad Laurentium, c. 68.
[6] Si Christus in corde fundamenti habet locum, id est, ut ei nihil anteponatur, et malit homo qui tali dolore uritur, rebus, quas ita diligit, magis carere quam Christo, per ignem fit salvus. Si autem res hujus modi temporales ac seculares tempore tentationis maluerit tenere quam Christum, eum in fundamento non habuit

go on even after death, but only in the case of those who, *in the sense just described*, had made Christ the basis of their life, he considered to be a supposable thing; so that many believers attained to the state of blessedness through a certain purifying fire, enduring for a longer or shorter time, according as they had set their affections more or less on perishable goods. But he puts down this doctrine as somewhat doubtful.[1]

The doctrine of eternal punishment continued, as in the preceding period, to be dominant in the creed of the church. Yet, in the Oriental church, in which, with the exception of those subjects immediately connected with the doctrinal controversies, there was greater freedom and latitude of development, many respectable church-teachers still stood forth, without injuring their reputation for orthodoxy, as advocates of the opposite doctrine, until the time when the Origenistic disputes caused the agreement with Origen in respect to this point also to be considered as something decidedly heretical. The scepticism with regard to that doctrine arose from very different points of view, and very different interests. For the most part, in the great cities of the East, it arose by no means from a more free and earnest reflection on religious subjects, but from a lack of Christian seriousness, and a superficial and trifling mode of judgment. There were persons who could not seize the contrariety of moral evil to God's holiness in its strict truth, entangled as they still were too much in the pagan view of evil as a property of nature, and hence were still too far from rightly understanding the true essence of Christian sanctification. They would fain reason away the doctrine of eternal punishment, simply because this doctrine presented terrifying images which disturbed them in a life too deficient in point of moral strictness and purity. God — they imagined — could not so severely judge the weaknesses of mankind. Those declarations of holy scripture respecting everlasting punishments contained nothing but terrifying threats. Chrysostom, who, in the great cities where he labored, came most frequently in contact with this frivolous way of thinking, was incited, by the lively zeal which he felt against every thing destructive to practical Christianity, to controvert these opinions with earnestness,[2] although perhaps otherwise his mild and amiable spirit might not be altogether disinclined to the doctrine of a universal restoration, with which he must have become acquainted at an earlier period, from being a disciple of Diodorus of Tarsus.[3]

But from two theological schools there went forth an opposition to the doctrine of everlasting punishment which had its ground in a deeper Christian interest; inasmuch as the doctrine of a universal restoration was closely connected with the entire dogmatic systems of both these schools, namely, that of Origen, and the school of Antioch. As it

cum in ædificio prius non sit aliquid fundamento.

[1] Incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit, quæri potest.

[2] In epist. I. ad Thessal. Hom. VIII.; ep. II. Hom. III.

[3] It is remarkable that Chrysostom in his homiletic exposition of the first epistle to the Corinthians, (chap. 15: 28,) mentions the opinion of those who would find in these words the doctrine of a total destruction of evil (*ἀναίρεσις τῆς κακιας*), with their reasons, without controverting it; see Hom. XXXIX. in ep. I. ad Corinth. T. X. ed. Montf. f. 372.

concerns the former, we may remark here still another after-influence of the great Origen upon individual church-teachers whose theological education had been shaped by the study of his writings, as, for example, a Didymus,[1] and a Gregory Nazianzen. But this particular doctrine was expounded and maintained with the greatest logical ability and acuteness, in works written expressly for that purpose, by Gregory of Nyssa.[2] God, he maintained, had created rational beings, in order that they might be self-conscious and free vessels and recipients for the communications of the original fountain of all good.[3] Now if the soul exist in a condition of harmonious correspondence with this destination, and of harmonious activity for the reception of the godlike life, it is blessed. If this harmonious relation is disturbed by that which is alien from it, by moral evil, it is wretched. The expressions reward and punishment are but inadequate terms to denote the present existence or the disturbance of this harmony of relations; just as when the healthy eye, in the exercise of the power residing within it, perceives objects in the sun-light; or when it is prevented from so doing by disease. All punishments are means of purification, ordained by divine love with a view to purge rational beings from moral evil, and to restore them back again to that communion with God which corresponds to their nature. God would not have permitted the existence of evil, unless he had foreseen that by the redemption, all rational beings would in the end, according to their destination, attain to the same blessed fellowship with himself.[4]

In like manner the doctrine of universal restoration was closely connected with the fundamental views of Theodore of Mopsuestia concerning the two great periods in the development of the rational creation, and concerning the final end of the redemption, whereby the immutability of a divine life should take the place of that mutability and exposure to temptation which had before prevailed in the entire rational creation. Moral evil appeared here, in fact, as a universally necessary point of transition for the development of freedom.[5] Diodorus of Tarsus had already unfolded this doctrine in his work which has not come down to us, on the incarnation of the deity, (*περὶ οἰκονομίας*,) and Theodore exhibited it in his commentary on the gospels.[6] In

[1] Though in the writings of Didymus which have come to our knowledge, there are no distinct traces to be found of the doctrine of restoration, (*ἀποκατάστασις*,) yet in the work De trinitate published by Mingarelli (Bologna, 1769) an intimation of this kind may be found in his exposition and application of the passage in Philipp. 2: 10, where in reference to the *καταχθόνια* as well as to the *ἐπίγεια*, he speaks of the calling on the name of Christ, which extends to the salvation of all; see l. III. c. 10. f. 365.

[2] As for example, in his exposition of 1 Corinth. 15: 28, in his *λόγος κατηχητικὸς*, c. 8 and 35, in his tract on the soul and on the resurrection, in his tract on the early death of children.

[3] *Ὡς τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν μὴ ἀργὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀγγεῖά τινα προαιρετικὰ τῶν ψυχῶν δοχεῖα.*

[4] As this doctrine stands so closely connected with Gregory's whole system of faith, it belongs among the worst examples of an arbitrary caprice, regardless of history, when Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople in the eighth century, in his *ἀνταποδοτικὸς* or *ἀνόθευτος*, endeavored to show that all the passages in Gregory's writings, referring to this doctrine, were interpolated by heretics. See Phot. cod. 233.

[5] See above p. 718.

[6] Extracts from these writings by the Nestorian bishop Solomon of Bassora, in the thirteenth century, in Assemani, T. III. P. I. f. 323, 24; comp. the fourth of Theo-

these writings they adduced many other special reasons against the eternity of punishment. "If the rewards of eternity so far exceed good works and the brief period of life, ought not the punishments much more to be overcome by the divine mercy. God would not revive the wicked at the resurrection, if they must needs suffer only punishment without reformation." They believed they found an intimation that the degree of punishment would be proportionate to the degree of sin, in Luke 12 : 47 ; Matth. 5 : 26. From the fundamental principles of Theodore it also necessarily follows, though we have no distinct declaration of his own on that point, that as the antithesis of those two periods was assumed by him to embrace generally the entire rational creation, he must therefore have extended the restoration to fallen spirits as well as to mankind.

3. *Opposite Theological Tendencies which arose out of the after-workings of the Origenistic disputes.*[1]

We have still to mention a series of controversies which are more loosely connected with the history of particular doctrines, and which form a whole of themselves, — the renewed controversies concerning Origen, respecting whose relation to the theological development of this period we have spoken already in the general introduction. We perceive in these disputes, first, the struggle of that more free theological tendency which started from Origen, with that other more narrow tendency clinging fast to the letter of the church doctrine, which from the beginning stood opposed to the Origenistic school, as the struggle of a more fleshly with a more spiritual tendency in the mode of apprehending Christianity. But the theological interest of these controversies was soon lost in contests of another kind, partaking more of a secular than of a spiritual interest ; but then these controversies gain another important significance for us, in that they exhibit to us a hero of the faith, who, unsubdued by all persecutions and sufferings, manfully contended with spiritual weapons against the corruptions of the church which grew out of the confusion of things spiritual with things temporal.

Origen, long since pronounced a heretic in the Western church, was scarcely known among the Western theologians except by name, while those of the East were forming different parties, in manifold transitions, in their various judgments concerning him. He had some enthusiastic admirers, who agreed with him in all his peculiar views, while there were other blind zealots, who looked upon him in no other light than as the father of all heresies. There were others, again, holding the middle ground betwixt these two parties, who, acknowledging his merits in relation to the progress of theology, without overlooking his defects, sought with moderation and freedom of spirit to separate the true from the false in his

dore's excerpts in Marius Mercator. In Theodore's commentary on the gospel of John, so far as it remains to us, there are to be found no traces of this doctrine. But though such traces occurred in this commentary, yet, as a matter of course, passages of this kind were not received into the catenæ.

[1] See above, p. 387.

writings and doctrines. As the Arians could find many things in the works of Origen which seemed to furnish them with a foothold for their attacks against the Nicene creed; as they appealed, whether rightly or wrongly, to many of his assertions as justifying their own views; as the system of the Semi-Arians properly derived its origin from this father; all these circumstances would tend to place him in an unfavorable light. The Marcellus of Ancyra, who has already been mentioned in the history of doctrinal controversies, was the first to attack Origen on this particular side. He represented him as the author of Arianism. He accused him of having stood forth as a theological writer while he was still too crude, and after studying the writings of the Greek philosophers much more than the Bible; whence he mixed up foreign Platonic doctrines with the Christian scheme of faith.[1] He very unjustly reproaches him, for having commenced his work Περὶ ἀρχῶν with the same words with which Plato begins his Gorgias; though these words in Origen, owing to the connection in which they occur, receive an entirely different and decidedly Christian sense, as Eusebius, the defender of Origen, very properly remarks. He objects that Origen gave this work a title borrowed from the philosophical use of language; whence he draws the arbitrary conclusion, that the subject-matter, therefore, was derived from the same fountain-head, namely, from the Greek philosophy. The great point with Marcellus was, to preserve unalloyed the simple doctrine of scripture, which led him also to oppose, generally, the too high authority ascribed to the older fathers, and to admit of no other evidence, in matters of faith, than that of the sacred scriptures.[2] But other eminent church-teachers, as, for instance, Athanasius, endeavored to show, that the Arians wrongly cited Origen as on their side. Didymus of Alexandria defended the authority of Origen, whose whole system he had adopted, so far as it did not stand in express contradiction with that which had been settled and determined in the doctrinal controversies.[3] Basil of Cæsarea

[1] Ὅτι ἄρτι τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποστὰς μαθημάτων καὶ τοῖς θείοις ὁμιλῆσαι προελόμενος λόγοις πρὸ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς τῶν γραφῶν καταλήψεως διὰ τὸ πολὺ καὶ φιλότιμον τῆς ἕξωθεν παιδεύσεως, θᾶττον τοῦ δεόντος ἁρξάμενος ὑπογράφειν, ὑπο τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας παρῆχθη λόγων καὶ τινὰ δι' αὐτοὺς οὐ καλῶς γέγραφε. Euseb. c. Marcellum, lib. I. f. 23. Compare with this what we have said in the first volume (p. 698) respecting the intellectual training of Origen.

[2] The Arian Asterius, whom Marcellus controverted, had appealed in defense of his doctrine to the δόγμα περὶ θεοῦ, ὅπερ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν πατέρων ἀπεφήναντο. There were here two things calculated to revolt Marcellus, who was so zealous in maintaining the sole and exclusive authority of the divine word: that he should call human teachers fathers and give to their declarations the honor which is due to the sacred scriptures alone, and that he should employ the term δόγμα to denote the divine doctrine. He makes a distinction between λόγος θεῖος and δόγμα ἀνθρώπινον; a distinction which, though not grounded in the use of language among the church-teachers, yet is so in the original signification of the terms. His remarkable words are: Τὸ γὰρ τοῦ δόγματος ὄνομα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔχεται βούλης τε καὶ γνώμης. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, μαρτυρεῖ μὲν ἡμῖν ἱκανῶς ἡ δογματικὴ τῶν ἰατρῶν τέχνη (contradistinction of dogmatists and empirics), μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων καλούμενα. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ συγκλήτῳ δόξαντα ἔτι καὶ νῦν δόγματα συγκλήτου λέγεται, οὐδένα ἀγνοεῖν οἶμαι. In reference to the first, Eusebius opposed to him the passage in Deut. 32: 7, which, falsely applied as it was, had still become classical on this point; and in reference to the use of the term δόγμα, he opposed to him the passage in Ephes. 2: 15, where he explained the word δόγματα as referring to the doctrines of Christianity; though, in fact, it must necessarily be understood of the dogmas of the law, and hence was a testimony rather in favor of Marcellus than against him.

[3] For the rest, the remark we made on page 386 concerning the revolution of the

and Gregory Nazianzen published, as the result of their common studies, a Chrestomathy from the writings of Origen, with a view to the diffusion of his spiritual ideas, and particulary of his principles of interpretation.[1] Origen had the greatest influence on the formation of the theological system set forth by Gregory of Nyssa, in which we meet once more with many of the peculiar ideas of the great church-father, although Gregory was a perfectly independent theologian, and reproduced, with the freshness of original thought, whatever he learnt from the labors of others.

Among the monks, especially in Egypt, there were, in the fourth century, two parties of opposite spiritual bents, who also stood opposed to each other in their judgment of Origen. One of these parties, possessed of a more limited intellectual culture, and confined to a rude, fleshly mode of apprehending divine things, hated Origen as the zealous opponent of this tendency. The venerated Pachomius[2] warned his disciples most of all against the writings of Origen, because the latter was more dangerous than other heretics, since under the pretence of expounding the holy scriptures, he introduced into them his own erroneous doctrines. The monks of the other class, who were possessed of more cultivated minds, and of a more contemplative mystical bent, entertained a high respect for Origen, in whose works they found ample nourishment for their own spiritual tendency.

Among the former class of monks an individual had received his education, who, at the time of the first breaking out of these disputes, stood in high estimation on account of the zeal for piety and orthodoxy which he had displayed for a long series of years. This was *Epiphanius*. He was born in the early part of the fourth century, in the village of Besanduk, belonging to the territory of the city of Eleutheropolis in Palestine.[3] He had been educated among those Egyptian monks for the monastic life, and their narrow intellectual culture was transmitted to him. After this, he returned home to his native country, where he became superintendent of a cloister which he founded near the place of his birth; and in the year 367, bishop of Salamis, then called Constantia, metropolis of the island of Cyprus. His writings show him to have been a man of extensive reading, but quite deficient in criticism and in logical arrangement, — possessed of sincere piety, but also of a very narrow dogmatical spirit; — a man who was altogether unable to distinguish essentials from non-essentials in doctrinal differences, — the letter from the spirit in modes of apprehending the scheme of faith, — and who would be very ready to discern a dangerous heresy in every opinion on matters of faith that deviated from the one which commonly prevailed; — and it was a matter of course, that, to such a man, Origen, whom he was incapable of understanding, would appear as the most

Alexandrian spirit holds good also of Didymus, as he exhibits himself in his work De trinitate. He forms an important link in the development of the scheme *peculiar* to the Alexandrians, as it subsequently expressed itself in opposition to the Antiochian system; and also in the formation of the mystical theology, as it afterwards appears in the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius.

[1] The φιλοκαλία.

[2] See vol. II. p. 271.

[3] Sozom. VI. 32.

dangerous of false teachers; as, in fact, in his description and critique of the heresies, he considered it especially necessary to warn his readers against *him*.

A second eminent teacher of the church, who took part in these controversies, was *Jerome*, a person of great merit, on account of his researches in biblical literature, and the pains he took to promote a more thorough study of the scriptures among the people of the West. That he was animated by a warm zeal for the cause of the gospel, is evinced by the unwearied labors of his long life, for which, during his own life-time, he was rewarded from many quarters only with ingratitude. But his better qualities were obscured by the great defects of his character, by his mean passions, his easily offended vanity, his love of controversy and of rule, his pride, so often concealed under the garb of humility. His letters and other writings testify, beyond doubt, that he knew how to bring home to the hearts of others many great truths of practical Christianity, which, from the want of Christian self-knowledge and self-control, he omitted to set before himself, and apply to his own case, on the proper occasions. Let us first cast a glance at the earlier history of the life and labors of this remarkable man, down to the time when he took part in these controversies.

Jerome was born at Stridon, on the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia,[1] according to the Chronicle of Prosper, in the year 331, though other marks and evidences seem to point to a date some ten years later. At Rome, where the celebrated grammarian Donatus was his teacher, he enjoyed the advantages of a good literary education, and there, also, he at an early age received baptism. After various journies, which he was induced to undertake in part by his love of knowledge, he enjoyed for some time at Antioch the instructions of the learned Apollinaris, and then withdrew from the society of men into the desert of Chalcis in Syria. The inward conflicts which had led him to seek the life of seclusion were in his case but rendered the more violent in this solitude. He had, until now, chiefly occupied himself with the study of the ancient authors, many of whom he had taken along with him from Rome. That he should find in them a good deal which was unsuited to his then ascetic bent of mind, may be well conceived. It is easy to explain also, how, in this disturbed, legal tone of mind, his conscience would upbraid him on account of his employing so much of his time on pagan literature. In the opinions entertained of this latter, we find in this period the most opposite errors. While some, — either through a misconceived zeal, which, especially in such transition-epochs of the inner life, wherein the might of Christian consciousness asserted itself in a decided manner, might easily arise, or through mental indolence, which sought concealment under the guise of piety, — were induced absolutely to shun all intercourse with ancient literature as something that belonged to Satan's kingdom, there were at Rome ecclesiastics who studied the ancient authors even to the neglect of holy writ.[2]

[1] According to the conjecture of some, Stridova in Hungary, on the boundaries of Styria.

[2] As Jerome complains in his letter to the Roman bishop Damasus, ep. 146, (according to Martianay, T. III. f. 160:) At nunc sacer-

The medium between these two opposite mistakes was held by such men as Augustin, who, in his Guide to the education of the clergy, says that every thing true and good should be appropriated to the service of Christianity; and that even from the Pagans should be taken the silver and gold, which, in truth, they had not themselves created, but only brought to light out of the stores of an omnipresent providence.[1]

Now, when Jerome, in the midst of the severe ascetic discipline to which he subjected himself, felt his conscience reproach him on account of the predilection he had hitherto shown for the Pagan literature, we may easily explain how it might happen, that in a violent attack of fever brought on by his rigid austerities and his abstinence from food in the Quadragesimal fasts, his thoughts should shape themselves into that vision, which, by his own fault and that of his later antagonist, Rufinus, became magnified to an undue importance. He thought that he appeared before the judgment-seat of God. When, to the question put to him, he answered, "I am a Christian," it was said, "thou art not a Christian, but a Ciceronean; for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also;" and under the infliction of the lash, he made a solemn vow never to take into his hand another pagan book. This oath he assuredly did not consider himself bound strictly to keep, as is proved by the frequent accurate quotations from ancient authors in his writings; — unless we credit the solemn assurance of Jerome himself, in answer to the charge of perjury brought against him by Rufinus, that he made all these citations simply from memory. Possibly he differed in his own judgment respecting this vision in different moods of mind, passions, and situations. Where he wished to dissuade from the reading of the heathen authors, he represented this as being a supernatural vision,[2] and thus furnished Rufinus a good reason for accusing him of self-contradiction and of perjury.[3] And Jerome could adduce nothing in his own vindication, except first, that he had really read no pagan author since his conversion, and cited every thing from mere memory, — a statement against which Rufinus could urge many plausible objec-

dotes Dei, omissis evangeliis et prophetis, videas comœdias legere.

[1] Quod eorum tanquam aurum et argentum, quod non ipsi instituerunt, sed de quibusdam quasi metallis divinæ providentiæ, quæ ubique infusa est, eruerunt. De doctrina Christiana, l. II § 60. Here belongs also the advice which Isidore of Pelusium gives to an anagnost in the course of training for the spiritual office. He would most profit himself and others, if he devoted his whole life to the study of the sacred scriptures, but at the same time also appropriated what he could make use of from the ancient literature in the service of Christianity, *ὅσον χρήσιμον ἐκ τῆς ἔξωθεν παιδεύσεως, ὥσπερ ἡ μέλιττα, ὀρεψάμενος, πολλὰ γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν πεφιλοσοφήκασι.* Lib. II. ep. 3. Among the Greek church-teachers such views were by no means uncommon. The above-mentioned Isidore, however, censures an anchorite, in reference to his peculiar purpose of life, because he spent his time chiefly in reading the pagan writers. Lib. I. ep. 63.

[2] Ep. 18 ad Eustochium, where he adduces in proof of the reality of the thing the liventes scapulas, and that he plagas sensisse post somnum. Which, in case he remembers rightly, still admits of being easily explained.

[3] Rufin says in his *invectiva* against Jerome, l. II. f. 285, T. V. ed. Martianay, not without truth: Relegantur nunc quæso quæ scribit, si una ejus operis pagina est, quæ non eum iterum Ciceronianum pronunciet, ubi non dicat: sed Tullius noster, sed Flaccus noster, sed Maro. Jam vero Chrysippum et Aristidem, Empedoclem et cætera Græcorum auctorum nomina, ut doctus videatur et plurimæ lectionis, tanquam fumos et nebulas lectoribus spargit.

tions; and secondly, that the whole was but a dream, and what was done in a dream was a thing of no account.[1] This little trait is not without its importance, as opening a glimpse into the character of Jerome. Veracity or untrustworthiness of character are often indicated in the plainest manner by the merest trifles.

As other monks endeavored to occupy the lower powers of nature on various kinds of handicrafts, and thereby to escape many inward temptations, so Jerome chose, instead of these, a kind of discipline which came nearer to his calling, and from which he could gain more that would be profitable to the church. He learnt from a Jew the Hebrew language.[2] He was afterwards ordained as a presbyter at Antioch; and, between the years 379 and 380, made a journey to Constantinople, drawn by the invitation of Gregory Nazianzen. By the latter, his attention was first particularly directed to Origen, of whose exegetical writings he from this time forward availed himself in many ways, and of whose homilies he translated several into Latin. Then he journeyed to Rome in 382, on a visit to the bishop Damasus, with whom at an earlier period he had already entered into friendly relations, and the latter availed himself of his various knowledge by making him his secretary and adviser in church matters; by which office he must have become very accurately versed in ecclesiastical affairs; as the most important passed through his own hands.[3] Here he gained many enthusiastic friends, but made also many violent enemies. As a promoter of monasticism in a country where it was as yet but little loved, in the great capital, where the rigidly ascetic tendency came into collision with the propensities and interests of many, he could not fail even on this score to incur the hatred of numbers, both of the clergy and laity; and as he induced ladies and maidens of the noblest families, by the enthusiasm for the ascetic life with which he inspired them, to forsake their worldly relations, and in some cases to retire to a life of solitude in Palestine, so by this means he vexed and irritated some of the most eminent citizens of Rome. To these occasions of offence must be added that his erudition formed a striking contrast with the ignorance which prevailed among many of the Roman clergy, and Jerome was not inclined to hide this fact, but on the other hand endeavored to make them feel his superiority. Many were irritated by the freedom and the peculiarly sarcastic manner in which he exposed and chastised the faults of the worldly minded clergy in Rome, particularly in a widely circulated letter addressed to the nun Eustochium, so that Rufinus afterwards accused him of putting weapons into the hands of the Pagans against the Christians.[4] But as long as Damasus lived,

[1] Hæc dicerem, si quippiam vigilans promississem; nunc autem novum impudentiæ genus objicit mihi somnium meum. Sed tamen qui somnium criminatur, audiat prophetarum voces, somniis non esse credendum. Adv. Rufin. l. I. f. 385, T. IV. ed. Martianay.

[2] Incentiva vitiorum ardoremque naturæ ferre non poteram, quem quum crebris jejuniis frangerem, mens tamen cogitationibus æstuabat. Ad quam edomandam cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebræis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi. Ep. 95 (or 4) ad Rusticum.

[3] Jerome ep. 11 (or 91) ad Ageruchiam: Cum in chartis ecclesiasticis juvarem Damasum et orientis atque occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem.

[4] Rufinus l. II. invectiv.: Ea quæ gentiles falso in nos conferre crimina putabantur iste vera esse, imo multo pejora a nostris geri quam illi criminabantur asseruit. Certainly an unjust charge.

Jerome was sufficiently protected by his authority. But, as he died in the year 384, and his successor Siricius seems not to have been so favorably disposed towards Jerome, he saw himself under the necessity of yielding to the great number of his enemies, and he determined to withdraw from Babylon, as he was accustomed from this time forth to denominate Rome.[1]

Bethlehem, the place of resort for many monks, now became the seat of his activity, where, under his guidance, young men were educated in sacred studies, and where, by the composition of his voluminous works, relating chiefly to the exposition of the sacred scriptures, he made himself extremely useful to the whole Western church. The like services which had been rendered to the Oriental church by Origen, in correcting the original text of the New Testament and the Greek translation of the Old, Jerome rendered to the West by his corrections of the Latin version of the Bible, now become greatly distorted by the blending together of different translations, and the mixing up with each other of the different gospels, by the ignorance of transcribers.[2] Summoned to the task by the Roman bishop Damasus, who perceived the need of such a correction of the text, he had already, while at Rome, emended the translation of the gospels, and made improvements in the version of the Psalms. At Bethlehem, supported by the Hexapla of Origen, which he obtained from the library at Caesarea, he extended this work to the whole Bible. Even this was a bold undertaking; by which he must expose himself to be loaded with reproaches on the part of those who, in their ignorance, which they identified with a pious simplicity,[3] were wont to condemn every deviation from the traditional text, however necessary or salutary it might be. They were very ready to see, in any change of the only text which was known to them, a falsification, without inquiring any further into the reason of the alteration.[4] And, yet, here he had in his favor the authority of a Roman bishop, as well as the fact, that in this case it was impossible to oppose to him a translation established and transmitted by ecclesiastical authority, or a divine inspiration of the text hitherto received.

But he must have given far greater offense by another useful undertaking, viz: a new version of the Old Testament, not according to the Alexandrian translation, which before this had alone been regarded, but according to the Hebrew. This appeared to many, even of those who did not belong to the class of ignorant persons, a great piece of impiety,—to pretend to understand the Old Testament better than the

[1] Ep. 99 ad Asellum, when just ready to embark: Ora, ut de Babylone Hierosolymam regrediar. And in the preface to his translation of the tract by Didymus on the Holy Spirit: Cum in Babylone versarer et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus.

[2] Tot exemplaria quot codices, says Jerome, ep. 125 ad Damasum.

[3] A class of men widely diffused in the Western church, against whom Jerome says many excellent things in defense of employing science in the service of the church. Piscatorum se discipulos asserentes, quasi idcirco sancti sint, si nihil scierint. Ep. 102 ad Marcellum.

[4] Jerome in his preface to Damasus: Quis enim doctus pariter vel indoctus, cum in manus volumen assumserit, et a saliva quam semel imbiberit, viderit discrepare quod lectitat, non statim erumpet in voces: me falsarium, me clamans esse sacrilegum, qui audeam aliquid in veterum libris addere, mutare, corrigere.

seventy inspired interpreters, — better than the Apostles who had followed this translation, and who would have given another translation if they had considered it to be necessary — to allow one's self to be so misled by Jews, as for their accommodation to falsify the writings of the Old Testament![1]

At that time there was formed in and about Jerusalem a noble society of like-minded theologians, who agreed together in their zeal for the advancement of theological science. With Jerome lived, on terms of the most intimate union, the friend of his youth, the presbyter *Rufinus* of Aquileia, who was residing at Jerusalem with the bishop John, with whom he stood in the most friendly relations. All three shared in the same love for the writings of Origen. Jerome had indeed sought to make several of his works more widely known in the Western church by means of translations, and had in his prefaces spoken of him with the greatest admiration. The spiritual bent of Jerome was beyond all question quite different from that of Origen. Certainly, he had never made himself master of his whole doctrinal system; as, in general, he was destitute of the mental impulse to form a system. His peculiar intellectual discernment was directed rather on particulars than on the general principles. And it might be for this very reason, that in making use of Origen in his biblical commentaries, he adopted several of his expositions, which were of such a kind as to agree neither with his own other views of the faith nor with the dominant church system, without deeming it necessary to utter a word of warning until his attention had been directed by others to this opposition of views. But free and unfettered as Jerome was on this side, while he was left to himself, he could, nevertheless, easily be made narrow and confined by causes without himself, when anything was pointed out to him which was opposed to the orthodoxy of the church, and he had reason to apprehend he might be suspected of any such thing himself. Anxiously solicitous for the reputation of his orthodoxy, he was on this side extremely sensitive.

Now, it happened about the year 394, that among the many who made the pilgrimage from the West to the holy cities in Palestine, several of the zealots for the letter of the church scheme of doctrine, such as Aterbius, and still later Vigilantius, were among the number. They had always been used to hear Origen spoken of as one of the most dangerous of false teachers, without knowing anything more of him; and hence they were greatly alarmed, when they were compelled to observe that the writings of this father were here so much read, and that his name was held in such high veneration. These zealots then could not refrain from giving free utterance to their fears. The bishop John and Rufinus were not so ready to give way and indulge these people as Jerome was. It was of great importance to the latter, to take care that no suspicion of his orthodoxy should be whispered in the Roman and Western church. He was ready therefore to justify himself by join-

[1] All this Rufinus strenuously urges against Jerome in the second book of his Invective: Istud nefas quomodo expiabitur, ipsam legem pervertere in aliud, quam Apostoli tradiderunt.

ing in the sentence of condemnation against the false doctrines of Origen, which he might do without relinquishing his own convictions, though, were it not for this outward challenge, he would never, perhaps, have felt himself constrained to do any such thing. Subsequent to this time Jerome was more cautious, it is true, in expressing his judgments concerning Origen; but he still continued to declare himself respecting him with a wise moderation, saying, that, on the maxim of Paul, which directs us to prove all things and hold fast that which is good, he endeavored to make the same use of Origen as he did of other biblical expositors, appropriating what was valuable in his writings, while he avoided his errors.

Yet he makes it quite manifest, that, if no mid-way course could be allowed to exist betwixt the extravagant admirers and the all-condemning opponents of Origen, he would prefer joining himself to the latter, because they were the most pious.[1] On this principle Jerome actually proceeded, yielding to the zealots for orthodoxy, and espousing their side, since they would allow of no neutrality and no middle ground. In addition to this, there were also sources of personal irritation, the influence of which, in a person of his sensitive and passionate temper, easily intermingled with the doctrinal interest.

The cry against the Origenistic heresies at Jerusalem alarmed and disturbed the aged Epiphanius, who, in respect to such matters, was as excitable as he was credulous. He came himself to Jerusalem in 394, where he was received by the populace with great demonstrations of respect, and, as was alleged against him by the bishop John, gave way perhaps too much to these respectful attentions. He strenuously insisted, in his interviews with the bishop John, that he ought to condemn Origen, the father of Arius and of all other heresies. The bishop explained that he was accustomed in reading Origen to separate the true from the false, but he avoided entering into any doctrinal investigations with Epiphanius, whose prejudices he would hardly have been able to overcome, and with whom he could hardly have come to any understanding on this matter. Epiphanius, however, preached a discourse, in which he inveighed with great warmth against the defenders of Origen's false doctrines, so that, as it was doubtless well understood whom he meant, disturbances were to be apprehended. The bishop John warned him, therefore, through his arch-deacon, during the delivering of the sermon. Afterwards John himself preached against the anthropomorphites. Epiphanius next mounted the pulpit and joined in the condemnation of anthropomorphism; but declared that it was necessary also to condemn the Origenists.

Displeased with what had taken place at Jerusalem, and still more confirmed in his suspicion that at Jerusalem the Origenistic party was dominant, he betook himself to the monks at Bethlehem, where his influence was unbounded. He warned them against having any fellowship with the erroneous doctrines entertained at Jerusalem, and subsequently often repeated this warning. A part of the monks separated

[1] See ep. 75 (26) ad Vigilantium. ep. 76 ad Tranquillinum.

themselves from all church-fellowship with the bishop John. Under these circumstances, Epiphanius took a step, which, at a time of such great excitement, he ought above all things to have avoided, and which, as the case stood, certainly exposes him to the suspicion of a set design. He ordained as a presbyter Paullinianus, Jerome's brother, — as he affirmed, without any preconcerted plan, — in a cloister belonging to his own diocese: and the latter could now perform the priestly functions for the monks in Bethlehem, so that they were no longer under the necessity of having recourse for these purposes to Jerusalem. The bishop John might very properly complain of it as a violation of ecclesiastical rules,— that a foreign bishop should ordain an ecclesiastic for his diocese. A violent controversy in writing ensued, in which John complained solely of Epiphanius' love of rule and disorderly conduct, avoiding as much as possible all mention of doctrinal matters; while Epiphanius made the latter the principal topic of his remarks, and called upon the bishop John to clear himself from the suspicion of holding to the errors of Origen. Jerome embraced with eagerness the party of Epiphanius, and thus the ancient tie of friendship was severed. The bishop John applied with his complaints to Alexandria and to Rome. Jerome wrote to both churches in defense of the common cause. In vain did the bishop Theophilus of Alexandria endeavor, through his presbyter Isidore, — who was, himself, however, as an Origenist, suspected by the party of Epiphanius and Jerome,— to bring about a reconciliation. Yet near the close of the year 396, the matter had progressed so far, that Jerome and Rufinus became reconciled at the altar, and the peace of the church in this country was once more restored.

But although the friendly relations between Jerome and Rufinus seemed outwardly to be restored again, yet the communion of spirits which had once been disturbed, certainly could not be so easily renewed, especially in the case of so irritable and suspicious a person as Jerome. It needed but a slight occasion, to tear open again the slightly healed wound; and this was given by Rufinus, though without any intention on his part, yet certainly not without his fault. In the year 397, he returned from his travels back to the West, and repaired to Rome. There he was induced, as he says, by the wishes of his friend Macarius[1] (who, being engaged in writing a work against the astrological fate, was desirous of learning the views of Origen on this subject) to translate Origen's work Περὶ ἀρχῶν into Latin. Now this, after what had taken place before, was manifestly a very unwise undertaking. This book, of all others, was directly calculated to stir up anew the narrow-minded zealots of the Roman church against Origen; and as the peculiar ideas of this work were so perfectly alien from the theological spirit of the Roman church, no good whatever would result from making it

[1] From this *Roman* writer (in distinction from two famous monks of the same name, belonging to the Scetic desert in Egypt) Gennadius, who represents him, however, perhaps wrongly, to have been a monk, (c. 28 de V. J.) mentions a liber adversus mathematicos, in which he had made great use of the Greek church-teachers, which agrees with the testimony of Rufinus.

known by a translation. But Rufinus did not even furnish the means for studying and understanding Origen as a historical phenomenon. He himself was too much carried away with wonder at the great man, and too much fettered by the dependence of his own mind on the dominant scheme of the church, to be able rightly to understand Origen in his theological development. He was too little acquainted with the relation of the hidden depths of the Christian life and consciousness to the progressive evolution of the conception of them in time, to be able to form any correct judgment of the relation of Origen's theology to the church scheme of doctrine in his own age. He took the liberty to modify the doctrines of that great theologian, especially in those passages which had reference to the Trinity, according to the decisions of the council of Nice. But he frankly confesses, also, in the preface to his translation, that in such places he has not rendered the sense of Origen according to the existing readings. Only he affirms, that he had introduced no foreign matter, but had simply restored the original reading, which had been corrupted by heretics, as the harmony with other passages required. But, then, as he did not consistently carry through even this method, but left many passages unaltered, which sounded no less heretical to these times, so he exposed himself none the less to be accused by the zealots of having found then in those passages nothing which would be considered as heretical, in spite of his protestations, that, in this translation, it was not his design to exhibit his own views, but the original doctrines of Origen, and that nothing else was to be learned from it but these. At the same time, though perfectly aware of Jerome's excitable temper, and of the narrow and passionate spirit which characterized his principal friends at Rome, he was still imprudent enough to refer in his preface to the praise bestowed on Origen by Jerome, and to the similar method of translation which the latter had adopted.

Scarcely was there time for this translation and preface to become known in Rome, when it excited among those people the most vehement feelings of surprise and displeasure. Two noble Romans, Pammachius and Oceanus, who had kept up a correspondence with Jerome ever since the period of his residence in Rome, were extremely concerned for the reputation of his orthodoxy, and hastened to inform him of the scandal given to the Christians at Rome by Rufinus. They called upon him, by a faithful translation of that work, to exhibit Origen in his true colors, and to clear himself from the suspicion of entertaining the same doctrines with Origen, which Rufinus had cast upon him.[1] Jerome wrote back in a tone of high-wrought excitement to his two friends and to Rufinus. Even at present, however, he continued to express himself with the same moderation concerning Origen; he spoke highly of his great gifts, of his Christian ardor, of his merits as an expounder of the Scriptures: — and he pronounced those to be the worst enemies of

[1] Ep. 40. Purga ergo suspiciones hominum, et convince criminantem, ne si dissimulaveris, consentire videaris.

the great man, who had taken pains to publish those writings of his which ought to have remained concealed. "Let us not," said he, imitate the faults of the man whose excellencies lie beyond our reach." But the relations betwixt Jerome and Rufinus grew continually more hostile, and both of them in controversial, or more properly speaking, abusive tracts, full of passionate language, forgot their dignity both as theologians and as Christians; as Augustin had the frankness to tell Jerome, when he called upon him for their own sakes, and out of respect to the weak, for whom Christ died, to put an end to these revilings.[1] The influence of Jerome's powerful patrons in Rome, however, could not hinder Rufinus from being justified by a letter addressed to him from the Roman bishop Siricius. The more zealously, therefore, did they exert themselves to excite a more unfriendly feeling towards Rufinus in the mind of Anastasius, who, in the year 399, succeeded Siricius. But it was chiefly the influence of Marcella, a widow, and ancient friend of Jerome, which contributed to inspire in the mind of this Roman bishop, (who, according to his own confession,[2] had until now heard but little or nothing about Origen) great anxiety and solicitude with regard to the spread of the Origenistic heresies.[3] Rufinus was summoned before his tribunal. He excused himself, it is true, on account of his great distance, and for other reasons, from personally making his appearance at Rome. But he sent in a letter of defence and justification, containing a full and explicit confession of his faith, appealing to the fact, that, on the question respecting the origin of the soul nothing had as yet been determined by the church; and declaring that he, as a translator, was in nowise responsible for the assertions of the writer translated by him. Anastasius, in the public declarations which he thereupon made, expressed himself with great violence against Origen, and also unfavorably towards Rufinus. Meantime, however, the controversy respecting Origen had taken a turn which led to far more important consequences than would otherwise have followed it, and which combined with it such an interest of another sort as caused its original object to be forgotten.

We have remarked already, in an earlier part of this history, that the patriarch Theophilus, of Alexandria, had endeavored to effect a reconciliation betwixt the two contending parties in this controversy. He was at first closely connected with the Origenistic party among the Egyptian monks; as the aged presbyter Isidore, who had great influence with him, belonged to this party; and

[1] Vide Augustin. ep. 73, § 8. Heu mihi, qui vos alicubi simul invenire non possum, forte ut moveor, ut doleo, ut timeo, prociderem ad pedes vestras, fierem quantum valerem, rogarem quantum amarem, nunc unumquemque vestrum pro seipso, nunc utrumque pro alterutro, et pro aliis, et maxime infirmis, pro quibus Christus mortuus est.

[2] The words of Anastasius, in his letter to the bishop John, are beyond question very obscure, and the sense cannot be given with certainty: Origines autem antea et quis fuerit, et in quæ processerit verba, nostrum propositum nescit.

[3] Jerome, in ep. 96 ad Principiam, pronounces it the peculiar glory of the deceased Marcella: Damnationis hæreticorum hæc fuit principium.

he agreed with them in opposing that crass and sensuous mode of apprehending divine things, which prevailed among the so called *Anthropomorphites*, the monks of the Scetic desert. But on the principles of this individual little dependence could be placed; for worldly interests and passions had more power over him than principles and rational convictions; and he was unfavorably known under a name signifying a man of instability, who was wont to accommodate himself to the change of circumstances.[1]

As the bishops of Alexandria, in the programmes with which at the feast of Epiphany they made known the precise time of the Easter festival next to be celebrated, were accustomed to unfold such particular topics of Christian faith and practice as were adapted to the times; so, in the year 399, Theophilus chose for this purpose to combat the rude sensuous notions respecting that which constituted God's image in man, and,—what was closely connected with this point,—respecting the divine essence itself. Now, this certainly was by no means the best way to instruct and convince the monks who were addicted to those erroneous doctrines; for, as the case really was with them, being for the most part men wholly without cultivation, and coming from the lower ranks of society, and quite devoid of all sense for matters purely spiritual, it was impossible for them to apprehend that which was contained in their religious consciousness in any other way than in forms of conception borrowed wholly from sense; and this sensuous form of apprehension had become so fused and blended with the matter of their religious consciousness, that he who robbed them of the one, seemed also to deprive them of the other. Hence it was, that the discourse of Theophilus met, among the Scetic monks, with a reception so expressive of violent indignation, that but one abbot, namely, Paphnutius, had the boldness to read it publicly, and this reading produced among the monks a violent ferment. At the head of the Anthropomorphites in this district, stood Serapion, a monk whose rigidly abstemious life had procured for him the highest reverence and respect. Already it had become a matter of rejoicing, that the united labors of many individuals, who entered with him into a comparison of scripture passages, had been so far crowned with success, as that Serapion seemed to be convinced his notions of the divine image and of the divine essence were not tenable. But as they were about to unite together in a prayer of thanks for this happy issue, and Serapion kneeled down for prayer with the rest, he missed the image under which he was wont to adore the God present to his heart, and felt that he was still unable to dispense with it. With the customary symbol, it seemed to him that the being whom he worshipped under this symbol, was himself taken away. Full of despondency, the old man exclaimed with tears, "Poor wretch that I am! They have taken away my God. On whom shall I now depend! To whom shall I pray!"[2]

[1] Ὁ ἀμφάλλαξ, ὁ κόθυρνος, terms applied to one who is accustomed to wear his cloak according to the wind.

[2] See the account by Cassian, an eye-witness. Collat. 10.

A fierce troop of savage monks next hastened to Alexandria, and threatened Theophilus, whom they denounced as an atheist, with death. Theophilus, with whom prevarication and falsehoood cost but little, contrived to soothe them in a most unworthy manner, saying to them, "In you I behold the countenance of God." This appeared to the monks to be a confirmation of their notions of the divine image, and even by this remark they were somewhat pacified. Yet they required also of the patriarch, that he should condemn the godless Origen, and in this, too, he yielded to their demands.[1]

At that time, Theophilus doubtless yielded only because he was forced to do so by the frantic demands of these blind zealots, but not with any design of abiding by this forced declaration. By degrees, however, the temper and disposition of his mind underwent, through influences from without, an entire change towards the Origenistic monks. This party had its principal seat in the caverns and cells of the Salt-Petre mountain (ὄρος νιτρίας) which bordered on the Scetic desert. Here for a series of years had resided the deacon Evagrius, of Pontus, famous on account of his ascetic writings, which were extensively read, not only in the Greek church, but, after they had been translated into Latin by Rufinus, even in the church of the West.[2] At the head of this party stood, at this time, the four brothers, Dioscurus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, well known under the name of the tall brothers (ἀδελφοὶ μακροί),— pious men, though not wholly exempt from a certain fanatical, ascetic tendency. Theophilus, who was very friendly to these men, was desirous of gaining them over to the service of the church, for which, however, they had no inclination. At length he compelled Dioscurus to assume the office of bishop of Hermopolis in Egypt;— to two others he gave the place of stewards (οἰκόνομοι) in his own church. But precisely in the administration of *this* office, they had occasion to experience so many things derogatory to the bishop's character, which filled them with disgust, while, at the same time, these honest men feared they should contract some defilement on their own souls, that nothing could prevent them from hastening back to their own beloved seclusion, under the pretext that they were no longer able to endure the city life. But Theophilus penetrated their real motive, and on this ground alone was greatly incensed. Added to this was the influence of another occurrence. The presbyter Isidore, already mentioned, a friend of those monks, and superintendent of an alms-house in Alexandria,— a man now eighty years old,— had received from a wealthy widow the sum of a thousand gold pieces, for the purpose of purchasing clothing for the poor females in Alexandria. In handing over the money she had made him pro-

[1] See Sozom. VIII. 11.

[2] He was a disciple of the two men who had a great influence on the monastic life as it was in this desert, and who stood in high veneration, Macarius who was surnamed Αἰγύπτιος, and Macarius, who, from being a native of Alexandria, was called πολιτικός. Under the name of the former we have fifty homilies, which indeed are not quoted by the ancient writers as his, but which harmonize perfectly with the peculiar Christian bent of this monasticism.

mise not to mention the matter to the bishop, whose all-grasping and all-expending rage for building [1] she was afraid of. The discovery of this secret aroused the whole wrath of Theophilus against Isidore.[2] Under the pretext of false charges he persecuted him with the utmost violence, deposed him from his office, and excommunicated him from the church, till at last the persecuted Isidore took refuge among the monks in the desert of Nitria. These, having received their ancient friend, drew down on themselves the vengeance of Theophilus, whose feelings were already embittered towards them. For the purpose of gratifying these revengeful feelings, Theophilus took sides with the zealots against Origen, — first with the Anthropomorphites of the Scetic desert, whose fury he excited against the Origenists; and with Jerome and Epiphanius. He found no difficulty, at several synods convened in Alexandria, subsequent to the year 399,[3] to prevail upon bishops, in part already inclined, by their own narrow zeal, to stigmatize Origen as a heretic, and in part accustomed to serve as the blind tools of their patriarch, to unite with himself in pronouncing sentence of condemnation on the doctrines and the writings of Origen, and in forbidding them to be read. As the monks were not disposed to yield a blind obedience to these decrees, Theophilus seized upon this as a pretext for calling upon the Præfect of Egypt for an armed band to attack them.[4] They were fallen upon in their peaceful retreats, where for a long series of years they had lived in quiet seclusion, shamefully abused, and forced to disperse. Eighty of these persecuted men fled from their desert to one place and another, but could nowhere find a home; since Theophilus sent after them letters dictated by violent passion and malicious cunning, in which he seized upon many extravagancies of fanatical ascetism (which he had before been very ready to overlook) for the purpose of rendering them suspected as wild and dangerous enthusiasts. At length they resolved to seek redress from the imperial court at Constantinople; in hopes, too, that the well-known Christian philanthropy of the bishop of the residential city, *John Chrysostom*,[5] who was not less favorably known for his reckless zeal against all

[1] Ὁ *χρυσομανὴς καὶ λιθολάτρις*,—so he is called by Isidore of Pelusium, l. I. ep. 152.

[2] Such is the account of the warm friend of Chrysostom and of the Origenistic monks, the bishop Palladius of Helenopolis in Bithynia, in his dialogical narrative of Chrysostom's life. Opp. Chrysost. ed. Montf. T. XIII. The account by Sozomen, VIII. 12, serves to confirm the former, for it seems to presuppose this as the original one. According to Sozomen's account, for instance, Theophilus demanded of Isidore part of a large sum of money which had been given him, for the purpose of expending it on church buildings. But Isidore declined to give it up, because it was better, he said, to use the money in behalf of the living temple of God. True, this account is referred back to the same source, to the Origenistic monks, from whom Sozomen's acquaintance had heard it. But the predicates which Isidore applies to Theophilus render the thing very credible. Isidore of Pelusium also traces the whole to the hostility of Theophilus towards the other Isidore: *Τὴν περὶ τὸν ἐμοὶ ὁμώνυμον ἀπέχθειαν καὶ δυσμένειαν*. The other causes which are stated of the hostility of Theophilus, may have first given occasion for his altered tone towards Isidore.

[3] Sulpicius Severus (Dial. I. 6) mentions several synods.

[4] Sulpicius Severus, who at that time was residing in this country, says, (Dialog. I. c. 7:) Scævo exemplo ad regendam ecclesiæ disciplinam præfectus assumitur.

[5] The admiration of his eloquence soon gave him this surname.

wrong and injustice, than for his brilliant eloquence, would serve to defend them against the unrighteous fury of their adversaries. But before we proceed to the farther development of these events, we must throw a glance at the life of the great man, who was thus drawn into a participation in these disputes.

He was born at Antioch in the year 347. His pious mother, Anthusa, who, being early left a widow, devoted herself entirely to his education, was to him what Monica was to Augustin. But the seeds of faith, sown in his infant mind, were not, as in the case of Augustin, long kept in check by the predominance of wild passions; and without experiencing such violent storms and struggles in his more gentle soul, he was enabled to develop himself with a quiet and gradual progress, under many favorable influences (as we have already remarked p. 657). Through a rich inward experience, he lived into the understanding of the holy scriptures; and a prudent method of interpretation on logical and grammatical principiples, kept him in the right track in deriving the spirit from the letter of the sacred volume. His profound and simple, yet fruitful homiletic method of treating the holy Scriptures,show how much he had profited by his wide Christian experience, and by the thoughtful method of exposition belonging to the Antiochian school, and how, in his case, both coöperated together.

By the study of the ancients he secured to himself the advanvantage of a harmonious mental and rhetorical culture, which in his case was ennobled by the *divine* principle of life drawn from the gospel. A heart full of the love which flows from faith, gave to his native eloquence, cultivated by the study of the ancients, its animating charm.

The man who had been thus educated for the office of a preacher, labored twelve years, from 386 onward, with burning zeal, as a presbyter under the bishop Flavian of Antioch; and the latter, in consideration of his distinguished gifts, had entrusted to his particular care the religious instruction and edification of the church. The sermons which he there preached show how earnestly alive he was to the duty of promoting, not a formal orthodoxy, but vital Christianity; to expose the vanity of a merely outward Christianity, and to destroy all confidence in it. With a freedom and boldness which feared no consequences, he inveighed against the prevailing corruptions in every rank of society, even when they appeared under a Christian guise. In Antioch he had won the affections of many, to whom his labors had proved a blessing; and the hatred of individuals, who felt themselves too roughly handled by his discourses, could, under these circumstances, do him no injury.

But a wider and more splendid, though, at the same time, a far more dangerous and unquiet field of labor was opened for him, when Eutropius, who, at that time, possessed unbounded influence at the imperial court, and who, happening to be one of his hearers on a certain occasion, was quite carried away by his eloquence, was the occasion of his being called, in the year 397, to the bishopric of Constantinople. Peculiarly dangerous was this field for a man of his freedom

of spirit, so used to chastise every form of ungodliness without respect of persons,—a man who, in his impatient indignation at wickedness, and zeal for oppressed innocence, could not stop to measure his words by the rules of prudence. The way in which he diminished the pomp and state of the episcopacy, for the purpose of devoting what was thus saved to benevolent institutions, displeased the people of Constantinople, who were so fond of display, and excited the discontent of those whose selfish interests were injured thereby. Worldly-minded ecclesiastics and monks, whom he reminded of their duty, became his enemies. At a visitation of the churches, which he was obliged to make at Ephesus, in the year 400, on account of certain disputes and the difficulties which grew out of them, he greatly contributed, by the severity with which he sought to enforce respect for the ecclesiastical laws, so often violated by reason of the prevailing worldly interest, to increase the number of his enemies, especially among the higher ranks of the clergy. Doubtless it may have been the case, also, that in certain moments of vehement indignation against sin, which proceeded however from the purest motives, he allowed himself to be transported beyond measure; and, too rashly undertaking to promote the right and to punish what was bad, did not always pay due respect to existing forms. Perhaps, too, he may have occasionally placed too much confidence in his arch-deacon Serapion, a passionate man, and been persuaded by him to the adoption of measures which had not been carefully weighed.

Not less surely must he in various ways have excited against him the most powerful personages about court, by the manner in which he chastised the prevailing vices and took part with the innocent against their oppressors. Eutropius himself, who in the most insolent manner abused his power to the ruin of many, became at first his violent enemy. But when the prophetic warnings of the man who alone dealt honestly with him, were verified, and he saw himself at the lowest ebb of fortune, forsaken by all, Chrysostom was his only protector at the altar of the church, to which he had fled for refuge from the infuriated populace.

The ambitious and covetous empress Eudoxia often fell into violent transports of rage against Chrysostom, which she vented in the most bitter threats, when she imagined herself to be aimed at by anything he had uttered in his sermons; when he protected orphans and widows from her own avarice or resentment, or from that of her favorites; when he opposed the acts of injustice of which she was the author, and addressed her conscience with the earnest sincerity becoming his office. Thus, there had grown up at Constantinople a party of ill-disposed ecclesiastics and nobles, men and women, in opposition to the man of truly pious and noble feelings; and sometimes this party was led on by the empress herself, whose superstitious fears, however, often compelled her to become reconciled again to the venerated bishop.

It happened precisely at an interval of this sort, when Chrysostom stood on good terms with the empress, that the monks above-mentioned

arrived at Constantinople. They entreated the bishop to grant them protection, declaring to him, that if he refused it, they would be forced to apply immediately to the emperor. Chrysostom knew how to unite what was required of him by Christian charity, with the circumspection of Christian prudence.[1] He wished and hoped he might be able to settle the difficulty in the wisest way by offering his own mediation to bring about a reconciliation between Theophilus and these unfortunate men; and in order to this it was necessary for him to avoid any step which might offend the man whose irritable character was well known to him. He gave the monks a friendly reception; he assigned them a place of abode, and one of the pious females who were accustomed, under his direction, to devote their property or the labor of their hands to works of Christian charity, provided for their bodily wants. But in compliance with the ecclesiastical rules, he refused to admit them to the communion, since they had been excommunicated by their bishop. In a letter which he wrote in their behalf to the bishop Theophilus, he earnestly besought the latter to pardon the monks, as a favor to himself. But Theophilus, instead of paying any attention to this request, immediately dispatched certain persons to Constantinople for the purpose of lodging an accusation against the monks. The latter now proceeded, on their part, to bring a number of aggravated charges against their bishop. Chrysostom sent a report of this to Theophilus, informing him that it would be out of his power to prevent them from applying with their complaints to the emperor himself. By this Theophilus was still more excited; especially, as he had been told by persons who were very desirous of stirring up a quarrel between him and Chrysostom, that the latter had admitted the monks to the communion, and thus declared null the sentence which Theophilus had pronounced against them. In his reply, Theophilus reminded Chrysostom that according to the fifth canon of the Council of Nice,[2] every bishop was bound to recognize as valid the sentence of excommunication pronounced by another, till its injustice was proved by a new investigation, which, however, could be commenced and carried through only in the church diocese in which the difficulty had occurred. By this law, it is true, cases like the present one stood a very uneven chance; for how could the poor monks in the church diocese of Theophilus, where everything was so entirely dependent on himself, hope to find anywhere among the bishops an equitable decision? Chrysostom now endeavoured to extricate himself from the whole affair. But the monks availed themselves of a favorable moment to lay their petition before the empress Eudoxia, in which they proposed that the bishop of the imperial residence should be nominated judge in this matter, and that Theophilus should be compelled to appear before his tribunal. The empress, in whom su-

[1] If we may credit the report of Palladius bishop of Helenopolis, who wrote, indeed, as a prejudiced friend of Chrysostom, but is confirmed, however, though he reports many things alone, at least in part by the authorities of Socrates and Sozomen.

[2] Compare the account by Palladius with the words of Chrysostom himself, in his first letter to Innocent bishop of Rome, § 2

perstition and immorality wrought in concert together, placed great store on the blessing of such monks. To obtain this she received their petition, and easily found means of persuading her husband, over whom her influence was unbounded, to comply with their request. Theophilus was summoned to Constantinople, where a synod under the presidency of the patriarch was to decide his case.

From this time, the affair took an entirely different turn. The contest with the Origenists had hitherto been with Theophilus only a pretext, a means of taking vengeance on the monks; but now this object was dropped, and everything from henceforth made subservient to the main purpose, which was to avenge the imagined injury done to his honor by Chrysostom, and to bring about the ruin of the latter. For the accomplishment of this object, means would not be wanting to a person of his character, and among the description of people by whom Chrysostom was surrounded.

He entered into correspondence with the enemies of Chrysostom among the more eminent clergy and laity of Constantinople; and he endeavored to secure, as a useful instrument for effecting his designs, the bishop Epiphanius, — a man whose venerable years and whose zeal for the orthodox faith gave him great influence among the bishops. Besides the circular letter which he sent to all the bishops of the East, calling upon them to join in the decisions of that Egyptian council against Origen, he sent a particular letter to Epiphanius, for the purpose of inflaming the zeal of the old man, which was so easily excited and so credulous in regard to such matters. It is true, he allowed nothing at all tending to the injury of Chrysostom to find entrance into this letter; but he called his attention to the danger which threatened the church, when monks burning with zeal to propagate this new heresy[1] had betaken themselves to Constantinople, hoping to gain, in addition to the older ones, new proselytes to their impious doctrines.[2] He therefore urgently advised him to assemble the bishops of his island for the purpose of condemning Origen and the Origenistic heresies, to send in connection with them a synodal letter on this subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, and also to bring the bishops of Isaurea and Pamphylia, as well as the other bishops in his vicinity, to the knowledge of this matter.

Epiphanius immediately complied with this invitation, and in the year 401 held the council for the condemnation of Origen; but Chrysostom showed no inclination whatever to take part in these measures of a blind heresy-making zeal. The cold reception which these communications met with from him was now eagerly seized upon by Theophilus as a means of rendering Chrysostom himself suspected of entertaining the Origenistic heresy. He sought to persuade Epiphanius that it was necessary to assemble a synod against the Origenistic heresy at Constantinople itself, where at all times many bishops were to be found together; and this synod was to be made the instrument of effecting the

[1] Calumniatores veræ fidei novo pro hæresi furore bacchantes.

[2] Ut et novos, si quos valuerint, decipiant, et veteribus suæ impietatis sociis conjungantur.

downfall of Chrysostom. Epiphanius came in the year 402, accompanied with bishops of his diocese, to Constantinople. Chrysostom paid him all due respect, and did everything in his power to alter his intentions. But Epiphanius refused to have any fellowship with him, unless he joined in the condemnatory sentence against Origen, and withdrew his protection from the monks. To neither of these demands could Chrysostom conscientiously yield. Epiphanius now proceeded still farther in his blind zeal, and allowed himself to be drawn into many violations of ecclesiastical law, to which in such cases he was wont to pay but little attention. But perhaps a conversation with some of the persecuted monks, besides other reasons, led him to surmise that the cause he was serving was not so very pure,— and his own zeal, though utterly devoid of caution and prudence, was at least an honest one. He merely served as an unwitting tool to promote the designs of cunning, and hence he was now thrown into perplexity. He quitted Constantinople without waiting for the other bishops who were to assemble there on the like business, and in taking leave of the bishops who attended him to the place of embarkation, he said, "I leave to you the capital, the court, and hypocrisy." [1]

Theophilus, after having satisfactorily prepared the way in common concert with the party hostile to Chrysostom, and with the empress, who had once more fallen out with her bishop, so that he might confidently hope for a happy issue to his designs, came to Constantinople in the year 403, to appear not, as was originally designed, in the character of a defendant, but as a judge. As the enthusiastic love of the great majority of the church for their bishop gave his enemies no security of being able to accomplish their insidious designs in the city itself, Theophilus assembled his synod in a neighboring place, at a villa near Chalcedon, known by the name of the Oak. [2] This synod was composed of his own partisans among the bishops, some of whom had come with him, while others had been summoned by him, and others had met together on various matters of business at Constantinople.

At this synod no further mention whatever was made of the Origenistic heresies; but from the mouth of persons hostilely disposed to Chrysostom, as for example, those worthless ecclesiastics and monks who had been chastised by him, charges were received against him, which had reference to facts of an entirely different nature. These charges were in part manifest inventions, or perversions of the truth, as we are compelled to believe, when we compare them with the known disposition and habits of the man; and in part they were based on allegations redounding rather to his honor than to his shame, and which, when thus employed against him, only showed the bad disposition of his opponents. Thus, for example, because he did not provide a splendid table, like other court bishops; because he continued to observe at Constantinople a retired and simple mode of life; and moreover, on account of his feeble state of health, was in the habit of eating alone, — his enemies

[1] Ἀφίημι ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

[2] Hence known by the name of the σύνοδος πρὸς τὴν δρῦν.

were not ashamed to admit against him the charge of having by his habits of solitary living, neglected the duty of hospitality, and of having led by himself a life of Cyclopean gluttony.[1] The most plausible ground of complaint may have been furnished by Chrysostom himself, when, in his zeal to preserve the strictness of church discipline, he failed of paying sufficient respect to the existing forms of ecclesiastical law, and when he often allowed a pious indignation to vent itself in too violent expressions. Only against several of the friends of Chrysostom some special use was still made of the charge of Origenistic heresy. While these things were transpiring at the council, Chrysostom found himself surrrounded by forty respectable bishops, his friends from various countries of the East, who knew what a loss the church would suffer in him, and whom he was endeavoring to console and encourage. When the deputies of the council of the Oak presented themselves here for the purpose of citing him before their tribunal, *those friends* of Chrysostom did, indeed, pronounce the court to be an incompetent one, as they were authorized to do by all the forms of ecclesiastical law as it then was; but he declared himself ready, in the consciousness of his innocence, to appear before this assembly, as before any other in the world, provided only that four bishops, who were his avowed enemies,[2] should be excluded from the number of his judges. As this very just demand was not conceded to him, he declined even after a third citation supported by an imperial notary, to obey the summons, and the synod, urged by a message of the emperor, who had become hostile to him through the influence of Eudoxia, to pass the definitive sentence, pronounced upon him, since he had by his non-appearance declared himself to be guilty, the sentence of deposition. They were mean enough to add: that, as among the charges laid against Chrysostom was contained also the accusation of high-treason (which probably referred to the charge of his having shown disrespect to the empress), and as it did not belong to the bishops to inquire into such matters, they left it for the emperor himself to take care that he should be removed, even if it required force, from the church, and, on account of the last-mentioned offence, be delivered over to punishment.

Yet partly religious considerations, and partly the fear of movements among the people, who day and night surrounded the residence of the bishop and the church, prevented the emperor from having recourse at once to violence. And Chrysostom was resolved not to leave his office voluntarily; for he looked upon his connection with the flock intrusted to him by the Lord, as one which could be dissolved only by *force*, to which he must be compelled to yield. Meantime he delivered to the assembled people a fiery discourse, full of the high-hearted courage of faith, yet not with all the self-control and prudence which would have been becoming, so that many an expression escaped him which might produce, in the inflammable minds of the Constantinopolitans, still

[1] Ὅτι τὴν φιλοξενίαν ἀθετεῖ, μονοσιτίαν ἐπιτηδεύων, ὅτι μόνος ἐσθίει, ἀσώτως ζῶν Κυκλώπων βίον. See the extract from the Acts in Photius. Cod. 59.

[2] Even the unprejudiced Isidore of Pelusium, (I. 152,) says that Theophilus destroyed Chrysostom, τέσσαρσι συνέργοις, ἢ μᾶλλον συναποστάταις, ὀχυρωθείς.

greater excitement. But when this effect actually ensued, Chrysostom showed how foreign it was from his self-denying spirit to think of taking advantage of such an excited state of feeling, as he easily might have done, for his personal advantage; for as soon as he heard that it was actually intended to remove him by force, and he believed that he had done all that conscience required, he contrived, to prevent all tumults, on the third day at noon, without being observed by the multitude, to make good his retreat from the church, and was conveyed into exile. But a few days after he left Constantinople, a deputy from the empress came to him with a letter full of protestations, beseeching him to return; for an earthquake, which was usually interpreted as a token of the divine displeasure, and the indignation of the populace already excited by the overbearing triumph of his enemies, and which was thereby increased, had filled the empress with alarm and remorse of conscience.

Chrysostom was received back again by the church at Constantinople, with universal joy. He was unwilling, indeed, to reënter upon the functions of his office, until he had been formally justified and restored by a synod regularly assembled; but affection towards his flock compelled him at once to resume the episcopal chair, and to bestow on them from this the episcopal blessing. Yet the assembling of this synod was promised him, and he ceased not to insist upon its fulfilment, until his relations, which rested on so frail a foundation, again took an entirely different turn. It could not fail to happen, that the vain and ambitious empress would soon be incensed and irritated again by the boldness of the man who rebuked crime without any fear of the consequences. This took place after he had enjoyed a tranquility of only two months duration. The occasion was as follows: —

In front of the palace where the imperial senate held their assemblies, a magnificent silver statue had been erected to the empress Eudoxia. Its dedication was, as usual in such cases, accompanied with noisy and often indecent festivities, bordering on the customs of heathenism. The place where this occurred was so near to the great church, that the devotions of the assembly were unavoidably disturbed by it, and it happened, perhaps, on some festival day of the church. Our information respecting the course of this affair is not sufficiently authentic to enable us to determine with any certainty, whether Chrysostom was misled by his natural warmth of temper to do many things contrary to the dictates of prudence; whether it was at the very outset, when flushed by the sense of wrong, or whether it was not until after he had tried other means with the empress in vain, that in a sermon he violently inveighed against these abuses. This being doubtless reported to the empress with an exaggerated coloring, she began to enter into new conspiracies with the enemies of Chrysostom, and the latter was now hurried along by his indignation at these new plots (if indeed his language has been reported to us in its original form) to begin a discourse, perhaps at a festival commemorative of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, with the words: "Once more Herodias maddens — once more she dances, and once more demands the head of John."

When this was thus reported to the empress, she abandoned herself

wholly to her resentment; and she might easily so represent the matter to the weak Arcadius as to induce him to lend his hand in bringing about the destruction of Chrysostom. The synod which Theophilus led out from Alexandria was employed as the instrument for this purpose. By its advice advantage was taken, without recurring to the earlier charges against Chrysostom, of a law issued by the council of Antioch, A.D. 341, but which was never put in force except at such times and to such extent as some momentary interest required, — the rule, namely, that a bishop who had been deposed by a synod, and who had been reinstated in office, not by another ecclesiastical court, but by the secular power, should remain forever incapable of administering the functions of that office. Deposed from his episcopate, Chrysostom was conveyed into exile in the June of the year 404.

In a series of trials which conducted him towards a glorious end, he had every opportunity of manifesting the greatness, power, and tranquillity of a soul wholly penetrated by the faith of the gospel. After a long and painful journey, in which he was still compelled to endure much shame and persecution from the angry hatred and fanaticism of his enemies, he arrived at the place of his banishment in the desolate city of Cucusus, on the borders of Armenia, Isaurea, and Cilicia. Here he had much to suffer from the rude climate, and from repeated threatening invasions of the neighboring Isaurean robbers; but instead of needing consolation himself, it was he whose words, full of confidence, and of the energy of faith, gave heart and courage to his friends at Constantinople. From this place, he guided the devoted flock whom he had been forced to leave. In this remote spot, he was the soul of the pious enterprises of his friends, as, for example, of their efforts to spread the gospel among the Persians and the Goths. To promote this object he was ready to take the first step towards reconciliation with bishop Maruthas of Mesopotamia,[1] a man who had assisted to procure his condemnation; and even when Maruthas declined coming to any accommodation, he still invited his friends to do all in their power to sustain him. By the noble example of his charity, by his spiritual counsels and instructions, he was the means of great good to the whole district where he resided. Such a light could not be put under a bushel; it would shine, wherever it might be: and Chrysostom met with the fullest sympathy, especially from the Roman church, whose bishop, Innocent, declared very strongly in his favor. This served to rekindle the jealousy and resentment of his enemies; for they had reason to fear that his friends might eventually succeed in again bringing him back to Constantinople. This they were determined to prevent; they meant to place Chrysostom at last where he would be totally forgotten. In the summer of the year 407, he was conveyed to a new place of exile, at the very verge of the Roman empire, in the waste town of Pityus in Pontus, situated in the midst of barbarians. His body, exhausted by previous sufferings, sunk under the hardships of this long and difficult journey. He died on the way, near Comanum in Pontus, in the full and peaceful consciousness of his approaching end, and with bright visions into the life eternal. Those words of Job, which in his own seasons of quiet prosperity he so

[1] See above, p. 133.

often impressed on the hearts of his hearers, and which in his times of trial he so often presented to himself and to his friends as the richest source of consolation: Blessed be the Lord for all things (Δόξα τῷ θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκεν!), were the last on his lips, worthily closing a life consecrated to God, and resigned to His will in all conflicts and sufferings.

But it was beyond the reach of any earthly power to extinguish the memory of this martyr from the minds of men who had felt the divine energy of his life and doctrines. There continued to exist at Constantinople a distinct and separate party of Johannites, who refused to recognize the validity of the act by which Chrysostom was deposed, and to acknowledge any one as their bishop who was appointed to succeed him. They held on Sundays and festival days their private meetings, which were conducted by clergymen who thought like themselves, and from these alone they would receive the sacraments. As among this party were to be found, also, many of the more excitable people of Constantinople, and every attempt to suppress them by force only rendered the opposition still more violent, many sanguinary tumults ensued. This schism spread more widely in the church; for other bishops and clergymen, who also protested against the injustice of the sentence pronounced on Chrysostom, and who continued to venerate his memory, came over to this party. They were sustained by the Roman church, which constantly asserted in the strongest terms the innocence of Chrysostom. His second successor, the bishop Atticus, took the first step towards a reconciliation, by introducing his name expressly into the church prayers offered in behalf of those bishops who had died in the orthodox faith. He made an agreement with the Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria, to grant a universal amnesty to all the adherents of Chrysostom among the clergy.[1] A greater schism of the church was by this means prevented: but, at Constantinople, a small party of Johannites continued to hold their ground. The Patriarch Proclus first succeeded in putting a final end to the schism in that city. Having, in the year 438, prevailed upon the emperor Theodosius II,[2] to allow the remains of Chrysostom to be brought back to Constantinople, and to be buried there with solemn pomp, he persuaded the remnant of the Johannites, appeased by the satisfaction thus done to the memory of their beloved bishop, to connect themselves once more with the ruling church.

For the rest, this passionate and violent mode of proceeding to suppress the Origenistic doctrines, was calculated much rather to excite than to check the zeal for these doctrines.[3] They who, like Theophilus, opposed the Origenistic heresy only as a convenient means of gratifying their private passions, were hence more tolerant in other cases where these passions were not interested. Theophilus himself gave a remark-

[1] See Socrat. VII. 25. Synes. ep. 66 ad Theophilum.

[2] Socrat, VII. 45.

[3] As is remarked by an eye-witness of a part of these events, Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. I. c. 3: Sive illud error est, ut ego sentio, sive hæresis, ut putatur, non solum reprimi non potuit multis animadversionibus sacerdotum; sed nequaquam tam late se potuisset effundere, nisi contentione crevisset.

able exemplification of this ten years later. The church at Ptolemais, the chief city of Pentapolis, laity and clergy, in the year 410, unanimously made choice of the philosopher *Synesius* of Cyrene (see above, p. 123) to be their bishop,— a man who had never left the silent retirement where he pursued his studies, except when his services were demanded for the good of his country. But the candid scholar frankly declared, and in such a way that the bishop Theophilus would be sure to hear of it, that his philosophical convictions did not on many points agree with the doctrines of the church; and among these differences he reckoned many things which were classed along with the Origenistic heresies, as for example, the doctrine of the preëxistence of souls; his different views of the resurrection, on which point he probably departed far more widely than Origen from the view taken by the church, inasmuch as he interpreted it as being but the symbol of a higher idea.[1] Synesius was willing, indeed, as he declared, to keep his peculiar philosophical convictions to himself; for he supposed, conformably with his Platonic mode of distinguishing between esoteric and exoteric religious doctrines, that the pure truth could never become the *popular faith*. But at the same time, he would never consent to teach anything himself which was at variance with his own convictions.[2] Despite of this open declaration of Synesius, Theophilus did not hesitate to follow the aged ecclesiastics in Ptolemais, who said it was to be expected that the grace of the Holy Spirit would not leave this work incomplete, but would lead still further into the knowledge of the truth the man whom he had led so far in the religious life. And he ordained him as bishop of this metropolis.

Not every ecclesiastic, however, who thus differed in his convictions from the doctrines of the ruling church, was as candid as Synesius. Notwithstanding all the efforts to preserve the churches against every deviation from the established articles of faith, it was still impossible to look into the inward principles of those to whom the offices of the church were confided.[3] At the same time, there had not as yet been expressed by any ecumenical council the opposition to the peculiar doctrines of Origen, and down to the times of the emperor Justinian (see above, p. 597. Note 1), no means had as yet been devised for preserving the church, by means of a prescribed confession of faith, to be acknowledged by ecclesiastics previous to their ordination, against every possible heretical tendency. Hence we find many proofs, that Origenistic doctrines continued to be propagated in the East, among

[1] Ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον.

[2] Οὐ στασιάσει μοι πρὸς τὴν γλῶτταν ἡ γνώμη. See ep. 105 ed. Basil. p. 358.

[3] In consequence of the deplorably bad manner in which spiritual offices were often filled (see the sect. on the church constitution), it might happen, that, in a time when so great stress was laid on formal orthodoxy, men attained to spiritual offices, who had made themselves suspected of no heresy, because all matters of faith generally were considered of no consequence by them; but who went so far in their infidelity, which proceeded not from any sceptical bent of understanding, but from fleshly rudeness and utter immorality, that they in fact denied the immortality of the soul; and who still did not hesitate to perform all the spiritual functions, looking upon the whole in no other light than as a means of gain. See examples of such presbyters in Isidor. l. III. ep. 235 and 295.

ecclesiastics and monks, even after this period;[1] and many were foolish enough to introduce into their sermons doctrinal opinions which had so little to do with the interests of faith.[2]

Hence, under the reign of the emperor Justinian, there arose a new and violent strife betwixt the advocates and the opponents of the Origenistic doctrines among the monks in Palestine.[3] It now so happened, owing to circumstances which we have already explained, that the emperor Justinian was drawn to participate in these disputes; that he published an elaborate edict, with extracts from the writings of Origen, aimed at the condemnation of this great church-teacher, and his peculiar heretical doctrines which were thus pointed out; and that, in consequence, a council which met at Constantinople, under the presidency of the Patriarch Mennas, in the year 541, confirmed this condemnation, and established fifteen canons in opposition to the Origenistic doctrines.

According to the old accounts, which go back to the period in which these events took place, the fifth general council also, in the year 553, (see above, p. 607,) renewed the condemnation of Origen and his doctrines; and among the canons with which the council concluded their labors in the eighth session,[4] the twelfth canon, after condemning the heretics condemned by the older ecumenical councils, does actually treat of the condemnation of Origen. In this case, we must presume that the leaders of the Origenistic party, who had been the authors of the whole controversy respecting the three chapters, (see above, pp. 599–608,) allowed themselves here, as on earlier occa-

[1] See e. g. Isidore, l. IV. ep. 163. Nili epp. 188—190, II. 191.

[2] As for example, the Platonico-Origenistic doctrine of the preëxistence of souls;—that the Son was a higher intelligence created after the image of God. See the epistles of Nilus just referred to. The latter says to a preacher of this sort: *Τί ἂν διαφέροι καπνῳδίας τὸ σὸν διάγγελμα, τὸ στασιοποιόν τε καὶ ἀκερδές.* The abbot Isidore, a man distinguished for his practical bent of mind, shows this also in his judgment of the controversy respecting the origin of souls. The advocates of the doctrine of preëxistence — he supposes — must agree with their opponents at least on this point, that the *moral* conflict is required for the purification of the soul, for its return to its original state; and hence he concludes: *Ἀφεμένοι τοίνυν τοῦ ζυγομαχεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητησίμων, εἰς τὸ ὁμολογούμενον ἑαυτοὺς συνελάσωμεν.*

[3] See above, p. 595. There were then forming among the Origenists two parties, respecting whose distinctive views we can only derive some probable conclusions from the names given to them, compared with the doctrines of Origen. One party (see Cyrill. Scythopolitan. vita S. Sabæ, § 89, in Coteler. monumenta ecclesiæ Græcæ, t. III.) were called *πρωτόκτισται* or *τετραδῖται*; the other, *ἰσόχριστοι*. The former, as it may be conjectured, gave special prominence to the Origenistic doctrine respecting the preëxisting soul of Christ, (see vol. I. p. 638.) That soul with which the Logos had condescended to enter into union, they supposed to be exalted above all other created beings, to be the *πρῶτον* among the *κτιστοῖς*. Their opponents accused them of placing this soul, by their apotheosis, on a level with the three persons of the Trinity, and of introducing a *τέτρας* in place of a *τρίας*. The others, on the contrary, gave prominence to the Origenistic doctrine concerning an original equality, with only a numerical difference, of all created intelligences; and they looked upon it as the final end, that all should be once more restored back to that original unity; and hence they said, that as originally the souls which, by reason of their loyalty of will, had been received into indissoluble communion with the Logos had nothing in preference over the others, who were intelligences of the same order, so all would ultimately attain to the same unity. Hence they were accused of placing themselves on a level with Christ. Against this last tenet the thirteenth among the canons against the Origenistic doctrines is directed.

[4] See Harduin. Concil. III. f. 198.

sions, to be driven by circumstances to the denial of their own expressed convictions. Yet the course of proceeding at this council, and the silence of other important documents of the same period, stand opposed to the supposition, that the council in question had any *particular* action on the subject of renewing the sentence of condemnation against Origen.[1] The confounding together of the synod held under Mennas with the fifth ecumenical council, which undeniably took place at an early period, as well as the wish to have a solemn condemnation of Origen from some general council, occasioned and promoted this transfer; and in case Origen was really mentioned, though but cursorily, along with the older heretics, by the fifth general council, this would furnish a convenient foot-hold for the above supposition. But, at the same time, it is not impossible that the name of Origen itself was but a later insertion. Along with Origen, the council in question is in fact said to have pronounced sentence of condemnation also on Didymus and Evagrius (see above, p. 752); and in the age of Justinian, it might indeed very easily happen, that the anathema should be pronounced on names hitherto never mentioned by the majority but with reverence and respect. But the credibility of this account depends on the credibility of the other, namely — that the council in question was occupied particularly with Origen. At all events, it had great influence in bringing about the later more general practice of treating Origen as a heretic, that a decree of this sort was ascribed to an ecumenical council.

APPENDIX TO THIS SECTION.

History of Sects.

We shall conclude the history of this period with some account of the minor sects which presented themselves in conflict with the dominant church, without having arisen, like those which have been mentioned, out of the doctrinal controversies. They were partly sects which sprung up afresh out of germs existing already in the previous periods, and partly such as arose for the first time out of the peculiar state of the church in the present period.

Such phenomena of the Christian life are often very significant symptoms of disease in the life of the church: they betoken deeper wants of the Christian consciousness, which are seeking after their satisfaction. Opposite errors, or tendencies bordering on error, by which they are called forth, lend them a partial justification. As reactions of the Christian consciousness, although they may be in many ways disturbed reactions, they point to a purer reaction reserved for the future, which shall some time or other push its way victoriously through.

We have already remarked, that worldly-minded bishops and ecclesiastics, instead of endeavoring to cherish and promote serious, vital Christianity, did every thing in their power to suppress it, because it presented such a strong and to them vexatious contrast to their own

[1] Comp. Walch Geschichte der Ketzereien und Spaltungen, B. 8, S. 286, u. d. f.

mode of life. (See above, p. 260, 1.) Serious and piously disposed laymen were persecuted by such clergymen, as dangerous censors of their conduct.[1] Often they were excommunicated from the church, or they separated of their own accord from such spiritual guides, because they could not believe it possible, that men so polluted with every vice should serve as instruments for the work of the Holy Spirit.[2] Others of like persuasion joined with them; and they became the founders of minor sects, in which, after the separation had once taken place, there arose, out of the opposition that had reference at first only to matters of practice, certain doctrinal differences also, which sometimes had no other ground than in the more sensuous mode of apprehension among uneducated laymen.

In this way arose the sect of the *Audians*.[3] *Audius*, or, as the name stood in his native Syrian, *Udo*,[4] was a layman, of a pious and austere life, who lived in Mesopotamia, near the beginning of the fourth century. He often objected to the worldly-minded ecclesiastics of this country their want of spirituality, particularly their devotion to gain, in seeking to enrich themselves by the practice of usury, and their gross immorality.[5] As his own strict and exemplary life probably gave him great influence among the laity, his reprimands of the clergy would be so much the more dangerous. He was persecuted by them, and at length excommunicated from the church. Others, who were dissatisfied with the corrupt clergy, now joined with him, and they held separate meetings for common edification. The clergy then had recourse to the secular power, and Audius with his adherents was obliged to suffer many wrongs. This only roused them to more decided opposition to the dominant church, and the spread of the sect was promoted. Many discontented spirits united with Audius, and among these some bishops and ecclesiastics. He himself was now ordained as a bishop in his own sect, and all the others placed themselves in subordination to him. They refused to have spiritual fellowship with any that belonged to the dominant church. They even declined uniting with them in prayer. The antagonism which now existed between the Audians and the dominant church led their opponents as well as themselves to be more attentive to certain differences of opinion, and to lay greater stress upon those differences. Thus, to their opponents, the anthropomorphic mode of conception among the Audians, which, from the earlier times, still lingered in these districts among the more uncultivated, appeared an important heresy; and many of their peculiar opinions, respecting which we have no exact information, may in like manner have had

[1] Comp. also Isidor. l. V. ep. 131. *Αυτῶσι οἱ κυνῶν καὶ χοίρων βίον ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν τὸν βίον.*

[2] That doubts had arisen, whether ecclesiastics, known to be vicious men, could administer the sacraments in a valid manner, is apparent from l. I. ep. 37; l. III. ep. 340.

[3] The most credible and distinct accounts of the origin and character of this sect is given by Epiphanius, since he appears here to have been less infected than others with the blind heresy-hunting zeal. He judges more mildly of this sect, partly because, owing to his whole bent of mind, he might not be inclined to attribute so much importance to the errors of sensuous anthropomorphism, partly because he was disposed to place a high value on ascetic austerities.

[4] See Ephraëm. Syr. Sermon. 24 adv. Hæres. T. II. ed. Quirin. f. 493.

[5] Comp. Theodoret. h. e. l. IV. c. 9.

their ground in a deficiency of mental cultivation.[1] Furthermore, the Audians returned back to the ancient usage with regard to the determination of the time of the Easter festival, which had been discarded by the council of Nice (see page 337); and they accused this council of having otherwise settled the time of the Easter festival out of flattery to the Emperor Constantine, and so as to make it coincide with the day of his birth.

Audius, when now quite advanced in years, was banished to the country on the Black sea (Scythia), where the Goths had at that time established themselves. He found followers among the Christians of this race, and he labored also to convert the pagan Goths. The monastic life gained entrance among them by means of the Audians, who encouraged a rigidly ascetic tendency. This sect, which had not within it the basis of any long duration, and which had attained to a distinct subsistence only by means of the persecution waged against it, gradually disappeared towards the close of the fourth century.

If there was, as we have seen, a one-sided doctrinal tendency, which placed the essence of Christianity in distinctions of the understanding, there was called forth by this very means the opposite extreme of a one-sided ethical tendency, which overlooked the connection between theory and practice, and the importance and significancy of the doctrines of faith in their bearing on Christian life. While, through the strife of opposite systems of doctrine, many, after having abandoned themselves sometimes to this system and sometimes to that, became at last skeptical or perplexed with regard to Christian truth itself;[2] others, on the contrary, were by the same means led to believe that matters of doctrine generally were of no great importance, since, in fact, the attaining to any certainty on matters of this sort transcended the powers of human knowledge; that every thing depended on conduct, and all who led a good life might be saved, notwithstanding their differences of opinion in other respects. At Alexandria, where the speculative spirit on matters of doctrine chiefly prevailed, such an opposite tendency would also be most likely to spring up.[3] A certain Rhetorius, in the fourth century, is said to have created a party which professed this principle, and who were known afterwards under the name of *knowledge-haters* (γνωσίμαχοι).[4] But

[1] It is uncertain what truth lies at the bottom of the charge laid against them (Theodoret. hist. eccles. IV. 9, and hæret. fab. IV. 10), that they had asserted God was not the creator of fire and darkness, or that, in short, both were eternal. We are here reminded, indeed, of the view of the Jewish Theosophy, which is to be found in the Clementines, that fire is the element of the Evil One. Such views might easily have passed over to the Audians.

[2] See Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. I. f. 18: Πρὸς πάντα λόγον ὡμοίως δυσχεραίνουσι.

[3] Thus Alexander of Lycopolis in Egypt opposes to the dogmatizing of the heretics, the principle that the essence of Christianity, inasmuch as it is designed for the training of the people as well as others, consists in a popular system of ethics (παραγγέλματα παχύτερα). See the introduction to his tract against the Manichæans in Combefis. bibliothecæ Græcorum patrum auctarium novissimum. Pars II.

[4] Athanasius mentions first (l. I. contra Apollinarem, § 6) a certain Rhetorius (Ῥητόριος), whom he seems to accuse of the "godless" assertion, that all heretics were right according to their way. Next Philaster (Hæres. § 91) has a special section relating to the Rhetorians: Alii sunt in Ægypto et Alexandria a Rhetorio quodam, qui omnes laudabat hæreses, dicens omnes

it may be a question, whether there was ever a regularly constituted sect professing such indifference to doctrines; whether the fact ever amounted to any thing more than this, that individuals at different times and in different places were led by the same opposition and the same tendency of mind to entertain these views; — of which individuals, the above mentioned Rhetorius may have been one.[1]

The sects which arose from the intermingling of Oriental theosophy with the opinions of certain sects of Christian origin, the Gnostic, and particularly the *Manichæan*, which in the last times of the preceding period began to spread mightily in the Roman empire, continued to propagate themselves also in the present period; and they were probably invigorated by coming into fresh contact with the remains of old Oriental systems of religion on the borders of the Asiatic provinces of the Roman empire, and also from Persia, the native country of Manichæism, where the relationship of its doctrines with those of the dominant religion must have furthered its spread, until about the year 525, when its great influence even in the royal family excited a violent and bloody persecution against it.[2]

The law of Diocletian, of which we spoke on a former occasion

bene sentire. But Philaster gives no further explanation of this opinion, and it is quite possible that the whole account of this sect had been only made out of an obscure passage of Athanasius. To Augustin, h. 72, it appeared incredible — as it would not fail to appear in case the theory was not any more distinctly set forth — that this person should have taught things so absurd. The theory is more distinctly set forth by the author of the Prædestinatus, h. 72, to wit, as follows: All worship God as well as they are able; we are bound to maintain Christian fellowship with all who call upon Christ as him who was born of the Virgin. Doubtless it may be, that this author had really heard of people who thought thus, and perhaps, without sufficient reason, called them Rhetorians, tracing their origin, without cause, to the Rhetorius, of whom he knew nothing except from Philaster. Those people of whom the Prædestinatus speaks, might have in their minds the passage in Philip. 1: 18. Chrysostom, in a special discourse (T. III. opp. f. 300), endeavors to guard this passage against any such application; but Chrysostom is here controverting, not those who seriously maintained a doctrinal indifference of this sort, but those heretics, to whom their own peculiar scheme of faith seemed sufficiently important, and who were only desirous of establishing this principle for the catholic Christians, in order that they might assert their own claims to Christian toleration. Theodoret, on the other hand, where, in expounding this passage, he says: Τοῦτο τινὲς τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ περὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων ὑπειλήφασιν εἰρῆσθαι, may actually have had in his mind such a class of *indifferentists*. Finally, John of Damascus (hæres. 88) mentions the γνωσίμαχοι. Οἱ πάσῃ γνώσει τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ ἀντιπίπτοντες, ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτοὺς, ὅτι περισσόν τι ποιοῦσιν οἱ γνώσεις τινὰς ἐκζητοῦντες ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς· Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ζητεῖ ὁ θεὸς παρὰ χριστιανοῦ, εἰ μὴ πράξεις καλάς.

[1] Here would be the proper place to mention certain other minor sects little known to us, which seem to have sprung out of a religious eclecticism, if they did not belong rather to the general history of religion than to the history of christian sects. The *Euphemites*, so called after the hymns addressed to the supreme God, the Almighty (whom alone they worshipped), which they chaunted together in their prayers, — a sect which seems to have arisen out of that spritualized, refined polytheism, which was connected with the recognition of one absolute essence; the *Hypsistarians* (the worshippers of the θεὸς ὕψιστος), perhaps identical with the former, or perhaps differing from them by the mixing in of Jewish with pagan elements, known to us through the father of Gregory Nazianzen, who was at first a member of this sect (comp. the writings of Böhmer and Ullmann on this sect); the Θεοσεβεῖς in Phœnicia, who either sprung likewise out of that later eclecticism, or were the offshoot of a still older form of religion, which subordinated Sabæism to Monotheism; the *Cœlicolæ*, predominantly of Jewish origin, originating perhaps from the proselytes of the gate. The rite of baptism among this last mentioned sect may not have been the Christian ordinance, but may have sprung out of the Jewish baptism of the proselytes.

[2] See Theophanes Chronograph. and Cedren. ad. h. a.

(vol. I. p. 506), would certainly tend to injure them. But when Constantine was endeavoring to put an end to the religious persecutions generally, which had arisen under Diocletian, and to introduce a universal religious toleration, he was naturally desirous of obtaining more exact information with regard to the character of the different and less known religious sects, and particularly of the Manichæans, respecting whom so many unfavorable reports were in circulation, in order to determine by the result of his inquiries what course of conduct he ought to pursue. He committed this investigation to an individual named Strategius, who, by his equal familiarity with the Latin and the Greek tongues, was admirably well fitted for such a business,—the same who afterwards, under the name of Musonianus, rose to the dignity of a prætorian Præfect of the East.[1] The accounts which Constantine obtained in this way, were probably favorable to the Manichæans: and he found nothing in their tenets to hinder him from extending his toleration to the Manichæan sect. But as the principles of toleration by which he was guided at first, gradually passed over to those of an opposite kind, the Manichæans, who were specially hated, became once more objects of persecution, even before any new laws had been enacted against them. The rhetorician Libanius interceded with the governor of Palestine in behalf of the Manichæans in that province, praying him to grant them security, and not suffer every man to insult them at pleasure. Without designating them by name, he yet sufficiently indicates whom he means, by mentioning them as those who worshipped the Sun, as the second divine being,[2] without offerings (since, according to the Manichæan idea, that one and the same soul is fettered in all animate bodies, such offerings could not properly be made); and who led a rigidly abstemious life, and counted death a gain.[3] He says of them, they are scattered over many countries of the earth, but are every where few in numbers; that they injured nobody, but were themselves obliged to suffer injuries from many.[4] After the year 372, new laws appeared against the Manichæans, which grew more and more severe. Like other heretics they were deprived of their civil rights, and their assemblies were forbidden under severe penalties.

At Rome they had secretly propagated their sect down from more ancient times; and, moreover, they had congregated there in greater numbers, after being driven away from North Africa and other countries by the inroads of migratory tribes.[5] And here they sought to find admission into the church, but that very vigilant bishop, Leo the Great, with the aid of the civil magistracy, entered upon a rigid system of inquiry to find them out. He succeeded in discovering many even of their presiding officers.[6] By means of these he ascertained the

[1] See Ammian. Marcellin. hist. l. 15, c. 13.

[2] The Sun, in fact the manifesting, redeeming spirit of light, who is the medium of connection between the visible world and the supreme God. See vol. I. p. 493.

[3] It being a release of the soul of light from the bonds of the ὕλη.

[4] See ep. 1344.

[5] Leo Sermo 15: Quos aliarum regionum perturbatio nobis intulit crebriores.

[6] Leo appeals before his own flock to the fact (p. 15,) that the practice of dissolute conduct in their meetings had been absolutely proved by the confessions of Mani-

names of the other presiding officers of a sect every where dispersed, and still closely connected in its dispersion ; and he could now make use of this discovery for the purpose of assisting, by his correspondence with foreign bishops, in the detection of the Manichæans in every place.[1] Leo made it strictly incumbent on the members of his own community to inform him where Manichæans dwelt, where they taught, whom they visited, in what society they were wont to reside.[2] Those of the arrested Manichæans who would not consent to recant were banished, and there appeared a new, severer law of the emperor Valentinian III. against this sect. Under the emperor Justinian, death was the established punishment for being a Manichæan.

Though a part of the Manichæans had at an earlier period been driven away by the political storms from the districts of North Africa, yet many still remained behind in this quarter of the world, which, from the fourth century, constituted the principal seat of Manichæanism ; and the ignorance of the Vandal ecclesiastics made it easy for the Manichæans to gain proselytes among them. King Hunerich, who acceded to the government in 477, sought to display his zeal for the orthodox faith by persecuting them, and his anger was especially aroused at finding among them so many of the Vandal, Arian clergy. Some of the Manichæans he caused to die at the stake: others he shipped away out of the country.[3] In this way, again, many of them probably came into Europe, and these transmitted the doctrines of the sect, amidst the disturbances of these times, down to later generations.

The repeated persecutions prove how little could be effected by them. They rather served to promote the spread of the sect. The Manichæans gloried in martyrdom for the truth. Their presiding officers, the *elect*, compared themselves, persecuted, poor, and living in the most rigid abstinence, with the clergy of the catholic church, who lived an easy life in the abundance of earthly comforts ; and they asserted that they might thus be known as the genuine disciples of Christ.[4] Being rigid ascetics, they might, too, often conceal them-

chæans themselves ; and, moreover, the law against the Manichæans, enacted, in consequence of this investigation into the character of the sect, by Valentinian III., is evidence of the same thing. We are not warranted, it is true, to declare these charges directly to be false. In individual cases of excrescence, this combination of mysticism with dissoluteness of conduct may have existed, although altogether foreign from the original character of Manichæism. In an old form of condemnation against sects of this kind, which Muratori has published in his *anecdota* from the Ambrosian library, T. II. Mediolan. 1698, p. 112, a trace of the doctrine is certainly to be found, that the principle of several of the older Gnostic sects, according to which every thing that relates to the body which sprung from the evil principle is a matter of utter indifference to the soul, and that the former, therefore, might be given up, without injury to the soul, to every species of lust, was brought into vogue again by later sects. L. c.: Si quis peccatum carnis non dicit pertinere ad animam, anathema sit. Still we have not sufficient knowledge respecting the manner in which these investigations were conducted, to enable us to decide whether the result of them is deserving of confidence.

[1] See the chronicle of Prosper ad a. 443.

[2] See Sermo 15, c. 5.

[3] See Victor Vitensis hist. persecut. Vandal. l. II. init.

[4] So says the Manichæan Faustus, comparing himself with the catholic clergy: Vides pauperem, vides mitem, vides pacificum, puro corde, lugentem, esurientem, sitientem, persecutiones et odia sustinentem propter justitiam, et dubitas, utrum accipiam evangelium ? August. c. Faustum, l. V. c. 1.

selves under the mask of monasticism, and indeed procure for themselves respect, while their heretical tendency remained undiscovered.[1] They might join in the divine service of the catholic churches, since there was no other means of detecting them except by their scrupling, on account of their ascetic principles, to partake of the consecrated wine. Many among them might adopt the current church terminology, giving it another and a mystical sense, after the manner of Agapius,[2] who demonstrated his orthodoxy even in an encounter with Eunomius. Faustus of Mileve in Numidia[3] successfully employed his skillful eloquence and brilliant wit, which was not accompanied, however, with solid judgment, for the extension of the sect. He, as well as other Manichæans, knew how to promote his cause by taking advantage of the weak spots which the catholic church exposed in its matters of faith and practice. The mysterious element in the symbols and doctrines of the Manichæans; the promise they held out of a special solution of difficulties by means of a loftier wisdom, in opposition to the blind and implicit belief which they censured in the dominant church; the close fraternization in which they lived with each other,—all this was attractive to a great many. Men eagerly enrolled themselves in the class of *auditores*, longing after the higher mysteries in which they were to be initiated as the *elect*.

Many new combinations of Oriental theosophy with Christianity were also formed, either proceeding from Manichæism or independent of it. Thus, for example, a certain Aristocritus wrote a work under the title of *θεοσοφία*, in which he sought to show that Judaism, Hellenism, and Christianity were but different forms of one and the same revelation of the Divine, thus taking his stand in opposition to Mani.[4]

A new offshoot of this theosophic tendency made its appearance in Spain towards the close of the fourth century, in the sect of the *Priscillianists*, a sect which professed many tenets closely related to Manichæism, but not to such a degree, however, as that their origin may be traced with certainty to the Manichæans. The first seed of their doctrines came from a man of Memphis by the name of Marcus. He travelled to Spain, and is said to have disclosed his doctrines to Elpidius, a rhetorician, and to his wife Agape. From them, it is said, these doctrines were communicated to *Priscillian*, a respectable and wealthy man in Spain, respected for his pious and austere life, who had perhaps for a long time before already

[1] This is apparent from the law of the year 381. Cod. Theodos. l. 16, Tit. 5, l. 7. Nec se sub simulatione fallaciæ eorum scilicet nominum, quibus plerique, ut cognovimus, probatæ fidei et propositi castioris dici ac signari volent, maligna fraude defendant, cum præsertim nonnulli ex his Encratitas, Apotactitas, Hydroparastatas, vel Saccophoros nominari se velint et varietate nominum diversorum velut religiosæ professionis officia mentiantur. Many other indications are to be found of the spread of Manichæism among the monks. See e. g. Theodoret. hist. religios. T. III. p. 1146. Εὐχῖται ἐν μοναχικῷ προσχήματι τὰ Μανιχαίων νοσοῦντες. Isidor. Pelus. I. 52.

[2] Concerning his writings, see Phot. cod. 179.

[3] From his work in defence of the Manichæan doctrines against the catholic church, Augustin has preserved important fragments in his reply.

[4] Ἀριστοκρίτου βίβλος, ἐν ᾗ πειρᾶται δεικνῦναι τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν καὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν ἓν εἶναι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δόγμα καὶ καθάπτεται καὶ τοῦ Μανέντος. See the anathemas in Jac. Tollii insignia itinerarii Italici, p. 142.

busied himself a good deal with matters of this sort;[1] and, by embodying them in a systematic form and circulating them, he became the founder of the sect. The eloquence of Priscillian, and his ascetic austerities, which acquired for him the more respect, as contrasted with the worldly life of many ecclesiastics, procured for him numerous followers, and among these some bishops, as, for instance, Instantius and Salvianus. The bishop Hyginus of Cordova first came out against them, and by him the bishop Idacius of Emerita (Merida) was instigated to persecute the sect. But, by his rough and violent mode of proceeding, the latter rather promoted the spread of the sect, and Hyginus himself became afterwards dissatisfied with the manner in which the Priscillianists were treated, and turned round to be their protector. Upon this, an important synod assembled at Cæsaraugusta (Saragossa), in the year 380, which pronounced sentence of condemnation on the Priscillianists, and sought to take measures to prevent the further spread of the sect. They committed to the bishop Ithacius of Sossuba the business of seeing that their decrees were put into execution. They could not have made a worse choice than they did in this man, who was a mere voluptuary, and utterly destitute of all sense for spiritual things.[2]

Excluded from the church, the followers of Priscillian now took more thorough measures for establishing their party; and they had the boldness to make Priscillian himself bishop of Avilla. But Idacius and Ithacius, conformably with their character, sought by various artifices to make use of the secular power against the Priscillianists, and thus to crush them.[3] They actually succeeded in procuring an imperial rescript whereby Priscillian and all his adherents were condemned to exile. The latter hoped, through the influence of the two most eminent bishops of the West, to procure a rescindment of this decision: and the leaders of the sect repaired to the bishops Damasus of Rome and Ambrose of Milan for the purpose of vindicating themselves before these prelates; but in this, of course, they could not possibly succeed. They succeeded better in an attempt to bribe, with the money of Priscillian, a civil officer of rank, Macedonius, the master of offices (magister officiorum), and through his influence it was brought about, that the first rescript was revoked, and the order given that the churches of which the Priscillianists had been deprived should be restored back to them.

Ithacius did not cease persecuting them; and being complained of himself as a disturber of the peace, he fled to Gaul. Already, it is said, was he conducted back to Spain, and there arraigned before the tribunal, when a great political change gave a different turn to the whole affair. The news came, that Maximus, who had proclaimed himself Cæsar in Britain, would soon arrive at Triers. There Ithacius waited

[1] Multa lectione eruditus. Sulpic. Severi hist. sacr. l. II. c. 46.

[2] So he is described by Sulpicius Severus, hist. sacr. l. II. c. 50. Nihil pensi, nihil sancti habuisse. Fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, sumptuosus, ventri et gulæ plurimum impertiens.

[3] Sulpicius Severus pronounces this parum sana consilia.

for him, and on his arrival placed in his hands a formal accusation full of harsh imputations against Priscillian and his followers. The new emperor received the complaint, and perhaps in the outset was only intending to show his zeal for pure doctrine, since he glories in this, in his letter to the Roman bishop Siricius. He treated the affair as one purely ecclesiastical; he ordered that all who were suspected of participating in the spread of these false doctrines, should appear before a synod to be assembled at Burdegala (Bordeaux), in the year 384. Instantius and Priscillian were the first to appear before it. After the former had been deposed from the episcopal dignity, because what he said in defense of himself was not found to be satisfactory, Priscillian forestalled the sentence which he might expect, by appealing to the emperor, by which infatuated step he prepared the way for his own destruction. The bishops, partly from their own weakness, partly out of hostility to Priscillian, forbore to protest against this proceeding, by which, contrary to the existing theory of rights in the Western church, a purely spiritual offense was brought and tried before a secular tribunal.

Accordingly, all that were complained of, or suspected, were cited before the emperor's tribunal. Idacius and Ithacius appeared as the accusers; and Ithacius, it is said, was for fixing the suspicion of Priscillianism on all who led a strict and serious Christian life, for which he had no liking himself, all who were much given to the study of the Bible, or who often fasted.[1] A truly pious man, however, who then resided at Triers, declared very strongly against this *un*spiritual mode of proceeding. It was the bishop Martin of Tours.[2]

He declared it to be an unheard of thing, that an ecclesiastical matter should be judged by a secular court on principles of the civil law. He entreated Maximus to spare the lives of the unfortunate men; — it was enough that by the decision of the bishops, they had been declared false teachers, and deprived of their churches. As long as Martin was present, the trial was actually delayed, and before his departure, the emperor promised him there should be no shedding of blood. But when Martin was gone, the emperor, through the influence of two bishops, Magnus and Rufus, was led to change his mind, being the more readily disposed to follow the advice of these two bishops, who recommended severity, because the property of the rich Priscillian and of his followers excited his cupidity.[3] He committed the trial of the

[1] The words of Sulpicius Severus: Hic stultitiæ eo usque processerat, ut omnes etiam sanctos viros, quibus aut studium inerat lectionis aut propositum erat certare jejuniis, tanquam Priscilliani socios aut discipulos in crimen arcesseret.

[2] Although descended from heathen parents, yet he had already when a child received the seeds of Christianity into his heart. Against his own will he became a soldier, and showed the evidence of Christian piety in the military service. Then he became a monk, finally, a bishop. The veneration of his period denominated him a worker of miracles. See his biography by Sulpicius Severus, one of his enthusiastic admirers, who had known him personally, but losing himself in exaggerations, has given us too little of the genuinely historical and characteristic facts relating to his life. See also the dialogues of Sulpicius.

[3] Sulpicius Severus, who would fain excuse Maximus, says (Dialog. III. c. 9) that most people at that time suspected the emperor of covetousness, si quidem in bona eorum inhiaverat; and the pagan Pacatus Drepanius says in his panegyric on the emperor Theodosius the Great, c. 29, concerning the cause of Maximus' inclination in favor of these bishops, whom he calls no-

cause to a severe judge, the prefect Euodius. Priscillian was condemned not only as a false teacher, but also as a violator of the laws. He was accused of disseminating doctrines, the tendency of which was to countenance and encourage unnatural lusts. In the secret assemblies of the sect, it was asserted, abominations of this kind had actually taken place. Maximus appealed, in his letter to the Roman bishop Siricius, to the fact, that the crimes of Priscillian had been disclosed by his own confession.[1] But it is easy to see, that everything depends on the question how this confession was drawn forth. An admission extorted by the rack, as this most probably was,[2] wants the force of evidence; and the very circumstance, that the emperor felt it necessary to justify his conduct before the Roman bishop, may betray the consciousness of his guilt.

The result of this judicial process was, that Priscillian and several of his most important adherents were executed with the sword.[3] Others, after the confiscation of their goods, were banished to the island of Syllina (Scilly).

There was one individual, however, of the bishops assembled at Trier, namely, Theognist, who declared in the most emphatic language, without fear of the emperor's anger, against this whole proceeding, and he renounced the fellowship of all those who had taken any part in it. The voice of this individual by itself, was of little avail; but he was now to be sustained by a powerful ally. The bishop Martin was on the point of returning to Triers, for the purpose of imploring the mercy of the emperor in behalf of numbers who had been engaged or implicated in the recent political strifes. The bishops, who heard of this, dreaded his great influence. Moved by their representations, Maximus caused Martin to be informed before he came into the city, that he could not be permitted to enter unless he promised to keep peace with the bishops. Martin answered, he would come with the peace of Christ.

When he arrived at Triers, he attached himself to Theognist; and fruitless were all the efforts of Maximus to make him satisfied with the conduct of the bishops,— fruitless all his representations, to bring about a reconciliation betwixt him and the party of Ithacius. Finally, he dismissed him in anger.

Meantime, the emperor had resolved to send to Spain a military commission with unlimited powers, for the purpose of continuing the trials and the punishment of the Priscillianists. Had this purpose been executed, others doubtless, besides the Priscillianists, whose property

minibus antistites, revera autem satellites atque carnifices: a quibus tot simul votiva veniebant avaro divitum bona.

[1] In this letter, first published by Cardinal Baronius from the Vatican library, Maximus says: Cæterum quid adhuc proxime proditum sit, Manichæos sceleris admittere, non argumentis, neque suspicionibus dubiis vel incertis, sed ipsorum confessione inter judicia prolatis, malo quod ex gestis ipsis tua sanctitas, quam ex nostro ore cognoscat; quia hujuscemodi non modo facta turpia, verum etiam fœda dictu, proloqui sine rubore non possumus.

[2] Pacatus Drepanius mentions expressly, in connection with this investigation, the gemitus et tormenta miserorum. l. c.

[3] Among the persons executed was also the noble and rich widow Euchrotia, of whom Pacatus Drepanius says, (l. c.:) Exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio et diligentius culta divinitas. Quid hoc majus poterat intendere accusator sacerdos?

was coveted, or who might be looked upon as belonging to the sect merely on account of the cast of their countenance or their ascetic dress,[1] would have fallen victims to the persecution. Martin, ever since his first interview with Maximus, had been laboring to persuade him that he ought not to execute this decree; but the latter had given only evasive replies. At length Martin heard, all at once, that tribunes, commissioned with full powers, had been actually sent to Spain. He hurried immediately, though it was night, to the palace, and promised the emperor, that he would admit the bishops to church fellowship, if the emperor would recall the tribunes; and by this compliance he rescued, for the time being, many unhappy creatures from ruin.

Though many, influenced by the blind zeal against heretics, and by the perverse principle of Augustin (see above, p. 248–252), carried out to the extreme, that it was right to bring back the erring to the truth and to salvation by the fear of bodily sufferings,[2] were induced to approve of those oppressive measures, or at least to wink at them; yet influential voices declared against them. When, at a later period, Ambrose of Milan came to Triers, on business of the young emperor, Valentinian II., he was not deterred by any fear of the displeasure of Maximus, from refusing the fellowship of the church to those bishops who had taken part in those proceedings;[3] and he compared them with the Pharisees, who questioned Christ respecting the punishment which according to the civil laws was due to the woman taken in adultery.[4] Siricius, bishop of Rome, took the same ground with Ambrose.[5] Ithacius was afterwards deposed from his episcopal office, and the schism lasted for some time between these two parties of bishops, the party that approved, and those who condemned the proceedings against the Priscillianists.

For the rest, the death of Priscillian and his friends could not effect the suppression of the sect; on the contrary, it served to give it a new access of enthusiasm.[6] Priscillian and many of those who had been executed with him, were adored by the sect as martyrs.

[1] Sulpic. Sever. Dialog.: Cum quis pallore potius aut veste quam fide hæreticus æstimaretur.

[2] Leo the Great, taking for granted, indeed, that Priscillian set forth doctrines totally destructive of good morals, says of this mode of proceeding against heretics, ep. 15 ad Turribium: Profuit diu ista districtio ecclesiasticæ lenitati, quæ, etsi sacerdotali contenta judicio, cruentas refugit ultiones, severis tamen Christianorum principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad spiritale nonnunquam recurrunt remedium, qui timent corporale supplicium.

[3] As Ambrose himself relates, ep. 24 ad Valentinianum: Me abstinere ab iis qui aliquos, devios licet a fide, ad necem petebat.

[4] Ep. 26 ad Irenæum: Quid enim aliud isti dicunt, quam dicebant Judæi, reos criminum legibus esse publicis puniendos, et ideo accusari eos etiam a sacerdotibus in publicis judiciis oportuisse, quos adserunt secundum leges oportuisse puniri.

[5] We must infer this from the VI. canon of the council of Turin. Harduin. I. f. 959, where the decisions of Ambrose and of the bishop of Rome are placed together as one and the same.

[6] With what suspicion Christians, and especially *monks*, coming from Spain, were regarded in the beginning of the fifth century (since, in fact, Priscillianism often put on the garb of Monachism), from the dread of the Priscillian heresy, which was there so widely diffused, is seen in the instance of the monk *Bachiarius*, who in his tract de fide, and in his exhortation to a fallen monk (ad Januarium de reparatione lapsi), discovers, as a teacher of faith and morals, a moderate and gentle spirit. Driven, perhaps by the political disturbances, from Spain, he betook himself to some other district of the West, where he might hope to

As to the *doctrines* of Priscillian, we find, so far as we can gain any knowledge of them from the meagre accounts of their adversaries,[1] that Dualism and the emanation theory were combined together in them, — elements related to Gnosticism and Manichæism. He supposed an emanation-world of the kingdom of light, in manifold gradations, with one original being at the head of the whole chain of existence; and, opposed to this world of light, a kingdom of darkness or chaos, with corresponding emanations, — the powers of darkness, at the head of whom stands Satan.[2] The souls which emanated from the divine essence, are sent forth to combat the powers of darkness; — they vow in the presence of God to contend with firmness and constancy, and the angels stimulate them with exhortations. They descend through the seven heavens, perhaps the kingdoms of the seven star-spirits,[3] forming the boundary betwixt the kindoms of light and of darkness, in order to attack this latter; and probably it was Priscillian's notion, that from each of these sidereal regions the souls appropriated and brought along with them a correspondent sidereal vehicle.[4] But now the powers of darkness succeed in drawing down the souls to themselves, and enchaining them in bodies.[5] This result, however, is not a mere accident, but the powers of darkness are destined thus to subserve the purposes of the divine wisdom in bringing about the destruction of their own kingdom. The heavenly souls were *des-*

enjoy more tranquillity (whether to Rome, as we might infer from the account of Gennadius, c. 24, remains uncertain, as this account contains several other statements which are manifestly incorrect). As it seems, no one was willing, however, to receive him in any of the cloisters, and the bishops also hesitated to grant him the fellowship of the church, because they suspected him, on account of the country he came from, of heresy. This led him to draw up in his own defense his confession of faith, which was first published by Muratori in the second volume of the above-cited collection of *ἀνέκδοτα* from the Ambrosian library, and again by Galland. bibl. patr. T. IX. The manner, then, in which he here justifies antithetically his orthodoxy, particularly in respect to the doctrines of the Trinity, the humanity of Christ, the resurrection, the origin of the soul; in respect to marriage, the ascetic life and the canon of the sacred scriptures, shows clearly that it was against the suspicion of being tainted with the Priscillian doctrines, so widely diffused in his own country, he had chiefly to defend himself.

[1] Especially the Commonitorium of Orosius to Augustin (Augustin. hæres. 70), and the answer of bishop Leo the Great to Turribius, bishop of Asturica (Astorga), in which he for the most part joins in accepting the report of the latter respecting the doctrines of this sect, in order to their confutation.

[2] Satanam ex Chao et tenebris emersisse. Leo ad Turrib. c. VI.

[3] Comp. the doctrine of the Ophites.

[4] If we consider, however, that Priscillian used the Ascensio Isaiæ, which has come to our knowledge in the Ethiopic translation, (ed. Lawrence. Oxon. 1819,) it becomes, perhaps, more probable that by the seven heavens he understood seven graduated classes of the higher world of spirits following one after the other, — seven stages of the higher world of emanation, according to the Cabbalistic theology. It may be questioned, also, whether the sidereal world, according to his theory, belongs wholly to the kingdom of evil, or rather answers to the Gnostic kingdom of the Demiurge.

[5] According to Leo's representation, c. 10, Priscillian supposed an earlier guilt preceding birth; but the representations of Orosius and of Augustin, which we have followed, manifestly bear more of the character of originality, and expressions from a letter of Priscillian confirm this representation. If we must suppose that Leo's exposition must harmonize with that of Augustin, the harmony, in the sense of Priscillian, might be sought for simply in this, that the submitting to be overcome by the powers of darkness was represented as a contraction of guilt, which Leo was at fault in only not understanding in the right way, in conformity with Priscillian's train of ideas.

tined to destroy the kingdom of darkness in its own seat, and this was actually brought about by the redemption.[1]

Over against the twelve sidereal powers, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, to which man is supposed to be related and subjected by means of his *body* (whose several parts and members Priscillian assigned to the different constellations of the Zodiac), he placed the twelve heavenly powers, represented under the name of the twelve patriarchs, to whom the *souls* of men are supposed to be related, and under whose guidance they stand. Hence man, representing in his soul and body the universe in miniature, unites in himself the higher and the lower worlds, heaven and earth.[2] By virtue of the inherent dependence of the body, in which the soul has been imprisoned by the powers of darkness, man continues to be subject to the influences of the stars, until the soul, which is related to God, obtains, through its fellowship with that higher world from which it has sprung, power to deliver itself from those lower influences. In order to the deliverance of this soul, the Redeemer appeared on earth. It cannot be determined with certainty, what Priscillian thought of the divine and the human natures of Christ. It is certain that he entertained Monarchian notions respecting the relation of the Son of God to the Trinity, as well as respecting the Trinity generally. According to his theory of the body, as being the seat of evil; of birth, as a work of the powers of darkness, he could not admit the fact of the birth of Christ with a true human body of earthly stuff. If, then, the testimony of Leo is to be relied on,[3] that the Priscillianists attributed the predicate "only begotten" to the Saviour only in the sense that he alone was born of the virgin; yet this certainly is not to be so understood as if Priscillian had wholly adopted the church notions respecting the birth of Christ. He might be the more induced to dwell on the predicate in this sense, if he reckoned among the extraordinary facts connected with Christ's birth, his having brought with him a body of etherial mould; and thus the being born denoted, in his case, something entirely different from what it does in the case of other men. From the antithetic dogmas, however, which the council of Toledo, in the year 400, opposed to the Priscillianists, it is evident that the latter represented Christ as one who was incapable of being born, (innascibilis,) and maintained that Christ's divine and corporeal nature were one and the same. This seems to involve the Manichæan form of conception;—the one divine light-nature exhibited itself to the eye of sense under the semblance merely of an object of sense. Leo says, moreover, that they could not join with the church in celebrating the festival of Christmas, because they held the Docetic notions respecting Christ's appearance on earth. If Priscillian gave

[1] Here we recognize Priscillian's general principle, which is to be found also in the Manichæan system; arte non potentia Dei, agi omnia bona in hoc mundo. The kingdom of light, by its victorious wisdom, forces the princes of darkness, on the very spot where they seem to be insolent and to conquer, to subserve its purposes and prepare the way for their own downfall.

[2] Priscillian's words, in a letter, are: Hæc prima sapientia est, in animarum typis divinarum virtutum intelligere naturas et corporis dispositionem, in qua obligatum cœlum videtur et terra.

[3] L. c. c. III.

particular prominence to the suffering of Christ in accomplishing the work of redemption, this circumstance would, it is true, seem not quite consistent with his Docetic views. But the way in which he expresses himself on this point admits of being explained also, even if we suppose that, like Mani, he attributed to the sufferings of Christ only a symbolical meaning.[1] As the twelve signs of the Zodiac have influence on the birth of the outward man, so the twelve celestial powers, opposed to them, influence the new birth, whereby the inner man is to be restored to fellowship with the divine substance from which it emanated.[2] What is affirmed of Christ, that he was born of a woman, but conceived of the Holy Ghost,[3] the Priscillianists applied to all the sons of the promise. It may be questioned, however, whether they understood this of birth, so far as man's *inner* essence is derived from God, or of the new birth as contrasted with the natural. The Priscillianists, as may be gathered from what they affirmed concerning the Patriarchs, acknowledged the authority of the Old Testament. They appropriated it to their purpose by resorting to the allegorical method of interpretation. But it still might be the case, that, in so doing, they distinguished the God of the Old Testament from the God of the Gospel.[4] Besides the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament, however, they made use of several apocryphal writings, as, for example, the hymn of thanks sung by Christ on his last visit to the mount of Olives, Matth. 26: 30, which they said was handed down among the initiated alone.[5]

The moral system of the Priscillianists was, as their doctrine concerning the origin of the body required, rigidly ascetic. It enjoined austerities of all sorts, and, in particular, celibacy. The charges laid against them of dissolute conduct, are, to say the least, not sufficiently well authenticated. But it must be owned, that, in common with most of the theosophic sects who were in the habit of distinguishing an esoteric and an exoteric doctrine,— they were extremely loose in their principles of veracity. They affirmed that a falsehood might be allowed for a holy end, — for example, to promote the spread of their own mysteries; and that it was right to conceal from the multitude, by affecting to agree with them in their fleshly notions, that which they were as yet incapable of understanding. There was no obligation to speak out the whole truth, except to the enlightened; that is, to the members of the sect: and to give some shadow of foundation for this view respecting the limit to the obligation of truthfulness, they made use of the passage in Ephes. 4: 25, distorted to their own meaning. Their bishop Dictinnius, who, at the council of Toledo, in the

[1] Christ by his sufferings — said Priscillian — annulled the bond, Col. 2: 14, by virtue of which the soul was held imprisoned in the body by the powers of darkness and was made subject to the sidereal influences.

[2] Leo c. 13. Duodecim virtutes, quæ reformationem hominis interioris operantur, ut in eam substantiam de qua prodiit, reformetur.

[3] Leo c. 9 Filios promissionis ex mulieribus quidem natos; sed ex spiritu sancto conceptos.

[4] As is implied in the genuine antithetic proposition of the council of Toledo.

[5] See Augustin. ep. 237 ad Ceretium.

year 400, came over to the Catholic church, had written a work, entitled "the Scales,"[1] in which these principles were expounded and defended. But it is plain, from this very principle of theirs, that their own sayings respecting the character of the sect and its doctrines, as well as the declarations in the recantations of its members who returned back to the Catholic church, deserve little confidence.

Hence, many Catholic ecclesiastics were of the opinion that, in order to draw from the Priscillianists a true account of the subject-matter of their doctrines, it was right to adopt the same method of dissimulation. But Augustin wrote, in opposition to this mode of proceeding, a book, which forms an epoch in the history of Christian morals by its unconditional condemnation of the lie, under whatsoever fair pretext it may present itself, and which, remarkable in its enthusiasm for the idea of veracity, greatly contributed to the overthrow of laxer principles in the Western church, as Augustin had already, at an earlier period, in his noteworthy controversy with Jerome on Gal. 2, zealously opposed the doctrine of an "officiosum mendacium."[2]

By following out this principle, the Priscillianists found it, of course, comparatively easy to propagate their sect, in spite of all the persecutions; and as accessory to this purpose came in also the political agitations, occasioned by the migration of wandering tribes over Spain, amidst which movements the oversight of the church could not be so constantly and strictly maintained. The council of Braga, in the year 563,[3] found it necessary to enact new laws with a view to the detection and suppression of the Priscillianists; and from this circumstance we see how long they were enabled to maintain themselves, and how easily they might scatter the seeds of their doctrines far down into the succeeding periods.

Although these later influences of the old Oriental sects, in their relation to the development of this particular period, may appear unimportant, yet they were propagated to the following centuries, and proved an important means in the hand of God for exciting the reaction of the Christian consciousness against the Jewish element in the Church Theocracy.

[1] Libra.
[2] His work de mendacio ad Consentium.
[3] Concilium Bracarense I.

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